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JAPANESE

PATENT MEDICINES.

BY

W. M. ROYDS,

Of H. B. M.'s Consular Service in Japan.

1907.

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JAPANESE PATENT MEDICINES.

Note.—Throughout this report, the term "Patent Medicines" is used in the loose sense in which it is generally employed in popular language; that is, it refers to all medicines sold in a prepared form on which a stamp duty is imposed, as opposed to medicines prepared in particular cases from a prescription.

1. History. The patent medicine industry of Japan had its origin, about two and a half centuries ago, in the town of Toyama in the now-called province of Etchū on the West Coast, which ever since has been the great centre of the industry. Prince SEIHO MAEDA, who was born in 1649, was then DAIMYO of the province, succeeding his father in 1674. He was a man of strong and determined character, and highly intelligent, and on taking up the reins of government, he immediately set about the making of many reforms, especially with the object of spreading education among his subjects. For this reason, and for his care and solicitude for the people, whenever any emergency or calamity arose, he was greatly respected and loved, but the chief cause of his fame and reputation down to the present day is that it was due to his initiative and support that the industry, which to-day is so far-reaching and the source of Toyama's prosperity, arose and flourished. This fact was clearly shown in the spring of this year, 1906, the two hundredth anniversary of the DAIMYO's death. In May, a grand commemorative festival lasting two days, organized by the patent medicine dealers of Toyama, was held at the DAIHŌJI temple

at Umezawa, and was attended by large numbers of people from near and far, who wished to do honour to the old DAIMYO's memory. From the beginning of his assuming the government, Prince Seiho Maeda took great interest in the manufacture of medicines and in matters of public health generally. When epidemics of dysentery, etc., occurred within his dominions, he used himself to make up medicines and dispense them to the poor. In 1682, BANDAI JŌKAN, a physician of KATAKAMI in BIZEN province, hearing of Prince Maeda's interest in the manufacture of medicines, travelled to Toyama and presented to the Prince some medicine of his own manufacture which he called HAN-GON TAN (i.e. "medicine which calls back the dead to life")—a name which is now a household word throughout Japan—which he prepared from an old secret prescription handed down in his family. The Prince was greatly struck with the excellence of this medicine and caused his retainers to be instructed in the method of its preparation. The story goes that in 1690, when the Prince was in YEDO (Tōkyō), while busy one day at the SHŌGUN's Court, one of the Daimyos there was suddenly taken ill and was at the point of death. All present were thrown into a state of consternation, and no one knew what to do, nor offered any effective assistance, until Prince Maeda took a dose of HAN-GON-TAN from his medicine box (a thing always carried in the old days) and administered it to the sufferer, who was immediately restored to health. All the Daimyos present were so struck with the wonderful efficacy of the medicine, that, in spite of the prevailing restrictions with regard to encroaching on one another's territories, they begged that from that time forward the Toyama medicine vendors should ply their trade far and wide in all provinces and provide for the demand for Hangontan. The Prince consented to this and, on his return to his province, gave an apothecary the prescription for the medicine and caused him to make and sell it, and sent a man to other provinces as a peddler. Moreover, so charitable and benevolent was the

Prince that, in his desire to help all the sick people in the country, he caused the medicines to be distributed from door to door without immediate payment, and the collection of the money to be postponed until a convenient time, which is the origin of the custom now in vogue for the distribution of patent medicines in Japan. (See Section 2, under the heading "Methods of selling and advertising.") In organizing these methods the Prince took the greatest trouble, and in consequence, from the beginning, the business gradually made very considerable progress. The peddling business increased year by year under the protection of the provincial administration, and was not limited to Han-gon-tan alone, but comprised all sorts of medicines, and by degrees became the greatest source of Toyama's prosperity.

A small industry also arose at this time, dependent upon the patent medicine business, viz., the making of the paper packets and boxes for the medicines, and by this means many people earned a livelihood. So widely, moreover, did the Toyama industry spread, that it came to be looked upon from a provincial standpoint as a great industry, and it was therefore decided to levy local taxes on the medicines, the management of the taxation being placed under the control of the City Governor. From 1764 to 1771, owing to a further large increase in the number of peddlers, special offices were established and special officers appointed in complete control of matters connected with patent medicines, but afterwards these were abolished and control was again vested in the City Office and Financial Bureau of Toyama. Thenceforth, until about 1803, an annual tax was levied on each peddler at the rate of about one shilling, which in 1850 was increased to about two shillings and nine pence per head. The total amount collected in 1850 from this tax was over £350. From this time until the daimyates were abolished and prefectures established in 1868, there was not much variation in the total amount collected annually. Meanwhile the patent medicine dealers had drawn up regula-

tions among themselves, and had divided all the peddlers into twenty-one bands, over each of which, according to the size of the band, from five to ten overseers were appointed. Each of these bands had its own district allotted to it for its operations, and thus the whole country was covered and constantly worked by peddlers. Over the whole organization the dealers chose one of their own number, each taking the office in turn, to superintend the manufacture of the medicines and the working of the peddling business. The districts allotted to the various bands were as follows:—KWANTŌ, GOKINAI, MINO, SHINSHIŪ, KIŪSHIU, OKUCHŪGOKU, ECHIGO, DATE, KAZUSA, DEWA, GŌSHIU, ISE, KITACHŪGOKU, SURUGA, SHIKOKU, NAMBU, SENDAI, SATSUMA, HISHIŪ, AKITA, HOKKOKU, thus covering the whole country. At first, when the bands were started, there were over 2,600 peddlers in all employed, the large bands containing from 100 to 300, and the smaller ones from 60 to 90 men each. The numbers gradually increased, and the support of the provincial administration became more and more thorough; so that, in 1875, there were about 5000 patent-medicine peddlers in all. Other daimyates also afforded a large amount of protection to Toyama patent medicines, and from MUTSU, DEWA, CHIKUZEN, CHIKUGO, BUZEN, BUNGO, HIZEN, HIGO, SATSUMA, IKI and TSUSHIMA and other daimyates, local patent medicine dealers were sent to make a special study of the Toyama industry. After the restoration of 1868, when daimyates were abolished and prefectures established, many SAMURAI took up the patent-medicine business, the numbers engaged rising to over 8,000. In January, 1877, the Government issued the first regulations for the state control and taxation of patent medicines. The first effect of this Government control was favorable to the growth of the industry, and its development proceeded rapidly throughout the years 1880 and 1881. In October, 1882, however, owing to the publication, by Government decree No. 51, of the patent-medicine stamp tax laws, great distress was occasioned among the

patent-medicine dealers, and on all sides bitter complaints against the hardships of the regulation were heard. This distress was felt most keenly among those occupied in the Toyama patent-medicine business, owing to the methods employed in distribution, and for a time large numbers of people were thrown out of employment. After that, year by year, the business declined, and it seemed that, if matters were left in the state in which they then were, the industry would be entirely ruined. In July 1886, with a view to ameliorating the conditions in some degree, the Finance Department's Decree No. 203, issuing regulations for exchanging patent medicine tax stamps affixed to medicines which subsequently remained unsold, was published; but although on the surface the publication of these regulations appeared somewhat to lessen the hardships on dealers, in reality no relief at all was realized from them. So, as it was useless to complain of the severity of the stamp tax and meanwhile simply await the Government's action, the dealers took steps on their own account and made great reforms in all branches of the industry, and so saved it from the absolute ruin which appeared imminent, and by degrees brought it to a more satisfactory position. After that, year by year, the industry made great strides, and the medicines began to be exported in considerable quantities. In January, 1905, the patent-medicine tax bill was introduced into the Diet and a ten per cent *ad valorem* tax, with exemption for all medicines exported, was approved, and from May of the same year was put into operation. As a result of this law, the export of patent-medicines to foreign countries has continuously and largely increased, and as the conditions of the industry in the home market are also very favourable, a large extension of business on all sides has taken place.

2. Methods of selling and advertising. Patent medicine manufacturers in Japan sell their goods wholesale to the retail dealers in the various towns and villages, or employ their own peddlers to hawk their goods all over the country.

In the former case, they allow the retail dealers a commission on their sales amounting to from 20% to 50% of the takings, or they sell the medicines to them outright at a fixed reduction in price. The peddlers, on the other hand, either receive one half of all their receipts, or have their travelling expenses and board paid and receive a commission on their sales. The system in vogue among the peddlers is a very curious one and probably unique. As has been previously mentioned, the bands of peddlers have each their own district for business allotted to them, and in this district they distribute whatever medicines their customers require, without at the time receiving any payment for the same. Each customer takes what he considers sufficient to last his household a year, and when the year is completed, the peddlers once more make the same round and collect the price of medicines that have been consumed during the course of the year. What is left over, they take back, and exchange free of charge for new medicines of the same sort, at the same time supplying on credit another year's stock.

It was on account of this method being in vogue and owing to the severity with which the stamp-tax laws fell upon those employing this method, stamps having to be affixed to all medicines when made up for distribution, that the "Patent medicines stamp exchange regulations" were issued.

Advertising. It was also due to the fact that the peddling branch of the business until recent times largely prevailed to the exclusion of the method of selling from retail shops, that advertising in print and by sign board was only indulged in on a small scale, as the peddlers themselves took round samples of new medicines and did their advertising by word of mouth. Nowadays, however, the fashion of advertising in newspapers and magazines and by setting up large boards in the neighbourhood of the railways and by the roadside largely prevails and is constantly growing, and follows both in style and design, as well as in locality, the methods of European

countries. Indeed, there is scarcely a line of railway in any thickly populated part of Japan, the neighbouring landscape of which is not disfigured by the uncomely and often, to foreign ideas at least, unsavoury advertisements of popular patent medicines.

3. Number of Patent Medicine Manufacturers and amount of medicines manufactured and their value.

In 1904, there were 3,102 licensed patent medicine manufacturers in Japan, manufacturing in all 9,735 different kinds of patent medicines for which licences were taken out. The total value of patent medicines manufactured during the eleven years previous to 1905 is approximately as follows:—

1894	£ 573,500
1895	£ 679,500
1896	£ 778,700
1897	£ 874,100
1898	£1,009,900
1899	£1,126,000
1900	£1,182,200
1901	£1,211,600
1902	£1,231,200
1903	£1,236,100
1904	£1,189,400

In 1886, it amounted to only £438,600. Toyama produces about one quarter of the total, its production annually being about 73,000,000 packets of medicines worth approximately £300,000. This gives some idea of the small quantities in which certain medicines are done up for sale, the average value of these packets being just one penny each.

4. Patent Medicine Taxes.

In former times, there were no national taxes levied on patent medicines. In 1877, these were first imposed and were fixed at the following rates:—

(*a*) Manufacturers of patent medicines :—

1. Business tax, for each kind of medicine manufactured ... ...4/- per annum.
2. Licence fee, for each kind of medicine manufactured on issue of licence. 5d. „

(*b*) Retail dealers in patent medicines and peddlers, irrespective of the number of different kinds of medicine sold... ...5d. per annum.

In 1882, by decree No. 51, regulations as to stamp duties on patent medicines were issued, and on each packet of patent medicines stamps to the value of one tenth of the value of the medicine contained in the packet were required to be affixed. These stamps were at first of a special sort called "Patent medicine stamps"; but in 1898, by Imperial Ordinance No. 140, general revenue stamp regulations were published and one sort of revenue stamp was issued for indiscriminate use as deed stamps, tobacco stamps, legal stamps and patent medicine stamps, and at once came into use for all stamp duties. The stamps are of ten denominations of the following values and colours :—

1 *rin* ($\frac{1}{10}$th of a farthing)... ...	grey.
2 *rin*	light blue.
3 *rin*	yellow.
5 *rin*	dark brown.
1 *sen* ($\frac{1}{4}$d.)	light brown.
2 *sen* ($\frac{1}{2}$d.)	green.
3 *sen* ($\frac{3}{4}$d.)	dark blue.
4 *sen* (1d.)	orange.
5 *sen* ($1\frac{1}{4}$d.)	purple.
10 *sen* ($2\frac{1}{2}$d.)	dark red.

In 1905, the patent medicine tax laws were revised, and, in addition to slight modifications of the regulations in force at home, exemption from all taxes was granted to medicines exported to foreign countries. Further, in the regulations for

putting these revised laws into effect (Imperial Ordinance No. 155 of 1905), a new definition was given of "articles resembling patent medicines"—on which, for the first time, the patent medicine stamp tax was levied, the articles specified having hitherto been outside the category of patent medicines. The definition given is as follows: "Articles containing drugs, "or mixed with drugs, which are advertised as being effica-"cious in any of the ways mentioned under the following "headings, are "articles resembling patent medicines": but "articles only efficacious as nutrients or disinfectants and "articles specially exempted by the Minister of Finance, are "not included." The classification of "articles resembling patent medicines" is as follows:—

1. Articles used in guarding against illnesses.

2. Articles used in exhilarating the spirits, clearing the voice, or increasing physical or mental energy, while not laying claim to being efficacious in curing illnesses.

3. Articles used for changing the colour or constitution of the skin or hair, or in removing unpleasant smells.

4. Articles used in healing skin diseases.

All such articles, though not coming under the law for patent medicines making a licence and registration necessary, must nevertheless, in the same way as the medicines, have revenue stamps affixed.

From January 1905, new special extra taxes, on account of the Russo-Japanese war, have been in force, and are still to be continued for an indefinite period. The rates of this taxation are as follows:—

For each separate medicine in respect of the amount manufactured,

(1)	When the total value is less than			£30..	... ...	2s.
(2)	,,	,,	between	£30 and	£50..	6s.
(3)	,,	,,	,,	50 and	100..	10s.
(4)	,,	,,	,,	100 and	200..	14s.

(5)	When the total value is between			£200 and	£300 ..	£1
(6)	,,	,,	,,	300 and	500 ..	£1 10s.
(7)	,,	,,	,,	500 and	1,000 ..	£2
(8)	,,	,,	,,	1,000 and	2,000 ..	£3
(9)	,,	,,	,,	2,000 and	3,000 ..	£4
(10)	,,	,,	,,	3,000 and	5,000 ..	£5 10s.
(11)	,,	,,	,,	5,000 and	7,000 ..	£7
(12)	,,	,,	,,	7,000 and	10,000 ..	£8 10s.
(13)	,,	,,		over	10,000 ..	£10

In addition to this, there is also a special business tax, arising from the extra special war taxes, which is as follows for each medicine when the value of the amount manufactured in one year is :—

Less than	£30		... ...	4¼d.
Between	30 and	£50	... ...	1s. 2¼d.
,,	50 and	100	... ...	1s. 9½d.
,,	100 and	200	... ...	2s. 5d.
,,	200 and	300	... ...	3s. 5½d.
,,	300 and	500	... ...	5s. 2d.
,,	500 and	1,000	... ...	6s. 11d.
,,	1,000 and	2,000	... ...	10s. 4d.
,,	2,000 and	3,000	... ...	13s. 9½d.
,,	3,000 and	5,000	... ...	18s. 11½d.
,,	5,000 and	7,000	... ...	£1 4s. 1d.
,,	7,000 and	10,000	... ...	£1 9s. 3d.
Over	10,000		... ...	£1 14s. 5d.

There are also local (provincial and city) taxes on patent medicines.

The total amount received from patent medicine taxes in Japan during the years 1894-1904 is as follows :—

1894...	£57,300
1895...	67,900
1896...	77,800
1897...	87,400

1898...	£100,900
1899...	112,600
1900...	118,200
1901...	121,100
1902...	123,100
1903...	123,600
1904...	118,900

5. The Export of Japanese Patent Medicines.

The export of Japanese patent medicines began in 1889, when a Toyama dealer crossed over to Corea and opened up business there. For some years after this but little was done, there being but a small and fluctuating export trade to China and Corea carried on; but, after the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, the business was gradually extended in those countries, and also spread to Hawaii. Since then, most of the ports of the Pacific where Japanese are settled have taken their share, and in other directions also an export trade has grown up. After the Russo-Japanese war ended in 1905, the special exemption from taxation in the case of exported patent-medicines came into force and gave a great impetus to the export trade. The total value of medicines exported from Toyama alone during the year from July 1st, 1905 to June 30th, 1906 amounted to about £15,000.

Japanese patent medicines are exported direct to the following places :—

China :—Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtau, Taku, Yinkow and Newchwang.

Corea :—Chemulpo, Seoul, Chinnampo, Fusan, Gensan, Mokpo, Gunsan.

United States :—San Francisco, Tacoma, Portland, Seattle.

Canada :—Victoria, Vancouver.

Straits Settlements :—Singapore, Penang.

British India :—Rangoon.

Dutch East Indies :—Borneo.

Australia :—Townsville, Thursday Island.

Hawaii:—Honolulu.
Philippines:—Manila.
Hongkong.

6. Trade Marks. Trade marks for patent medicines are required to be registered and are of two kinds—(*a*) the sign hitherto used by the shop or other descriptive design, or (*b*) the name of the medicine. It was formerly a common practise to choose Buddhist and Shintō terms as names for patent medicines, but this is now specifically forbidden, and to ensure that no such names should be registered, it is mentioned in the Trade Marks law of 1899 that names of patent medicines used before that date which have by their popular usage come to be regarded as trade marks, cannot under the new law be registered as trade marks.

For this reason, most patent medicines, which were manufactured and well-known before 1899, are registered under signs or pictures for trade marks.

The names used are generally chosen with reference to the alleged curative properties of the medicines, such as, "brain-healing pills," "poison-expelling pills," "spirit-cheering pills," "heal-everything powders," "one-dose-healing powders," "life-supporting powders," "touch-the-spot pastilles," "second-to-none plasters," "boil-breaking ointment," "immediate-healer plaster."

7. Kinds of Patent Medicines, and ways of Packing. No Japanese patent medicines are sold in a liquid form, pills, powders, pastilles and pastes being the usual way in which medicines are made up. There is also a large sale of dried roots, leaves, herbs etc., which are prepared by steeping in hot water, which is then poured off and drunk.

Patent medicines are generally packed in tins or in cardboard boxes, though many kinds, owing to their cheapness and the very small quantities (often but one dose at a time, for which less than a farthing is paid) in which they must be done up in

order to meet the popular demand, are simply enclosed in a paper package or small envelope.

8. Institutions for Protection and Development of the Industry.

In order to safeguard the interests of the industry and of individual manufacturers, there are numerous Patent Medicine Industry Guilds. These assist in a general way those of their members who are in any difficulties, legal or otherwise, connected with the business.. There is also in Toyama a special guild for the purpose of loaning money to patent medicine dealers when they are in need of capital to develop their business, and which offer them special facilities for depositing money : this guild has from its start made great progress, and the numbers of its members are increasing year by year. In addition to these, there is in Toyama a Patent Medicine Dealers' Club with 3,000 members, started in 1901 ; a school for instruction in medical matters with nearly 200 pupils, founded by influential dealers in 1893 and taken over by the Municipality in 1898 ; and a monthly magazine known as the "Toyama Patent Medicine Magazine," which deals with all matters connected with the industry. This was started in 1904.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Room, 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Feb. 20. Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., acted as Chairman. The minutes of the last meeting having been published, were taken as read. The Chairman then called upon Prof. E. H. Vickers to read the paper on "Japanese Patent Medicines" by Mr. W. M. Royds, of H.B.M's. Consular Service in Japan. This paper covered the following topics: History; Methods of Selling and Advertising; Number of Patent Medicine Manufacturers; Amount of Medicines Manufactured and their Value; Patent Medicine Taxes; Export of Patent Medicines; Trade Marks; Kinds of Patent Medicine and Ways of Packing; Institutions for Protection and Development of the Industry.

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the Society to both the writer and the reader of the instructive paper, remarked that he wished some physicians were present to give information concerning the real value of these remedies, some of which were undoubtedly efficacious. He also alluded to a servant's derivation of the English word "doctor" from the Japanese *doku-toru* (poison remover)!

Mr. Ernest W. Clement next read some "Notes," which, in a revised and expanded form, are published in the following paper on "Japanese Medical Folk-lore."

The Librarian then made the following report:—

BOOKS AND PAPERS RECEIVED SINCE THE JANUARY MEETING.

Royal Society, London, Series A. vol. 78. No. A. 525.
Royal Society, S. Australia, vol. XXX. Dec., 1906.
Science of Man, 15 Sept., 1906.
Oesterreichische Monatschrift, Dec., 1906.
Royal Asiatic Society. Bombay Branch, No. LXI. Dec., 1906.
Journal of Anthropological Institute, Jan. to June, 1906.
Journal of Geography, Jan., 1907.
Transactions of University of Colorado, Dec., 1906.
Chinese Recorder, Shanghai, Jan., Feb., 1907.
International Studio, Jan., 1907 } presented by Mr. Owre.
Bellman, 15 Jan., 1907 }

JAPANESE

MEDICAL FOLK-LORE.

BY

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, A.M.

1907.

JAPANESE MEDICAL FOLK-LORE.

By ERNEST W. CLEMENT, A.M.

The paper by Mr. Royds on "Japanese Patent Medicines" is all too brief. Its scope seems to have been limited by a purpose to confine the discussion to the historical and mercantile phases of the subject. But it also suggests the immense and very interesting field of "Japanese Folk-Medicine" with its numerous superstitions about medicines, charms, amulets, exorcism, etc., etc. We do not expect to be able to cover this field completely, as we have not had sufficient time at our disposal for a thorough investigation. We merely desire to offer a few notes gathered hastily from various sources.*

But first, even at the risk of repeating some items in the paper by Mr. Royds, we would supplement what he has written by a clipping from the *Japan Mail* of July, 1899. This we reproduce entire :—

An article containing a good deal of curious information appears in No. 221 of the *Rikugō Zasshi*, entitled *Baiyaku Kōkoku to Minzoku*, "The Advertising of Patent Medicines and Popular Customs," by Mr. Yamagata Tōkon, the gist of which we give below. The writer does not confine the discussion to patent medicines, but includes cosmetics as well. There are at least one hundred quack remedies and cosmetics whose sale is solely dependent on the persistence with which

* For a thorough treatment of the "History of Medical Progress in Japan," see Dr. Whitney's lengthy paper in Vol. XII of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

they are advertised in newspapers. The advertising medium is usually one or two of the smaller dailies, but the names of patent medicines may frequently be seen in the pages of Buddhist magazines, which shows that the priests do a little selling on their own account when their incomes are small. The Japanese names given to the various articles for sale in many cases are very curious, and display no small amount of originality in their inventors. They may be divided as follows: (1) Names derived from the original foreign name of the article. (2) Names based on the disease or imperfection which the specific is designed to cure. (3) Abstract names describing the general effect of the article recommended, like *Shin* (神) *yaku*, *Hyakudoku Kudashi* (Hundred-poisons Purgative) *Taiyō-gan* (Sun-pills), *Taiyō-san* (Sun powders), *Bikkuri megusuri*, *Dokutori-gan;* and among Cosmetics, the *Kirei-sui*, the *Beppin-sui* (Beauty-water), *Tekimen-sui* (Immediate Effect water), *Kime-chinki* (*lit.* Skin-texture Tincture), *Tsuya-kin* (the chief of gloss-producing cosmetics). The number of patent medicines offered for sale is astonishing. Mr. Yamagata informs us that without making an exhaustive investigation he came across no less than 78 different specifics in the columns of newspapers. These he divides into 3 kinds. (1) *Specifics connected with child-bearing.* There are pills that are said to insure conception and pills that are said to prevent it. (2) *Tonics,* of all kinds. Among them *imori no kuroyaki* (burnt water-lizard, used as an aphrodisiac medicine). (3) *Poison Antidotes and Disease Cures.* The modes of advertising these wonderful remedies differ nothing from those followed in the West. And the practice of offering rewards of even 5,000 *yen* to any person who proves the inefficacy of the drug recommended is very common. Statistics show that every year the number of patent medicines offered for sale increases. In 1896 in Tōkyō alone there were registered 1,401 inventors of patent medicines and 5,145 vendors of these remedies. The number of quack doctors in that year was 42,533. At that

time Tōkyō's duly qualified medical men numbered only 5,137. Since that time additions have been made both to the ranks of trained physicians and to those of the charlatans, but unless some special steps are taken to save the people from imposition, says Mr. Yamagata, the quack, for many years to come, will do more than hold his own among the lower classes, on account of the cheapness of his wares and his low charges for consultation. In the writer's opinion restrictions should be placed on the manufacture and the sale of patent medicines and cosmetics, so as to prevent fraud and put a stop to practices that are injurious to health and to morals.

We wish also to add a few more points about the nomenclature, nature, history and claims of some of the most prominent and popular nostrums.*

1. Hōtan (寶丹). A cordial composed of camphor, peppermint, etc. The name means "gem medicine," or "jewel medicine." It is said that there once lived a man named Morita, who was distinguished in penmanship and the art of drawing, and whose classical name was Hōtan. He kept a drugstore, to which one day came an old man on business. The two fell into more intimate conversation; and, when the old man went away, he left with the druggist the prescription for Hōtan, which quickly became popular and distinguished among nostrums. The result was that in a short time Morita obtained great riches; and in order to commemorate the old man's kindness, he laid away a certain portion of his profits to use for the old man. The advertisement of this remedy is appended from the *Japan Times*.†

2. Hankontan (反魂丹). The name means "recalling soul medicine," as it is claimed to be efficacious in resurrecting from the dead. This is one of the nostrums prepared in Toyama.

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* We would acknowledge the valuable assistance of Mr. Josuke Tatsuno in collecting this material.

† *See* next page.

3. Kakkontō (葛根湯). As the name indicates, this is a decoction from the root of the plant known as *kuzu* or *katsu*.

4. Mankintan (萬金丹). The name means "ten thousand dollar medicine." It is manufactured in Kumano in the province of Kii; it is an anodyne pill. There is also a Senkintan (千金丹), or "thousand-dollar medicine."

OLDEST AND UP-TO-DATE.

PATENT MEDICINE.

MORITA'S HOTAN.

TRADE MARK.

MORITA'S "HOTAN" is one of the oldest patent medicines historically and is up-to-date in respect of its efficiency. It enables its users to be proof against noxious exhalations and infectious diseases. "Hotan" is also best for reinvigorating the drooping spirits. It has worked marvellously in ailments of beasts. Beware of imitations of which there are several. Mark our brand. Sold in tins, each 10 *sen* and above.

TRADE MARK.

JIHEI MORITA,

(The 10th descendants of the same name).

No. 27, IKENOHATA NAKA-CHO,

SHITAYA, TOKYO.

5. Seikisui (精錡水). The name means "purifying-wonder-water." This is an ophthalmological remedy, invented by Ginkō Kishida, an editor, famous as a scholar of Chinese literature and the art of poetry.

6. Jitsubosan (實母散). A decoction used as a specific in female complaints. The name means "real-mother-medicine," because it takes as good care of a sick person as the real mother would.

7. Chūjōtō (中將湯). A specific for female complaints. The name comes from the Princess Chūjō (Chūjō-hime), who lived in the time of the Empress Koken (749-758 A.D.) and the Emperor Junnin (758-764 A. D.) She was a remarkable beauty, daughter of a noble of the Fujiwara family. At her birth she lost her own mother and was brought up as an adopted child in another home. On account of the cruelty of her step mother, she lived a bitter and sad life, and finally was sent to the forest, to be killed, by her cruel mother. She was, however, rescued by a faithful retainer, or, as another story goes, by one of her female adherents.

One day, when her father was out hunting, he lost his way, but happened to meet his daughter and took her back to her old home. But she again forsook her home and lived in a monastery, in preference to the position of Empress offered to her.

The story of the Princess Chūjō has been dramatised. Her picture adorns (?) the advertisements on the street posts.

8. Hyakusō (百草). A strong, bitter medicine for diarrhœa and stomach troubles. It is said that there once lived in China a virtuous Emperor who tried to find an excellent medicine for his subjects. He tasted one by one the various plants and at last found this one so profitable to all. From this comes its name, meaning "hundred-grasses."

9. Shinyaku (神藥), or Divine remedy. It has a sharp smell, is said to resemble "Painkiller," and is used in a similar way.

10. Gozōen (五藏圓). These are pills as a tonic for the *gozō*, or five viscera, *i.e.*, the heart, lungs, stomach, liver and kidney.

11. Uirō-gusuri (外郎藥), or Uirō. This is a nostrum originally brought from China and supposed to be a specific for expectoration. In Odawara there is a grand old building, which has an eight-ridged roof, is noted for its architectural style and is specially popular among old-style carpenters. In this building is sold Uirō; so that both the nostrum and the building are well known to the people. For some reason or other, the children of that house are despised by their fellows.

12. Usaikaku (烏犀角), or Rhinoceros horns. The horns of the rhinoceros are powdered and used as a specific in fever cases of all kinds.

13. Kiōgan (奇應丸). The name means "wonderful-effect-pills." They are of the size of a mustard-seed and are given to infants.

14. Kyūmeigan (救命丸), or "saving-life-pills." Similar to the above, but stronger and more effective. As this medicine is produced at a place called Uzu, that name is often prefixed, as you may see it to-day in the advertisements in the electric cars. There it is specially advertised to cure "worms" in children.

15. Seishintan (清心丹), or "Refreshing-heart-medicine." Its advertisement may speak for itself.*

16. Seifuyu (清婦湯), or "Purifying-women-hot water." Used as a decoction.

17. Someisan (蘇命散), or "Reviving-life-medicine."

18. Ichirokusan (一六散), or "One-six-remedy," used in dental disorders. The expression "one-six" comes from dice used in back-gammon (*suguruku*); and it is said to suggest that the efficiency of this medicine can be known only by trial. This is widely advertised in front of drug-stores.

19. Hifumi (一二三), or "One-two-three." This is a plaster used for skin diseases. Its name includes a pun on the word *hifu*, meaning "skin"; may also indicate that it is useful for several ailments; and may emphasize the fact that it has no rival.

20. Zenjisui (全治水), or "Complete-cure-water," a lotion for skin diseases.

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* SEISHINTAN (PILLS.)

INDISPENSABLE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

(in Case, Bottle, Package, Nickel, Tin, etc.)

As an Invigorator and for curing Headache Giddiness, and for refreshing the Drooping Mind. Those occupied in busy professions are advised to provide themselves with Our Pills without fail.

Take a few of Our Pills after every meal, and Your Digestions will be improved, and your Stomach and Bowels be kept healthy, whereby you will always be a stranger to all sorts of ailments arising from the disorder of those parts.

Very Fragrant; keep the mouth from all Offensive Smell as well as from Fever; clear the throat of Phlegm; keep it moist and clear the Voice. Very necessary for a Vocalist and Society Ladies and Gentlemen.

Have Mysterious Powers of remedying Seasickness and every sort of illness to which you may be liable during the hot or cold season. Ward off the Attack of Dangerous Fever.

Good for Stomach-ache, Diarrœa, etc., arising from the use of bad or strange drinking water and for any other sort of illness you may often suffer from while on a journey. A Traveller, careful of his health, ought to carry Our Seishintan.

Sold at all the druggists throughout Japan, but purchasers are cautioned against Fraudulent Imitations, looking always for our Trade Mark "Mermaid."

21. Bannōkō (萬能膏), or "Omnipotent paste." It may also be pronounced Mannōkō. It is a paste, much in vogue among the vulgar classes.

22. Sumōkō (相撲膏), or "Wrestler's paste." Used by wrestlers after moxa (*mogusa*) has been applied to their bodies.

23. Mankinkō (萬金膏), or "Ten-thousand dollar paste."

24. Issaigan (一切丸), or "Cure-all pills." Not so well-known as others, though it claims so much!

25. Nihachisui (二八水). or "Twice-eight-water,"—a toilet water which is warranted to make girls "sweet sixteen." The advertisements of this adorn the posts all over Tōkyō.

26. Tsuya-no-mizu (艶の水), or "Polish-water," to make the face shine.

27. Kirei-sui (キレー水), or "Beauty-water," also for a lady's toilet.

28. Rōyaru-sui (ローヤル水), or "Royal-water," like the three preceding ones.

29. Mōseieki (毛生液), or "Hair-growing-lotion," for baldness or thinness of hair.

30. Kokkwaigan (克快丸), or "Restorative-pills," for rheumatism, beri-beri and syphilis.

31. Makuri (海仁草) (滿久利). A purgative made from sea-weed and commonly given to a baby for a few days after its birth.

32. Sanōgon (三黄丸). A medicine for syphilis.

33. Dokusōgan (毒掃丸), or Poison-expelling-pills, for syphilis.

34. Kennōgan (健腦丸), or Strengthening-brain pills, for nervous troubles.

35. Heburin-gan (ヘブリン丸), or "Febrin" pills, for fever.

36. Meijisui (明治水), or Meiji-water, named from the present era,—for rheumatism.

37. Junkisan (順氣散), or Settling-body-powder, for women.

38. Chōisan (調胃散), or Settling-stomach-powder.

39. Shingetsugan (新月丸), or New-moon-pills, is the poetical name of a popular remedy for amenorrhœa.

40. Seiryōgan (清凉丸), or Refreshing-pills. This is quite similar to Seishintan, noticed above (No. 15); but is more modern, and is manufactured and sold "for the benefit of the poor and the sick"!

Further illustrations of old nostrums are found in "A Suburb of Yedo" (Purcell), as follows:—

The establishment, from which he [the doctor] starts upon his daily rounds, is quite a marvel of little drawers and shelves. Root-choppers and mortars litter the mats; whilst black-lacquered boards, with gilded incriptions thereon, inform the public of the "Thousand years' life pills to be had here"—the "Mixture of a hundred ingredients"—and many other nostrums too numerous to mention. In addition to these affirmatories he has a rare stock of hand-bills in which he wraps his potions. Some of them are ornamented with harrowing pictures meant to catch the eye, and all are brave with capitals. What wheezing asthmatic could resist the seductions of the "Clove Pills, a recipe of this house"? "This honourable medicine," it is asserted, "is prepared in a secret manner, according to a recipe of divine origin, and there is no other medicine like it in the world." "This unique and extraordinary compound," it goes on to relate, "is a specific for the coughs of both grown people and children, no matter from what cause arising. When a cough lasts for a long time, it ruins the spleen, injures the stomach and destroys the five great organs* and the six members†, more especially in the case of young children, for in such instances a bad habit of body arises, from which spring the 'hundred diseases.' A cure, however, is guaranteed in the most deplorable cases by using one packet of the specific, and in hopeless ones by two. The

* The *gozō* mentioned above.

† The *rokugai*, viz., the head, body, right side, left side, hands and feet.

symptoms will be found to improve in the most astonishing manner. For epidemic coughs at change of season, for ordinary catarrh, for hacking cough, for the cough which defies diagnosis, for the constitutional cough, and, in fact, for all other kinds of coughs, this extraordinary combination will be found to have an astounding action. No matter how far gone the patient may be, it will be found to refresh his inwards, expand his chest, improve his appetite, and fatten him up in an amazingly short space of time. Of the many tens of thousands of persons who have tried its virtues, not one has found it to fail. Its excellence can be tested by a trial, even the most hopeless cases are benefited by its use, and if several packets are taken, a cure is guaranteed. Prepared and compounded only by Kahei of the Isei house."

Rhinoceros Pills!

"A certain cure for tightness of the chest, pain, gnashing of the teeth, depression of the spirits, and in fact every other disease under the sun. An unfailing cure guaranteed if regularly used. These pills are best taken by being dissolved in *saké*."

Pick-me-up Pills!

With a picture of a decrepit old man tottering in at one door of the establishment and leaving by another rejuvenescent. "Try the gold-coated life-helping pills!" etc.

Wonderful System!

"This is the establishment for the cure of all kinds of diseases. The family to which I belong has been distinguished for seven generations for its successful treatment of every known disease. Of the many hundreds of patients who have been under our treatment, not one has failed to be cured. Toothache cured on the spot."

Black Ball Pills!

"Useful for curing twenty-one different descriptions of diseases."

The Furidashi!

"A popular remedy for coughs and colds. It expels the devil and promotes the circulation. Some designing persons having in various places exhibited signs professing to deal in this medicine, I would humbly beg to observe that what is prepared and sold in those places is inert, as will be quickly discovered by any one foolish enough to try it."

The Musk Pills!

"An infallible remedy for everything, from a red face to a bed-sore. A pick-me-up after a drinking-bout (in which case they are to be taken in salt-water). Every traveller should be provided with a store of these magic pills as a specific against sea-sickness, *kago* sickness, and bites of venomous reptiles."

These, and many other infallible nostrums too numerous to mention, may all be procured for a trifling charge from the doctor of "Our Suburb."

Folk-medicines are numerous in Japan, as the following bits of folk-lore will illustrate:—

If you have a mole under your eyes, drop three red beans into a well, and it will disappear.

If you see a person with trachomae, spit three times when that person is not looking at you, or you will catch the disease.

The spread of measles may be stopped by writing the name of Chinzei Hachirō (a noted warrior to whom tradition has ascribed supernatural powers in warding off disease) and pasting it on the doors of houses that have been affected.

A sure antidote for small-pox is to keep by one a photo of the pock-marked face of Hon. Kakugorō Inouye, M. P. The idea in this case seems to be that, as Mr. Inouye is such a noted orator, the very sight of his face would overawe the Small Pox God (Hōsō-no-Kami).*

In the case of *kakke*, or *beri-beri*, there is a stone, called

* Concerning this deity, see Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," page 147, on which page are references to other disease deities.

the *Kaname-ishi*, or Pivot-stone which is remarkably efficacious. It is shaped like the pin that fastens a fan together; hence its name. Moreover, the location of such a stone is indicated by a pile of salt, which also possesses remarkable powers. This salt is rubbed into the soles of the feet by such as wear clogs, and is dropped into their shoes by the soldiers from the barracks, who are largely afflicted by the complaint it is said to cure, and who even fill their pocket-books with it for future use.*

It is the custom, when a cold is feared, to paste a piece of paper over the entrance to the house, the paper bearing ideographs that Katō Kiyomasa or some other old Japanese hero is at present lodging there. This so frightens the demon, or the Wind-God, that he flees at once. There is a certain kind of cold known as O-some-kaze, from a famous O Some San, who had a lover named Hisamatsu. Whenever the cold made its appearance, the notice, "Hisamatsu not at this house," was pasted on the doorway.

In Oki is a famous cedar-tree remarkable for its girth of forty-five feet and its age of more than 800 years. It is alleged that whoever eats with chopsticks made of the wood of that tree will never have the toothache, and will live to become exceedingly old. There is also a superstition about the *yanagi*, or willow tree, that sufferers from toothache sometimes stick needles into the tree in the belief that the pain caused to the tree-spirit will force it to exercise its power to cure. In Oki is also Agonashi Jizō, to whom people who have tooth-ache pray, because he is jaw-less (*ago-nashi*). It is explained that Jizō in one of his former lives had such a tooth-ache that he tore off his lower jaw and threw it away. Therefore, the people of Oki made a statue of him without a jaw. His real name, however, is Agonaoshi (Jaw-healer). When people are cured, they go to any running stream and

* "A Suburb of Yezo" (Purcell).

drop into the water twelve pears (*nashi*), one for each month.*

In Old Japan there was a famous *dōsha* powder, manufactured and sold only by the priests of the Shingon sect and said to have such wonderful virtues as not only to cure various diseases, but also "to relax the rigid limbs of a corpse." Dr. Griffis†, however, found out by experiment and analysis that it was a "pious fraud." He swallowed a tea-spoonful without experiencing any effects. He subjected the *dōsha* powder to careful microscopic examination, to find only quartz sand, with flakes of other minerals. He also fused a quantity of the certified "drug" with some carbonate of soda, dissolved the resultant mess in distilled water, and upon adding a few drops of hydrochloric acid, found nothing but a precipitate of gelatinous silica. He also used up a packet of the holy sand upon the corpse of an old dog, but, of course, in vain.

An abundance of further illustrations of this kind may be found in Brinkley's "Japan,"‡ as follows :—

The word "puppy" written on the forehead averts nightmares; blood taken from a cock's comb cures an indigestion resulting from a surfeit of rice dumplings; and an eruption on the head is driven away by twice reciting the sentence, "In the long days of spring weeds may be removed, but those in the garden must be cut down at once." A baby's crying is stopped by tying on its back a red cotton bag containing dog's hair; by putting under its bed straw taken from a pig-sty; by rubbing the powder of an herb on the soles of the feet or the palms of the hands, or by writing certain ideographs on paper and placing it under the pillow. The bone of a mole's head thrust into a child's pillow charms it to sleep, and loss of sight from smallpox is prevented by throwing seven peas into a well, saying seven prayers over them, and then drawing all the water from the well.

* Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," pp. 594, 598, 599, 604, 605.

† "The Mikado's Empire," p. 200.

‡ Vol. V. pp. 237-240, 242.

There are numerous devices for facilitating childbirth,—the woman swallows a piece of paper on which the name of the province of Ise is written; or a petal of lotus having the ideograph for "man" inscribed on it; or a peach-stone divided into two parts, one with the ideograph "able" written on it, the other with the ideograph "emerge." If the halves of a soja bean are swallowed, the character *i* having been traced on one and the character *se* on the other, then, should a male child be born, it will hold the bean in his left hand, whereas a female child will have it in her right. These are but a few of the many superstitions connected with childbirth and childhood, but in general the details do not lend themselves to narration.

Quaint methods of dealing with ordinary maladies are also practised. Bleeding at the nose is supposed to be checked by placing on the head a piece of paper folded into eight and dipped in freshly drawn well-water. A hiccough is driven away by applying under the knee a sheet of *hanshi*, folded to the left in the case of a man and to the right in the case of a woman. It is essential, however, that this aid should be rendered without the knowledge of the sufferer. Paralysis may be cured by putting on the tip of the nose dust gathered from a floor-mat and saying, "Take a trip to the capital"; a pain in the head, by placing on the pate a saucer containing a burning moxa; and toothache, by fumigating the tooth with the smoke of calcined [*Nanten Nandina domestica*]. If a fish bone sticks in the throat, the phrase "A descendant of Sayemon Kenjuro of Izumo" is written on the inside of a *sake* cup, and water from the cup is drunk by the sufferer. In case of dysentery the sick person, facing westward, swallows seven peas with some well-water drawn at dawn on the 1st of July, and intermittent fever is driven away by swallowing a paper on which is written the phrase, "The leaf falls and the ship sails." Such fantastic nostrums are innumerable. Sometimes a malady is treated by tying together a snake-gourd and a section of bamboo, the latter bearing this inscription: "My disease is

hereby transferred to you. My name and age are—," and throwing the whole into a river; sometimes the shell of a crawfish is roasted and the odour inhaled; sometimes the skin is smeared with ink on which certain ideographs are traced; sometimes the whole body is rubbed with garlic. One of the most curious is the charm for removing a wen. The swelling is rubbed with a soja bean on the 7th of July; the bean is then planted in the hollow of the second tile on the southern face of the roof; and when the bean begins to sprout, boiling water is poured over it so that it withers away, the wen disappearing simultaneously.

In time of an epidemic, straw puppets are thrown into a river with ringing of bells and beating of drums, or an amulet showing the emaciated face of the saint Ganzan Daishi is fastened above the entrance. A very common practice is to protect children from whooping-cough by tracing impressions of their hands on paper which is posted over the lintel, and in the same position may often be seen rude sketches of the Guardian Deities (the Deva Kings), or of a wolf, satellite of the "God of the Three Peaks" (*Mitsu-mine*), these being a charm against infectious diseases in general. Similar security is obtained by carrying copper in the pocket, or by holding in the hand a red cotton bag containing the bone of a horse, or by throwing into a well on the 1st of January twenty red beans or seven pieces of *Sesamum Orientalis*, and then drinking some of the water. The shell of a crab nailed over the entrances serves the purpose assigned to a horse-shoe in the Occident, and when fever is abroad folks write over their doors "Hisamatsu not at home," because the common appellation for contagious fever is *osome-kaze*, and Osome and Hisamatsu were lovers whose names have been handed down in story.

The nose of a tiger suspended from the middle of a "ventilating panel" (ramma) ensures the birth of a male child, and barrenness may be cured by swallowing thrice on a certain day of the sexagenary calendar powdered blossoms of the *gingko*

and the peach dried in the shade on another fixed day of the same calendar.

The following story is not inappropriate in this connection:—

A Soldier and Superstition.

In the suburbs of Tokyo, near the town of Oji in Kitatoshima County, there is a small shrine of the fox god, called Yotsuki Inari, famous in the world because of its renewal of spiritual power. Last year [1906] about the middle of February, on account of the erection of a building for the manufacture of rifles and cannons at the Oji arsenal, this Inari, being in the way, was removed to the shrine of the Oji Inari. But in consequence divine punishment was administered to the beloved son of Lieutenant Sankichi Sawano, the head of this factory, and he suddenly took sick and died. Then the wife of the lieutenant also became sick, and, although medicine was given, there was no effect. Not only did her sickness gradually become more severe, but one night the spirit of Inari stood near the pillow of the sick woman in a dream and said: "You have not only harshly removed the shrine in which I was accustomed to live for many years to another place, but you have established the manufacture of implements for depriving living beings of life and defiled a holy place with vulgar men. Since the sin in thus setting at naught the divine glory was not a light one, in order to reveal to you that there is a god who reproves the thoughtless, in the first place, I killed your child and am now about to kill you and your husband. But even now you will understand that you ought to fear divine punishment; so if you will take on a heart of service to god and worship me, I will care for you immediately. Never doubt in the least."

The woman was frightened when she opened her eyes, and, although it was only a dream, the palpitations of her heart

did not cease. At last, because of the feeling that she had actually seen this god, she told her apprehensions to her husband, the lieutenant. As is the manner of a soldier, he laughed, but nevertheless the woman was nervous. Her sickness became more severe day by day. In addition to this, the hands of the laborers who had taken part in the removal of Inari suddenly cracked and became sore. They, too, were greatly troubled because it seemed the divine punishment of Inari. Moreover the speech in which the wife of the lieutenant had received the divine oracle gradually leaked out among the laborers of the arsenal and the trouble was greatly increased. Then the lieutenant was no longer able to put it aside. On the seventh of last month a small shrine was placed under a maple tree on the left side of the north gate of the arsenal and the Inari was removed to its original place. On the ninth of last month with great ceremony a commemoration festival was held, a day of rest granted to all the laborers at the arsenal. Superstition concerning Inari is something with which even a soldier cannot interfere recklessly.

Japan Harbinger.

Translated from the *Yorozu Choho.*

Japanese remedies figure in proverbs, as may be seen by a few illustrations, as follows:

"There is no medicine for a fool."

"Medicine costs nine-fold."

"After ginseng, death by hanging." Because ginseng is so expensive, the man who uses such a costly medicine, will be driven to suicide to escape bankruptcy.

"Good medicine is bitter to the mouth."

"Dragon's blood is a sure cure for syphilis."

And the fact that a doctor does not always practise what he preaches, or take what he prescribes, and may not keep

himself well, is illustrated, in a concise manner, by the proverb *Isha no fuyōjō* ("The doctor's carelessness").

But we must now bring these notes to a close before we succumb to the temptation to enter upon such enticing topics as exorcism, fox-possession, badger-possession, etc.

THE

TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

A PAPER

ON

Buddhism's Second Great Virtue:

Not Stealing.

BY

JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

1907.

A FORE WORD.

I think that the proper title for this series of discourses would be this: Japanese Popular Buddhism—Its Ethics. The discourses were evidently delivered to a mixed audience of priests and laymen. They are certainly of a scholarly character, and therefore appropriate for an audience of some mental training. The quotations from Sacred and Classical books, shew that the Preacher gave his audience credit for considerable intellectual ability and attainment.

This discourse is apologetic, controversial and hortatory. We see by it the condition of Buddhism in Japan at that time—the latter half of the eighteenth century—and the somewhat strained and antagonistic relations that existed between Buddhist and Confucian scholars.

The discourse is long, but has much of interest even for men of to-day.

J. L. A.

THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE SECOND VIRTUE: NOT STEALING.

By JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

This sermon was preached on the 18th day of the 12th Month of the 2nd year of An-ei. This, according to Bramsen's Tables, corresponds to January 30th, 1774.

The preacher—Katsuragi Ji-un—said: "To-day I am going to preach on the precept "Not Stealing." It is written in the book Kegon-Kyo that the Bodhisatva of Shō-puchu-to is always content with his own and never takes or injures the things of others. The idea of stealing never enters his mind. He does not take even a blade of grass unless it is given to him. This is the true mind of a Bodhisatva. It is the characteristic of their nature, that is, it is the nature of the Bodhisatva not to steal, and this nature never changes

The Bodhisatva Nature.

The nature of fire is heat, and the nature of water is wetness. The heat of fire and the wetness of water never change, because such is their nature. Thus it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva. It is written in the book Ritsumon that there was a priest—"Biku"—who lived as a hermit in a secluded spot. A demon deity—"Ki-shin"—frequently appeared to him and told him that great treasure was concealed near his hut. The priest told this to the all-wise Buddha, who replied, "Change the place of your hut." It is also told of another that on one

occasion when he went to a temple to worship, in his absentmindedness he left his jewelled necklace under a tree where he had rested. Others passed by the tree and saw the necklace but did not touch it. This is the ordinary righteous character of disciples of Buddha. In the Bodhisatva this righteous nature is perfected. Thus as the precept prohibiting theft is the very nature of the Bodhisatva, so also are all the precepts. In this respect as the nature of fire and of water never change, so the nature of the Bodhisatva never changes. Their nature is as staunch and as stable as a rock of gold.

It is written of the Buddha, that in the incarnation when he was a powerful and poisonous serpent, as he was once chased by a mountaineer, he stopped short in his flight and gave his skin to the hunter. A holy sage will never commit the sin of killing any living thing, even though he may have been born in a butcher's shop.

The precept that follows the one of "Not-stealing" is the one that prohibits adultery. This means that it is the nature of the Bodhisatva not to commit adultery. As wetness is the nature of water and heat the nature of fire and hardness the nature of minerals, so the precept "Not committing adultery" is the nature of the Bodhisatva. This nature of purity never changes even when it comes in contact with beautiful women. The sacred books give many examples that illustrate this fact.

The next precept is "Not lying." As wetness is the nature of water, heat the nature of fire and hardness the nature of minerals, and as that nature never changes, so it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva. No matter what the circumstances may be, they never change or tell a lie. This principle applies to the Bodhisatva in their attitude toward each and all of the Ten Virtues. They are born with this unchanging nature: hence they perfectly conform to the Ten Precepts and Virtues.

(The Preacher repeats his statement of its being the nature of water to be wet, of fire to be hot, of metals to be hard, and of the nature of the Bodhisatva to be equally unchanging, until

he has rehearsed each and all of the Ten Precepts and Virtues. He then says:)

Order Yet Impermanence.

If we carefully observe the revolutions of the sun, moon and stars, we learn that from ancient times until now there has been no confusion or change in the law and order of nature. The failing of rivers and the crumbling of mountains shew that there is a destiny of things in their building up and in their breaking down. The thunder and the earthquake also shew that constant change is going on in nature. By considering the facts that the moon waxes and wanes, and that all things fade and fail after flourishing for a time we learn what the conditions of life in this world are. The fact that birds have feathers shews that we must have clothing for our bodies. As we notice that worms eat earth and that butterflies suck honey from flowers, we learn that we must have food for our mouths to eat. Wasps build themselves nests, and this teaches us that we must have houses to live in. Spiders when stung by bees run hither and thither over the green leaves of the *Yam* in the field. By observing this we learn that we must have medicine for our illnesses. When one knows that law and order in nature are never deranged he will unvaryingly cling to the Path of Man. Such a one will never envy the rich, even though he himself may be poor; neither will he be envious of those in high position, though he himself may be in a low one. When one understands the principle of waxing and waning he will never be disturbed by the conditions of profit or loss. He will not become luxurious when he is rich; nor will he be regretful if he should become poor.

When one understands the laws of constancy and of change he will fear nothing. When in conditions of distress even he will be at ease. He will always live carefully and prudently. When one knows the true harmony there is in nature he will always keep to his station in life. If one understands that food, dress, house and medicine are all

provided for him, he will cease being anxious about anything, and will steadily do his duty in life. All things that can be seen with the eyes and heard by the ears are such as to illustrate the precept "Not stealing." From birth until death the true nature of this precept is revealed by all things that we see and hear. Even from the beginning of the universe, and down to its destruction all things reveal the true nature of the precept "Not stealing." For instance, when one is born relatives come with gladness and prepare garments with which they dress the new born babe. They also gladly render other services and perform various ceremonies. All this is because of the virtue of "Not-stealing" in a previous incarnation. The same is true when a prince or noble is born. The four seas rejoice over such a birth. When such die after living out their fixed period of time the eight musical sounds cease, and they are buried with prayers and ceremonial offerings. This is equally true of the virtuous of lowly position and rank. When a friend dies all others mourn. All this is the fruit-like result of virtuous conduct in not stealing in a previous incarnation. It is in such things that the root and fruit of right conduct in not stealing are clearly seen.

It is true that there have been those who, though not stealing in a previous life, have been poor and even beggars, and some of whom have even died of starvation. The Chinese sages Haku-i and Shikusei were of this number. Their death by starvation was not owing to the vice of stealing in a previous incarnation. These men were brothers. In their day there was a revolution in their country, and an evil administration displaced a virtuous one. These men were so grieved that they refused to eat, and so died of starvation. Such cases, however, are exceptions to the rule.

The Law Everywhere Apparent.

In this world there are the true Laws which endow it with great good. Those who have open eyes can see these Laws as clearly as they see the sun and moon. So long as there are such

human beings in the world the Ten Virtues will always be manifest, no matter whether the Buddha was born into the world or was not born into it. Those with ears can hear these Laws as distinctly as they can hear the rolling thunder; and that, no matter whether the Buddha was born into the world or was not born into it. There are, however, those whose ignorance and whose struggles to possess the transient things of this world are so great that they can neither hear nor see the true Laws. There are also those who are so proud of their wisdom that they fall into the trap of unreason—"*Hi-ri.*" There are also those who say that the Laws of the Ten Virtues are for priests only to observe, and they affirm that their observance by ordinary persons would make them weak and cowardly. This is certainly a grave mistake. Cowards and weaklings are those who do not know what "Man's Path" means and involves. If one will devoutly keep the Precepts of the Ten Virtues, he will become both strong and brave, no matter whether he be priest or layman. A Confucian book says—"If I have nothing to be afraid of in myself, I can go out to fight giants and myriads of men." This is what I mean: True courage comes only from true goodness. Another Confucian books says, "Good men—"*Jin-ji*"—are always brave, though all brave men are not good." True courage invariably springs from true goodness. Courage that springs from any other source is as exceptional as the wading of an angry tiger through a river.

When Buddha was in the world the King of Bimbasara of Maghada was his contemporary and was widely known as a most benevolent ruler. While he was yet a Crown Prince his country was weak, and the neighboring country, Angya, was strong. Once every year an Imperial Messenger came from Angya to Maghada to collect tribute. On one occasion this messenger met Prince Bimbasara on the high road, but, coming from a superior to a subject country, he did not alight from his vehicle to make obeisance to the Prince. The Prince was

indignant at the rudeness, and asked his chief officer who the man might be who was guilty of such unseemly conduct. The officer replied that the man was the Imperial Messenger of Angya who was on his way to collect the annual tribute from the Prince's country. On this the Prince rebuked the Imperial Messenger and told him to return to his Master, and not attempt to do so rude a thing as to collect tribute from a country that was as strong and as independent as his own. The Messenger without a word of reply turned about and returned to his own country and reported to the King the words of the Crown Prince. The King of Angya was indignant on hearing the report and at once despatched another Messenger to Maghada, to say that since tribute had been annually paid to Angya from the time of the previous King it must still be paid, and that the Crown Prince must be sent to him as a hostage, and assurance given that the tribute would continue to be annually paid as before. The threat was also made that if these demands were not acceded to an army would be sent to enforce them.

The King of Bimbasara and his ministers on hearing the demands of the King of Angya were much alarmed and found it difficult to frame a reply. The Crown Prince on hearing of the demands and the dilemma of the Court ordered the Ministers of State to reply to the King of Angya that the Crown Prince himself would go with an army to Angya, and that the King might come out to do battle with him if he would. A battle ensued and the Prince defeated the King, took his country from him, and then governed both countries with great benevolence. This incident illustrates what I have already said, that the courage that has its springs in benevolence is very strong.

It is written in the book Sōden that a certain general, who went out to put down a rebellion, took with his army, not only the usual materials of war, but various other articles—"Roku-sui-nō" (filtering bags?)—that would be useful to soldiers, to non-rebels and also to vanquished rebels. This was adversely criticised

by an officer of State as being productive of effeminacy in the army which should be inured to hardness and bravery, as its business was to destroy life and not save it, and that the effects of kindness and gifts of useful articles to the vanquished would be to encourage them in their rebelliousness. The general replied that he thought otherwise, and that his going out to battle was to destroy only those who were actively rebellious. When this work had been done, he said, then those who had surrendered, or who had not been active in rebellion, should be assisted and saved. The book affirms that the rebels surrendered when they heard of the general's benevolent intentions—"*Jin-ai.*"

At the time that Buddha was in the world there was a vicious and poisonous dragon in the country of Keihin, and it was doing great harm to the people. The Arhats—"*Ra-kan*"—of high virtue were called to the rescue, but they were unsuccessful in their efforts to expel the creature. There was, however, a young Arhat who by a single word of command expelled the dragon from the country. When asked by the elder Arhats of the particular virtue that he possessed that enabled him to overcome and expel the dragon, he said, "As you all know, I have no particular virtue that is superior to the virtues of my fellow-arhats, and if there is any difference, it is in the fact that I have held fast to the virtue of obstructing every inclination to sin." This incident illustrates the power of the virtue of circumspection and benevolence.

Again, it is written in a sacred book that on one occasion a dove was pursued by a falcon, and, being hard pressed, the dove took shelter in an open hall where Sariputra and Buddha were seated. When under the shadow of Sariputra it trembled with fear, but when it changed its place to the shadow of Buddha it rested content. The reason for this was the fact that Sariputra had still a trace of the sin of anger in his mind, while the Buddha's great benevolence shone out from his face and form. It was the perception of this that gave content and

safety to the dove in the shadow of Buddha. This incident shews that there is no reason in the teachings of Buddhism for both priests and laity that those who keep Man's Path should be either weak or timid.

Objections to Buddhism.

Some say that since Buddhism teaches only the discipline of the mind by the mind itself it is of no value to the masses, and that for the same reason it is of no value to those who govern the masses. Confucianism, it is said, teaches the regulation of conduct by forms, ceremonies and rules of etiquette. Because of this Confucianism is of the greatest use to both the subjects of a country and to those who govern them.

This objection to Buddhism and appreciation of Confucianism is made by those who do not really know what Buddhism is, and who have seen only its shortcomings which arose after the dynasties of Sō and Gen. Buddhism certainly teaches the Ten Virtues. By this teaching even ordinary men can regulate themselves and their homes, and can thus walk in the right path. Kings and Princes can also govern their subjects by this teaching and make their reigns peaceful and prosperous. They and their people together by myriads can thus walk in the holy path. By these teachings priests can make their own minds and bodies pure, and can teach the laity to do the same. Priests by meditation can make their bodies restful and quiet, and can teach the laity to do the same. By the acquisition of wisdom priests can make their minds and bodies clean and can teach the laity to do the same. If there is but a single holy man—sage—in a country, he is a boon to it, even though no one knows of his existence. Should an occasion arise to call him out of the deep valley and thick woods in the midst of which he lives, all eyes would be turned toward him when he appeared. The discipline of the mind by the mind itself, as taught in the book Angon-kyo, is not such foolish teaching as it is supposed to be by those already mentioned, who are opposed to it, and who favor Confucianism.

There are also some who say that nothing is taught by Buddhism about the way of administering the affairs of a country and the methods of domestic economy. This also is a mistake that results from the ignorance of the objector. These persons have read only the books written by the preaching class of Buddhist priests; yet they think that these books contain all the teachings of Buddha. The Mahayana—"*Dai-jo-kyo*"—and the Hinayana—"*Sho-jo-kyo*"—have teachings for Kings, Princes and Ministers of State, and give methods for the administration of the public affairs of a country, and for the conduct of the homes of the people. These sacred books also teach merchants how to acquire wealth, and they teach wives how to serve their husbands.

Chief Object of Buddhism.

The chief object of Buddhism is, without doubt, to teach the method of securing emancipation from the bondage to birth and death. Because of this the teachings suitable to the secular world are given only partially and in abbreviated forms, while the teachings for the Holy Path are given in full. Thus, while the teachings for one side are fully given, and those for the other less fully, yet the Path in which man should walk in both the secular and the sacred life is set forth in the teachings of Buddha.

Other Objections.

Others who oppose Buddhism say that the doctrine of vacuousness, nothingness, annihilation—"*Jaku-metsu*"—is very profound and in that respect is superior to "The Great Learning" of Confucius, but that it is of no practical use.

This also is a mistake of ignorance made by those who think Buddhism to be only such as is taught by the priests of the Zen sect, who do not know the real principles of Buddhism; or such as is taught by other priests, who have only a smattering of knowledge, and so speak chiefly of names and ceremonies. If one will but think deeply of Buddhism, it will be found that its teachings are useful for the world at large,

and cannot be wisely ignored by man even for a moment of his existence.

Buddhism was introduced into China about 2700 years after the death of Buddha in India. From China it came to Japan; yet from the first these teachings of the Ten Virtues have not changed in the least. These teachings bring happiness to the homes, and peace to the rulers and superior men of a country, to the extent that they are practiced. The truth of Buddhism should be firmly believed.

Again, it is objected that the teaching about abstinence from a flesh diet, and about living an unmarried and sexually pure life is necessary for the purification of priests, and of those who would be holy men, but that the observance of these things is not necessary for ordinary men.

This is a mistake that is made by those who have observed the evil practices of the priests of the Shingon and Tendai sects in their prayer-incantations when attempting to exorcise evil spirits. Buddhists who practice the true and secret teachings do not pray for happiness in this world, or for this world. Merely teaching people to abstain from a flesh diet and from sexual intercourse is a trivial matter.

The Judge of Hades and Amida.

Other objectors say that Buddhism is self-contradictory, since it teaches that the Judge of Hades—"*Yemma-ō*"—never forgives but punishes even the smallest sin; while, on the other hand, it teaches that the compassion of Amida—Buddha—is so easy-going that he saves all, irrespective of their sins, from falling into the hells and receiving their due punishment. It is evident, these say, that with such teaching as this the time will never come when men will cease from sinning.

This jeering objection is made by those who have chiefly observed the errors of the priests of the Jodo sect. If, however, the Sankyo, Ichiron and other books are read, it will be found that no such erroneous teachings are given. Indeed the priests of the Jodo sect, who fully understand the teachings of

their sect, do not make such self-contradictory statements. They never teach that the performence of good deeds can be suspended even for a moment.

Again, there are objectors who say that Buddhism makes men mean and contemptible in character, dissolute in conduct, and causes them to confuse the morals of etiquette.

This objection is made by those who know only the erroneous teachings that are given out by the present day priests of the Zen sect. Priests of the Zen sect of adequate learning are neither base nor contemptible in character, nor dissolute in life, nor do they confuse the morals of etiquette. They are on the contrary circumspect in all things.

Others say that Buddhist believers gradually become more and more foolish. They shed tears when they accidentally kill even a small insect; and as they care only for happiness in a future state, they foolishly waste their property, and give their most precious things to the priests. They are also so ignorant that when they step on a cat or a dog they at once reverently worship it. They either do not know, or they disregard, the great principles of Buddhism, and are intent only on the observance of the small rites.

This objection is made by those who take note of the erroneous teachings of the present day priests of the Risshu sect. Worthy and true Risshu priests both teach and observe the great principles of Buddhism, and at the same time are careful to observe the smallest rites and ceremonies.

Others say that Buddhism teaches only pity—"*Ji-hi*," while Confucianism teaches benevolence—"*Jin*."

These teachings are similar, but Buddhism makes the equality of all animate objects a fundamental matter. Thus Buddhism teaches that pity should be given equally both to one's parents and to all other animate things. One may ask, "Is it not unfilial to treat parents, and insects and animals alike"? The question is a carping and unreasonable one, since Buddhism teaches distinctions of grade and position.

The equality it teaches is not such foolishness as that of breaking down high mountains, filling in deep valleys and making all into a dead level. Buddhism does not teach us to obey parents, to serve superiors, to govern the people and to be kind to animate things in the same indiscriminate way. These are all taught separately and with distinctions. For instance, there is the case of a priest—"*Biku*"—who lived at a time of famine when Buddha was on earth. The priest seeing that Buddha had nothing to eat sold his stole—"*Kesa*"—and bought food which he offered to him. Buddha chided the priest for the act, and told him that it was a sin for a priest to sell his stole for any other reason than to aid his parents in a case of great need. Then, too, there are the sacred books, Kōshi-kyo and Fubo-on-nanbo-kyo, which teach the duty of serving one's parents, which Buddhism regards as of great importance. So far as Buddhist teachings go, there is no reason why believers should be unfilial or disobedient to their parents. It is only those scholars who do not know what is really taught in the sacred books who teach otherwise. Those objectors who have but little understanding and wisdom imagine that the little they know of Buddhism is the whole of its teachings. Confucian scholars look with contempt on both the Nature Cult and on Buddhism, while those of the Nature Cult attack both Confucianism and Buddhism. In this both sides are equally foolish. Any one custom or art that has had the usage of thousands of ages—"*Ban-dai*"—must have some merits.

How much more true must this be of religious and moral teachings. One must enter into and study sympathetically any religious teaching that he would understand. It is only inferior and reckless people who speak evil of a teaching of which they know nothing. It is a matter for regret that at the present time there are so few really great men either in the world at large or among Buddhists. Because of this the true teachings fall into a decline and lose their power. Of late many new sub-sects have sprung into being; and these in their mutual

antagonism, and thinking only of their own gain, quarrel with one another and sweep away the true laws of Buddhism. There are Buddhists and Buddhists—" *Yū butsu to Mū butsu* "—and the teaching of the Ten Virtues is now in the hands of non-precept—" *Mu-kai-ha* "—precept-breaking sects. These sects, urged on by a natural feeling, seek for a name and for gain for themselves alone ; and as their priests run wildly about to acquire these they come to hate the Ten Virtues as a thief hates a light in a dark night. It is a grave error on the part of these priests that they do not themselves practice the Ten Virtues. It is quite natural, in view of the fact that they do not practice them, that men of learning and of clear understanding should not believe in Buddhism.

General Principles.

Just as heaven and earth exist, so also are there various countries in existence. Sun, moon and stars move according to the laws of heaven, while mountains, seas and rivers are governed by the laws of earth. As there are various countries, so there exist men to inhabit them. The lords and superior men of these countries are the laws according to which the people are governed. Parents and elders are the laws according to which homes and families are governed. Where there is neither heaven nor earth, there there is no country and no people. Wherever men exist there also is the teaching of the moral and religious " Path of Man." There is no land where people dwell that is destitute of the Path of Man, which includes the great Path, the small Path and the wrong Path.

Suitability in Teachings.

There are, however, superior countries and inferior ones. There are also in them wise men and ignorant men. Because of this the teaching of one country is not necessarily suitable for another. The teaching that is suitable for the guidance of one may not be suitable for the guidance of another. The teaching suitable for the wise may not be suitable for the ignorant, while that which is suitable for the ignorant may not be suitable for the wise.

The teaching for men is not suitable for women, while the teaching for women is not suitable for men. The teachings and etiquette suitable for the superior men are different from those suitable for the inferior ones. Barbarians regard with contempt the etiquette and ceremonies of the civilized, while the civilized regard with contempt the etiquette and ceremonies of the barbarians. This may be considered as natural, and as a matter of course, for it is true of only the teachings of the Ten Virtues that they never change. Throughout all the ages, both ancient and modern, and throughout all lands they constitute the suitable and true Path for both the wise and the ignorant, the superior man and the inferior man, and for both men and women.

Comparison of the Sacred and Secular Paths.

I will now proceed to compare the Great Path with the secular, or Confucian, and wise men, parting with their prejudices, should listen with impartiality to what I say.

Komei-kyo and others taught that the precept "Not to kill any living thing" corresponds to Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—of the Confucian; that the precept "Not stealing" corresponds to Righteousness—"*Gi*"—; that the precept "Not committing adultery" corresponds to etiquette—"*Rei*"—; that the precept "Not telling lies" corresponds to fidelity—"*Shin*"—, and that the precept "Not drinking intoxicants" corresponds to wisdom—"*Chi.*" As there does not appear among the Ten Virtues the precept "Not drinking Introxicants," the wisdom—"*Chi*"—of Confucianism may be said to correspond to the precept "Not being heretical or skeptical."

According to my opinion the precept "Not killing any living thing" does not correspond to the Confucian term, Philanthropy. This term—"*Jin*"—is a Chinese teaching that has been handed down from very remote ages, and its original meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. Some think it is the principle of love and virtue in the heart, while some think it is love and love only—"*Tada ai nari.*" Others think

it is the name, or repute, or virtue, by which rulers govern their subjects. Kanyei, an eminent Chinese scholar, has said that "Path" and "Virtue"—"*Dō and Toku*"—are but empty names, while Philanthropy and Righteousness—"*Jin and Gi*"—are fixed names. The scholar Sō-shu has said that the famous robber Tō-seki used the words Philanthropy and Righteousness when speaking of his own deeds. Kampishi, and other scholars have also said that Philanthropy and Righteousness are nothing but empty names. In view of these opinions it is evident that the terms and their supposed meanings are only suitable for discussion among scholars, and are not truths, or a Path, that can be taught to all people, no matter whether they are noble or base, wise or ignorant, men or women, and which can be readily understood and easily practiced by them. The precept "Not killing" is of this character, and it is most important to teach it to every one, as it is a great sin to kill, injure, or cruelly abuse any living thing.

This precept can be taught equally well to all classes of people—to kings, to their ministers, to noble men, to base men, to retainers, farmers, artizans, merchants and servants; and it can be readily understood and easily practiced by them all, because all know that every living thing is related to human beings. Should a person keep this precept for but one day, he has during that day performed the deeds of a holy sage. Should one keep this precept an entire year, he will have performed during that year the deeds of a holy sage. Should one keep this precept during an entire life, he will have performed during that life the deeds of a holy sage. If all through a life, both here and hereafter, one should keep this precept, he will have performed during this combined period the deeds of a holy sage. If one should keep this precept in this way from his birth onwards, he is in truth a Bodhisatva. If also one family will keep this precept, that family does the deeds of a holy sage. If a single village will keep it, that village does the deeds of a holy sage. If one entire country keeps this

precept, it does the deeds of a holy sage. If all countries should keep it, they likewise will have done the deeds of a holy sage. When this comes about, then, and then only, can all lands be spoken of as the Buddha's Paradise.

The precept "Not stealing" is said by some to correspond to righteousness—"*Gi*"—, but the comparison is not a suitable one. The teaching concerning "*Gi*" has also been handed down in China from ancient times, and its meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. It can only be said that "*Gi*" is "*Gi.*" In one book it is interpreted as *appropriateness.* In the book Rai-ki it is written that "the father being benevolent, the children filial, the elder brother considerate, the younger brother amenable to his elder brother, the husband just, the wife faithful, the rulers humane and the retainers loyal—these all constitute righteousness—"*Gi.*" The scholar Kokushi* said that Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—is that which is within, and Righteousness—"*Gi*"—that which is without. On the other hand Mencius argued that Righteousness is that which is within. All this shews that the interpretation differs with different scholars. Even rulers and nobles, from ancient times until now, have been unable to understand and practice its meaning, unless possessed of much learning. It is very amusing to hear the various interpretations. It is plain, however, that "*Gi*" is not a teaching that is suitable for the instruction and guidance of all men in all ages and all countries, irrespective of their position in life and of their wisdom or ignorance. It is written in the book Shi-ki that the cause of discord in the country at that time was that the relations between the upper and lower classes were confused. When Kwo-ki, an ancient Chinese ruler, first established the laws of etiquette and worship he himself carefully observed them. Because of this his reign was peaceful and prosperous. In later ages rulers became luxurious and

* Kokushu was a contemporary of Mencius, and the two disagreed in their views of the state of Man's Original Nature. Mencius claimed original righteousness for it, while Kokushu argued for its original depravity.

dissolute, and cared but little about the observance of the laws by themselves. The result was disaffection in the country and mutual recrimination between the ruler and the people—the people claiming that their rulers were destitute of both Philanthropy and Righteousness. The inevitable result of this conflict and confusion was the breaking down of the laws of etiquette and of worship, and, at length, the breaking up of the country that had been established by their ancestors.

Now Philanthropy and Righteousness are excellent and useful teachings when they are understood and properly applied, but they become a source of discord in a country when not understood or when misapplied.

Universal Suitableness of the Precepts.

The precept "Not stealing" can be taught to all, nobles and commoners alike. Even holy sages of the highest virtues cannot immaculately keep this precept to the full extent of its meaning. The precept that forbids the stealing of any thing that belongs to another forbids also the careless use of articles borrowed from others. It also requires an early return of articles borrowed from others. It is thus a teaching that can be taught to, and practiced by, even foolish women and servants. Instructed and guided by this precept even foolish and ignorant people can be led on and up to the high rank of the holy sage. This Path is one that can be taught to, and practiced by, all kinds of men in all ages, and that too whether they are kings, princes, nobles or ordinary people. It can also be taught to, and practiced by, both civilized men and barbarians; and since this precept, "Not stealing," can thus be taught to, and practiced by, all people everywhere, it is called "The Way" *par excellence.*

The wise man by not keeping this precept will lose his wisdom, while adversity will befall the ignorant man who breaks it. The rulers and nobles of a country must keep it, or their country will not enjoy peace. The inferior classes must keep it, or their families will be ungovernable. Even those living in

civilized and prosperous countries must keep it, or they will lose their civilization, their prosperity and their homes. The people also of uncivilized lands must keep it; for if they do not, adversity will fall on them and on their posterity. This is true of all ages and all nations, both ancient and modern. For all lands and for all peoples, ancient and modern, this is the one true "Path."

The Law of Etiquitte.

The precept "Not committing adultery" is said by some to correspond to "*Rei*", the Chinese term for the law of etiquette, decorum, order. This opinion is wrong. In ancient times the laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—were not considered applicable to the lower classes, and the upper classes were not punished for their violation. Thus the laws of etiquette were not regarded as applicable to all classes irrespective of rank or education. Now the precept "Not committing adultery" is for all classes, and must not be broken by any. Rulers, nobles and common people alike must keep it, as no rank or condition in life exempts one from the duty. The laws of etiquette, on the other hand, can be kept only by the learned.

It is said of Confucius that he went to the province of Shū to consult with the scholar Kōshi about the meaning of the ideograph for etiquette—"*Rei*." This shews that its meaning is obscure, and that it is difficult to teach to the unlearned and to barbarians. These laws of etiquette cannot, therefore, be called the true Path for the learned and the unlearned alike.

It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." Even those who have read a myriad volumes cannot escape suffering if they break it, and, in extreme cases, their homes will be ruined. Those also who have read only a single book, or who know but one Chinese ideograph, will suffer similar consequences for breaking it. The precept is for all.

It is written in the Chinese Analects—"*Rongo*"—that in ancient times when a ruler was crowned the Laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—required the use of a crown of hemp, while in modern times the same laws require the use of a crown

of silk, because of the increased prosperity of the country. Thus the laws of etiquette, or their application, differ according to the age. It is written in the book Gakki that five consecutive Emperors failed to inherit each from the other a taste for music, and that three consecutive ones failed to inherit the same laws of etiquette, because of the changed condition of the times. The In dynasty inherited the "*Rei*" of the Ka dynasty but with many changes. The Shu dynasty inherited the "*Rei*" of the In dynasty but greatly changed them. Thus the laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—change according to the age.

It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." Rulers and nobles who do not keep it bring ruin to a country, while the inferior masses by breaking it ruin their families. The precept is unchangeable, and is not to be modified to suit the times, whether ancient or modern.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ with the times. For instance, they are different in a year of plenty to what they are in a year of famine. It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." This remains the same during all the years, irrespective of their being years of plenty or of famine.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ according to the country. China has those which are peculiar to itself; so also has India, and so has Japan. Then, too, the laws of etiquette that are suitable for civilized lands are not suitable for lands that are uncivilized. This statement is universally true. It is different with the precept "Not committing adultery." In China those who break it injure their own bodies and destroy their homes. This is also true of persons who break this precept in my own country. It is also true of those of uncivilized lands who break it. They all injure their own bodies and bring distress on their homes and countries.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ with rank and position. There are those for rulers, those for ministers of state and nobles, those for officials and retainers, as well as those for

fishermen, grooms and others. Each of these must observe the laws that are appropriate to his rank and position. It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." This is for all classes alike; for emperors, nobles, officials and retainers down to fishermen, grooms and others. All who keep the precept will be benefitted thereby all through their lives, while any who break it will similarly suffer.

This precept, bearing as it does on the relations between men and women, can be easily taught, easily understood and easily practiced by every one. This precept exists together with heaven and earth, is co-extensive with them, and applies to all ages, to all lands, civilized and uncivilized, and to all peoples; hence it is not to be disregarded by any. Insurrection in a country often results from the violation of this precept. Order and decorum between the members of families must be based on its faithful observance. All classes of persons, high and low, wise and ignorant, men and foolish women, great and small alike, must make this their Path. Those who keep it circumspectly will receive the providential aid of heaven, of the gods and of earth. The one Path for all lands, and for all times, ancient and modern alike, and which abides the same for all, is indeed and in truth this precept—"Not Committing adultery."

I do not say that all laws of etiquette should be ignored or dispensed with. I do not say that they are useless. I do not say that if one will keep this one precept there is no necessity for observing the laws of etiquette. On the contrary I say that all men should strictly keep this precept in mind, but should also observe the laws of etiquette pertaining to their country and their homes. There will then be no need for the correction of either.

Do not associate, nor become too familiar with, men and women of any other mind. Husbands and foolish wives should keep this precept and not be dissolute or wanton. All men, from rulers and their ministers and nobles down

to the lowest classes, if taught and led by the virtue of Chastity—"*Teisetsu no toku*"—will attain to the rank of holy sages.

Fidelity. The precept "Not lying" has been said from ancient times to correspond in meaning to the ideograph for fidelity or sincerity—"*shin.*" It is true that the two terms—"*Fumōgo*" and "*shin*"—have practically the same meaning. The term for sincerity, however, loses both its name and its value when interpreted by the scholars of Sō. By the precept "Not lying" the use of falsehood is prohibited; so also is the breaking of a promise. If all classes are taught this precept and controlled by it, they will become both sincere and true—rulers, nobles, officials and common people all alike. Should those who govern cease from using deceit, the people would delight in and honor them, as they delight in and honor the sun and moon. Then, on the other hand, if the people will cease from knavish tricks, their rulers will regard them as their own children. Rulers and officials, who keep this precept with truth and sincerity and whose conduct is governed by it, are truly faithful men. Gyo and Shun of China were such rulers, and Shoku, Kei, Kō and Tō were such officials and retainers. All who keep this precept for months and years attain to the rank of holy sages.

Wisdom. The precept "Not being heretical or skeptical" is said to correspond in meaning to the ideograph for wisdom—"*Chi*", but this is not so. Wisdom is merely a term used to distinguish between ignorance and stupidity and learning. As the number of ignorant people

Note.—The Chinese ideograph "*Rei*", which is usually translated Laws of Etiquette, or Laws of Rites and Ceremonies, and includes the politenesses that are to be observed by the various ranks and classes of people in a country in their various relations to one another, seems to mean, or include, also both the laws of good order in general that are to be observed in all court, official, political, religious, moral and social functions and relations by rulers, officials, priests, worshippers, families and subjects, and likewise the forms of politeness in social relations that are usually called Etiquette.

is large and the number of the learned is small, wisdom is not a Path common to all classes. There is also ambiguity in the meaning of the term. As the eminent scholar Zobu-chū uses it its meaning is not understandable. The Emperor Chū of In said that the term is useful in making remonstrances, but this is not a happy interpretation.

It is otherwise with the precept "Not being heretical or skeptical"—*Fu-ja-ken.* If any one by keeping this precept will perform a meritorious act, he will receive an appropriate reward. If one by breaking this precept does an evil deed, he will suffer fitting punishment. If retribution does not befall such a one in the present life, it will surely befall him in the life to come. Do not regard this lightly. In this world there are kings and their ministers, also wise men and sages. Do not regard them lightly. There are also Buddhas and Bodhisatvas in the world. Do not regard them lightly, that is, do not disesteem any of them. There are also gods. Do not regard them lightly.

All classes, from rulers and nobles down to servants, fishermen and the most inferior, can be taught this precept "Not being heretical", and can be led to practise it. If one will keep this precept for a single day, he will have done the meritorious deeds of a holy sage for that one day. If one will keep it for an entire year, he will have done the deeds of a holy sage for that year. If one will keep it through an entire life, he will have done the deeds of a holy sage for that length of time. If one family keeps this precept, it does the deeds of a holy sage. If one village keeps it, it does the same. If a country keeps it, that country does the deeds of a holy sage. If the whole world—"*Tenka*"—keeps it, the whole world does the deeds of a holy sage. If one will keep this precept in mind, and will cultivate his character by means of it, he will receive the providential aid of Buddha and the gods—"*Butsu-Jin no Myo-jo*"—in all that he does, since he will be acting according to the will of heaven. He will also attain to the rank of wise man

and holy sage. If we open our eyes and look on the world with right views, we shall see that there is no country that does not belong to Buddha, no living thing that is not Buddha's child, and no Path that is not Buddhism.

A Summary.

It is written in the Nirvana-Sutra—"*Nehan-Kyo*"—that all the varied opinions and enchantments discussed and employed are Buddhism. Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—is one section of the precept "Not killing." It is by keeping this that rulers, wise men and sages save their people. Righteousness—"*Gi*"—is a division of the precept "Not stealing." It is by keeping this that wise men and sages regulate their conduct. The laws of Etiquette—"*Lei*"—are a branch of the precept "Not committing adultery." The keeping of this is the means by which the upper and the lower classes alike save themselves from harm and perfect the family lineage. Fidelity—"*Shin*"—is a branch of the precept "Not lying," and its dué observance is helpful in regulating the affairs of life. Wisdom—"*Chi*"—is a branch of the precept "Not heretical or skeptical"—"*Fu-ja-Ken.*" It is the Path by which great men and men of purpose attain to the knowledge of reasons and principles, and so become enlightened. Besides these there are many other teachings, but originally they were all one—"*Fu-ni.*" It is thus that in one precept all the precepts are included. In the Path of Man all teachings are harmonized; and since originally all things, root and branch, were not two, but one, men now by exercising their minds can find the true Path anywhere. It is well to teach the doctrines of Philanthropy and Righteousness—"*Jin-Gi*"—, and it is also well to teach the other doctrines of Buddhism.

No Esoteric or Exoteric Teachings.

When one speaks in criticism of the depth or shallowness of the precepts, the depth or shallowness is in his own mind. When one in the same way speaks of their advantage and disadvantage, the profit or loss is in his own mind. Some who know neither ancient nor modern teachings recklessly say that there are

esoteric and exoteric—"*Nai-Ge*"—teachings in Buddhism. This is a mistake as there have been no such different teachings from the beginning. The so called esoteric and exoteric teachings are only in the mind of the objector. It is truly regrettable that Buddhism is thus misunderstood. The preaching priests of the present day say that Buddhism is a teaching that is deep and high; yet notice this, that when Buddha was in the world he gathered together heaven-dragons, outcasts, beggars, and ordinary men and women, and taught them the things that are now contained in the sacred books. His teachings certainly have meanings that are both deep and high, yet any one giving good attention to them can obtain a good understanding of them. There are no reasons to the contrary; for, though both deep and high, the teachings are not difficult to understand. It is the Chinese scholars of the middle ages who, by exercising their wisdom and learning in the interpretation of the teachings, have made them appear difficult to understand. The scholars of a later period developed deeper doctrines, and thus, after a time, the present system of Buddhist teaching came into existence. It was not so in the day of the Buddha and the holy sages. However minutely and skilfully the so called deep and high teachings are set forth, they are useless for the cultivation of character and for the efficient administration of the affairs of a country and of its homes. They are also in antagonism with the doctrine of deliverance from birth and death, and thus they are in opposition to the mind of Buddha.

Unworthy Teachers. There are those who are teaching and guiding the priests and laity of the present day, who say that it is not necessary either to repent of one's evil deeds, or to cease from doing them, and who also say that both the precepts and the requirements for ascetic austerities or contemplations should be abolished. Let those who have a clear understanding think well of this. When Buddha and the holy sages were in the world, heavenly beings, ordinary

men and women, priests and outcasts, all went on from doing one good deed to doing another. According to their respective circumstances they kept the precepts and practiced ascetic meditation. And now also, so long as man has a conscience, there is no reason why he cannot do these things. Shrewd scholars of the middle ages first taught the worldly men of their day the things they wanted to hear. The scholars who came afterwards, following their natural feelings, did the same. In this way both priests and people lost the knowledge given by the holy sages, and lost also all sense of shame for evil deeds. In more recent times the priest Myo-e has said that if the Buddhism taught by the priests of his day was true there is no teaching in the world that is worse. If such Buddhism is still taught by the various sects, it is not the Path of Man for all ages, ancient and modern, and for all men irrespective of their wisdom or ignorance.

Benefits of Precept Keeping.

Buddhism is a blessing to the world. It is a result of the keeping by our ancestors of the precept "Not killing," that we their posterity live in this world in health and strength. It is due to their keeping the precept "Not stealing" that we have houses, clothing and everything needful for our living in comfort. It is further a result of the keeping of the precept "Not committing adultery" by our ancestors, that men and women now live in love and concord, and have descendants and prosperous families. It is a result of the keeping by ancestors of the precept "Not lying," that with posterity a ruler's laws are obeyed throughout the land, and a master's laws are obeyed in the family. It is because of the keeping of the precept "Not exaggerating" by our ancestors, that as posterity we receive good instruction, and good conduct prevails throughout the country. It is a result of the keeping the precept "Not slandering" by ancestors, that members of families, fathers and mothers, old and young, live in harmony and attend to their respective duties. It is

a result of keeping the precept "Not double-tongued" by ancestors, that with posterity the country enjoys peace, and families live together in harmony. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not coveting" by ancestors, that as posterity we have an abundance of treasure from both mountains and seas, and have tribute brought to us from all lands. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not being angry" by ancestors, that we as posterity are not disesteemed, but are feared and regarded with reverence. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" by ancestors, that the country is free from calamity, has the wonderful protection of the gods and is respected by all lands.

According to the *Hinazana*—"*Sho-Jo-Kyo*"—various advantages can be gained by keeping the precepts, such, for instance, as the opening of the path to Paradise and to Nirvana. In keeping the precept "Not killing" a compassionate heart is developed. From keeping the precept "Not stealing" virtue and happiness result. By keeping the precept "Not committing adultery" conduct becomes pure. By keeping the precept "Not lying" the virtue of veracity is cultivated. By keeping the precept "Not exaggerating" a Nirvana calmness of mind is secured. By keeping the precept "Not abusive" one's language becomes gentle and orderly. It is written in a sacred book that those who attain to the rank of Arhat—"*Rakan*"—smile while speaking, that is, they have attained to gentleness and geniality of speech, All priests can be in harmony with one another by keeping the precept "Not double-tongued." It is written in the preface of a book on the precepts that Buddha delights in the priests who live in harmony with one another. By keeping the precept "Not coveting" a non-covetous spirit is produced. By keeping the precept "Not being angry" the heart is controlled. By keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" the condition of disinterestedness—"*Jin-Muga-ri*"—is abundantly entered into.

Benefits to Priests.

According to the *Mahayana*—"*Dai-Jo-Kyo*"—myriads of benefits are gained by those priests who have acquired knowledge and ability like that possessed by the Bodhisatva. For instance, by keeping the precept "Not killing" they overcome the liability to birth and death of two kinds. By keeping the precept "Not stealing" they adorn the land of rewards—Paradise. By keeping the precept "Not committing adultery" they acquire purity of body and of mind. By keeping the precept "Not lying" the three thousand worlds can be reached—or covered—by their tongues. By keeping the precept "Not exaggerating" delight in the sacred law is acquired. By keeping the precept "Not slandering" easy utterance of the sixty-four tones is gained, and thus the sermons preached reach to the depths of the hearer's hearts. By keeping the precept "Not double-tongued" the four kinds of eloquence are acquired, and also superintendence of the heaven of man with love. By keeping the precept "Not coveting" the four ascetic contemplations are performed. By keeping the precept "Not being angry" there comes from the resulting wisdom great pitifulness. By keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" Buddha's wisdom is entered into.

Benefits to Laity.

By the keeping of these precepts the laity receive the benefits of a well administered country and happy homes. By the keeping of these precepts by those who have forsaken their homes—novitiate priests—the benefit of the knowledge of the way necessary to deliverance from birth and death and from all kinds of ascetic contemplations is acquired. It is written in a sacred book—"*Daruma Darazen-Kyo*"—that it is by the keeping of these precepts that the thirty two marks which characterize, or differentiate, a Buddha appear. Another sacred book—"*Sasha-Kyo*"—says that the keeping of the precepts is the foundation, or root cause, of these marks, and that aside from this there is no reason or cause for them. The mysterious fruit—"*Myo-*

Kwa"—of three bodily forms is also the result of keeping the precepts. These bodies are the Law or Spiritual body—"*Ho-shin*"; the compensation body—"*Hō-shin*", and the transformed body—"*O-shin.*"*

This physical body of five feet in height that we are born to, and which has the Buddha nature, is the shadow, or result, of keeping the ten precepts. This is an interesting fact. Thus one's happiness or misery, length of life, rank, wisdom or ignorance, relatives, virtue and fate are all settled, and as they cannot be changed, each must bear his own condition or fate. A child cannot suffer an illness in place of its father, nor can a father suffer an illness instead of his child. Fate and conditions being already settled (when one is born into this world) with their incident happiness or misery, neither can be taken from one by less or more in order that another may receive of them less or more. This is according to the Buddha nature. To illustrate, suppose the case of a great king, who reigns over many countries, and who divides his dominions among his able retainers. After a time some of these will have an abundance, while others will not have enough; still, the gain resulting from the good management of those who have an abundance cannot be appropriated and given to those who, because of bad management, have not enough. Notwithstanding this difference of results, the king is still one and supreme over all his dominions.

It is thus with the precept "Not stealing"—and with the other precepts too: the virtue and happiness resulting from their observance are equally obtainable by every one, yet by the same law-nature the fate, or result, is different. Some countries are large while others are small. Some families are rich while others are poor. Some men are fortunate while

*法身—*Hō-shin* is the material body produced through the operation of the Sacred Law.

報身—*Ho-shin* is the Intellectual, or immaterial, body produced from the Law by the action of wisdom.

應身—*O-shin* is the Ethical body, or form, produced by the action of benevolence through the Law.

others are unfortunate. Thus the good or bad qualities, or results, of their deeds are different according to the measure of their observance of the precepts.

Rich people can give alms to the poor without impoverishing themselves, while the poor cannot give without becoming more destitute. When one is in poverty even his relatives will forsake him, but when one is in prosperity even those who have been at enmity with him will become as brothers. Though the qualities and results of deeds that can be seen with the fleshly eyes are thus different, the nature of the sacred law is one and equal and just.

Why have the rich an abundance, even though they give alms to the poor? It is because their wealth is like the products of the mountains and seas that are inexhaustable. Why do not the poor have enough, even though they receive alms and borrow from others? It is because the poverty of the poor is like adding fuel to fire. Why are the unfortunate forsaken even by their relatives? It is because they are like a barren land where neither trees nor plants grow. Why do those who have been at enmity with one when he is in a state of poverty become as brothers when prosperity comes to him? It is because the prosperous become as sweet flowers that attract butterflies and bees.

Those who live at ease through a knowledge of the law-nature give of their substance to the poor without fear of their resources being exhausted. When one knows that from the beginning the law-nature is without defect, he is a fire to which fuel is constantly added, and, being at ease about his fate or destiny, neither begs nor borrows from others. For the same reason one is not distressed when solitariness befalls him. The law-nature is perfect, and is like a fragrant flower that attracts butterflies and bees; hence members of a family do not quarrel with one another. The law-nature is perfect; hence those who have obtained true ease of mind by the knowledge of it become rulers of the three worlds. There is no decreas-

ing of this and increasing of that, neither is there any taking from one to give to another. This being the law-nature, he who steals a single needle, or a single blade of grass, is a thief to that extent. He who steals gold, silver, rice or other grain is a thief to that extent. He who takes a country or province from another by violence is a thief to that extent. The working man who is paid for a day's labor, and yet fails to do a day's work, is a thief to that extent. A child who has received his body, rank and property from his parents, whose riches they were, and yet is unfilial, is a thief to that extent. A retainer who receives from his over-lord rank, reward and all material things necessary for himself, for his wife, for his children and servants—all of which are his lord's wealth—, and yet is disloyal, is a thief to that extent.

At the time of Shunjū of China, Yojō treated Hanchu-Koshi as a laboring man, because in former times he had been treated in that way by Hanchu-Koshi. Then Chikaku gave a province to Yojō, because in former times Yojō had given one to him. Goyō-Taifu did not remonstrate with his lord on the occasion of some misunderstanding, because he thought it would be useless to do so ; but when the country was in danger of attack from an enemy he left and joined the enemy. Hyōdō is said to have served five dynasties. In this way the enemy of yesterday is the friend of to-day. This may be tolerated as a matter of friendship, but it is not permitted by the laws of the relations of lord and retainer. In the Chinese classics men of the foregoing sort are largely spoken of as faithful, patriotic and wise—"*Gishi Kensha.*" The precepts of the Ten Virtues do not allow such disloyal deeds. The great teacher, Nanzan-Daishi, has said that the perfect keeping of the precept "Not stealing" is possibly difficult for a virtuous person. If this is so, it must be much more difficult for officials who deceive their superiors, take bribes and treat the people cruelly. These are the great thieves.

The law-nature being thus, the Bodhisatva not only do not steal themselves, but they teach and cause others to do no stealing. Average people can guard their conduct by this precept, and by applying it to themselves and to their homes can have an abundance. Rulers and nobles who govern and educate their people with this precept will have an abundance throughout their dominions. The rich who guard their conduct by this precept learn that luxery is a useless thing, while the poor learn by it their limitations, become content with their lot and do not become sycophants.

An Incident.

The following incident is given in the book Ritsuzo. When Buddha was in the world he went at one time with five hundred priests—"*Biku*"—to the province of Soraba. At a place called Biraniza there was a Brahman residing. This Brahman asked the Buddha and his five hundred followers to accept his offering—"*Kuyō*"—of hospitality during the ninety days of the summer rains. The Buddha by silence indicated his acceptance of the courtesy. In the course of the night the Brahman saw in a dream a castle enveloped in a seven-fold wrapping of cloth. He called in a learned man to interpret his dream. This man was a believer in another Way—"*Sedō wo shinji*"—and hated Buddha's teachings; and, although he knew of the benefits derivable from Buddhism—"*Fuku-toku*," he told the Brahman a lie and gave a false interpretation to the dream. He said that the dream threatened a great evil, but whether it was that a powerful enemy would come and take the country by violence, or that the Brahman would die in the near future, he did not know. The Brahman then asked in fear what he should do in order to escape the danger, whichever it might be. The learned man said, "Go to the inner court of the palace and spend the ninety days of the rainy season with the women, seeing no outsiders and speaking to none." The Brahman followed these instructions, retired into the inner part of the palace and enjoyed there the pleasures of sense. He con

sequently forgot to make the offerings of food to the Buddha that he had promised.

At that time there was a famine, and there was no one to make offerings of food to the Buddha and his five hundred followers. A dealer in horses who came from another country made an offering of barley—horse's food. The Buddha and his followers accepted and fed on it, but they grew thinner every day. Mokuren then asked the Buddha if he should send or go to Hoku-Kurushū for wild rice, or if he should ascend to *Tori-ten*—a Buddhist heaven—and obtain some of its honey-dew—"*Kanro.*" The Buddha replied that there being now many like Mokuren who had supernatural power, the rice of Hoku-Kurushū and the honey-dew of Toriten could be secured without difficulty, but he asked what would be done in future times when there would be no one possessing such power? Mokuren could make no reply to this, hence he withdrew from Buddha's presence. Ananda then presented himself and said that, as both Buddha and his disciples were suffering from lack of food, messengers should be sent to Kapilavastu, the Buddha's home, to obtain food-offerings from relatives, and thus give blessing to the givers and comfort to the receivers. Buddha replied that, as both he and his followers had relatives, it was an easy thing to obtain food from them, but what could be done in later ages when the priests who were in want had no relations? Ananda replied to this that messengers should be sent either to King Bimbasara of Maghada, or to King Hashi-no-toku of Sravasti to obtain offerings of food. Buddha replied that they were very fortunate to have such faithful followers as those kings, who would give an abundance if asked, but what could the priests in the later ages do when in want and there were no such faithful and generous followers. Ananda was unable to reply, so he too retired in silence from the presence of Buddha. Thus both Buddha and his followers fed throughout the rainy season on barley, the food of horses. Because of this state of things the Brahman repented of his error, and

his belief increased. This is a good example for the unfortunate disciples of Buddha in the later ages to remember. Think of this carefully because of the profound instruction that it contains.

Though there are both rich and poor in the world, there is but one law in the hearts of men. It is written in one of the classical books that when Confucius met with great misfortune at Chin and Sai he played on the harp for his disciples, and said that, although he was neither a wild ox nor a tiger, he was an outcast in the wilds, and his teaching was regarded as an evil thing. This also is a good example for both superior and inferior men to bear in mind when misfortune comes upon them.

While men are in this world they have their own particular interests, superiors their's and inferiors their's, and neither must defraud the other. The precept "Not stealing" applies to men of rank, office and wisdom; for none of these things should be stolen from anyone. The precept also applies to the three precious things of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood—which are not to be stolen. It also applies to the five elements—earth, water, fire, air and space.

The benefits of keeping the precept gained by superior persons are that they become rulers of countries, obtain the wealth of high office, have beautiful palaces to live in and the delicacies of mountains and seas for food along with all other luxuries.

The benefits gained by inferior persons are smaller dominions and relatively less of other things. The benefit to merchants is that, observing the time, they by one stroke of business make large profits. The benefit to farmers and peasants is that all their lives they have the satisfaction of receiving the fruits of the earth. Similarly fishermen receive fish and other products of the sea. Physicians, scholars and artists also gain suitable benefits. The benefits for the inferior classes are such work as the rowing of boats on rivers and seas, the running of errands and the doing of similarly interesting work. It is written

in the book Shikyo that there are ears of grain that are not gathered and tufts of grain that are not cut, all of which are for the benefit of widows. It is thus that widows can live at ease. This is an interesting statement.

Some farmers steal land by using for themselves—instead of for their over-lords—the ridges of land that separate the fields of rice. Others steal water by diverting to their own rice fields, during the five or six months of drought, that which should flow into the fields of other men. Again, fire is stolen by taking the light from others on a dark night, and by taking away the fire on a cold night and using it recklessly for the stealer alone. Wind is stolen by so deflecting it that it will cool only the stealer's house. There is also a theft of knowledge, a theft of rank, a theft of meritorious deeds, a theft of office and of other similar things. It is also stealing to appropriate the things of Buddha —"*Butsu-motsu*"—for the use of the Law and of priests. It is stealing, moreover, to use the things of the priests—"*Sō-motsu*"—for Buddha and the Law. It is also stealing to use the things of the Law—"*Ho-motsu*"—for Buddha and the priests. These things are all minutely set forth in the canons and the commentaries. Foolish and ignorant people think that this teaching is unnecessarily strict, but it is not so. This is the character of the law-nature. The Buddha-law is the Buddha-law. The Way is the Way. The Ten Virtues are the Ten Virtues, and Man is Man. Thus the standing rank of the great world is fixed.

So long as this world endures Brahma—"*Bon-ō-taishaku*"—is its king and does not move from his throne. It is through him that the sun, moon and stars move in undisturbed order. It is through him also that the relations of men in the world of men—"*Nin-Kai*"—are regulated, where a man's life may be a hundred years, a family's life a thousand years and a country's life a myriad of ages. It is through him that rulers are ever rulers and that retainers are ever retainers. Even though an over-lord has an ugly countenance and is also ignorant and stupid, retainers must esteem him as their lord,

since this is the virtue of a retainer—"*shin-toku.*" They must not deprive him of his rank and his throne.

Historic Incidents.

(The preacher from this point adduces examples, from Chinese history of kings, who for good reasons, or for self indulgence or otherwise unworthily have ceded their thrones to chief retainers and others, and likewise of retainers who, sometimes for good reasons, but more frequently in a seditious spirit by means of plausible lies have deprived their over-lord of his throne and dominions. At the end of each series of such incidents the preacher remarks that such rulers are not worthy of their land, and that such disloyal retainers are unworthy the name of retainer. He follows this by saying that "This world would be dark indeed, if it were not for the Ten Virtues."

Reasons for Japan's Blessings.

And continuing he says:) In Japan from ancient times the Emperor's throne has been established and protected by the Ten Virtues, and the administration of affairs has been transacted according to them. Because of this we enjoy the hundred blessings and live in a land that is far superior to what China was in the times of the holy sages.

If we consider minutely these Ten Virtues, we find that their meaning is very profound. It is written in a sacred book that when Buddha was in the world there was a priest named Hōken, who, after he had received the precepts, went to the Buddha and, worshiping him, asked what he could practise in order to attain to the Holy Path. The Buddha replied that he must never take anything that was not his own. The priest, "*Biku*", again worshiping, withdrew and went and sat under a tree in order to meditate on the meaning of what had been said to him. He thought that the meaning could not be merely that he should not take the gold, silver, rank or office of another, and it occured to him that the house, property rank and office that he had before he became a priest could not be his. He next thought that his wife and his concubine and other

members of the family he had could not be really his own. He then thought that his body with its five feet of stature could not be his, as it was only a part of the flesh and blood of his father and mother, who had fed, nourished and clothed it from the time of his birth, and that it would ultimately become dust of the earth. He then thought of his eyes as his own, but that as objects are seen only by the conjunction of the eye and of color, space and light, and the eye is merely a reflecting mirror for fleeting images, and not itself a reality, he could not claim even the eye as really his. Then he thought of his ears as beyond a doubt his, but decided that as ears, like eyes, are a part of the body, and it is by the conjunction of ears and sounds that one hears—mere echoes—, these also could not be his own. He next thought of his mind, which distinguishes between good and evil and between right and wrong, and asked himself whether he might not claim this at least as his own; but he decided that since the mind of itself does not know itself as mind, and the terms, mind and will, are names given from without, and hence are mere shadows, not realities, these too were not his own. At this point he became wholly separate from himself and entered into and attained unto Arhatship.

Think of the precept "Not stealing" with this illustration in mind, and then see how deep its meaning is. Only deep thinkers can fathom it. While this is true, yet from the beginning all classes of men on the earth, from the lowest up to Arhats and Bodhisatvas, by keeping it have attained to a position of ability to save others. All this is involved in the precept "Not stealing."

It is written in the book Kegon-kyo that the sin of stealing causes all guilty of it to fall into the three evil ways (of transmigration)—"*San-Aku-Dō*"—and that all such, even if born again into the world of men, will suffer two fruits of their sin, namely, poverty and inability to live where and as they desire. Is this hard to believe? Think of it with the principles according to which the world is governed. Subjects who commit

small thefts are punished according to the laws. This is true of all countries and in both ancient and modern times; though it is not always true where great robbers are concerned. Den robbed Sei of his country. Ken, Gi and Cho divided Shin among themselves. These great robbers by their great sin gained enormous wealth. The book Sōshi says that gold, silver and jewels can escape small thieves, but that big thieves steal both the treasure and the boxes which contain it. Ordinary thieves are afraid of punishment, but great robbers, like those mentioned above, not only do not fear punishment, but they steal also the strict laws according to which they should be punished; so that while the poor men who steal little things—"*Kagi*"—are punished, the men who steal countries become princes. It is said that humanity and justice, "*Jin-Gi*," are found at the gate of Princes, but is not this a stealing of humanity and justice? In every country excess of severity in one direction and excess of leniency in another invite stealing, and this should be guarded against.

China is indeed the land of etiquette and arts—"*Reigi-Bunbutsu*"—which after all are not particularly useful to a state, as the many wrongful seizures of countries there shews.

(The preacher then gives a few condensed illustrative incidents of such stealings, and shews that punishment at last falls on the evil doer though he may enjoy his ill-gotten gains and glory for a season.

Conclusion. He then proceeds to say :) Deeds spring from mind. Where there is mind actions arise. When principles are transgressed the law-nature is marred. There is certainly a hell, and there are worlds of famishing human beings and animals. Those who steal are made to suffer poverty when they are again born into the world of men. The five cereals when sown by such persons are sure to be injured by snow and by hail-storms. Those who steal act contrary to the Buddha-nature, which is without flaw and perfect, they become out-

cast people of the lowest class. Only those who circumspectly and reverently keep this precept of "Not stealing" have their own homes and store-houses safely and permanently filled with treasure.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, March 20th. Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice President for Tōkyō, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., then read extracts from a paper by Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D., of Kobe, on "The Ten Buddhistic Virtues," with special reference to the "Second Virtue" of "Non-stealing." After the Chairman had expressed the thanks of the Society to both Dr. Atkinson and Dr. Greene for this instructive paper,

Prof. Lloyd rose and remarked that 15 or 16 years ago there used to be in Tōkyō a society called Juzenkwai (Ten Virtues Society), belonging, he thought, to the Shingon Sect. The president of this society was a venerable priest named Unrho. There was also a magazine called *Juzenkwai-Zasshi*, bundles of copies of which may now be found in second-hand book-stores. When he read some of these magazines, he was very much pleased with their general tone, and he thought that some articles from them would make good illustrations for this paper. Moreover, some weeks ago he met an old pupil, a Buddhist priest, who stated that he was going to compose a treatise on Buddhist financial theories. This paper by Dr. Atkinson seemed to him to contain financial ethics.

The following is a summary of Dr. Atkinson's paper prepared by Rev. C. H. Shortt, of Tōkyō:

The paper consisted mainly of a Sermon which was preached by Katsuragi Ji-un on the 18th day of the 12th month of the 2nd year of An-ei, which corresponds to the 30th of January, 1774. The preacher began:—"To-day I am going to preach on the precept 'not stealing.' It is written in the book Kegon-Kyo that the Bodhisatva of Shōpuchuto is always content with his own and never takes or injures the things of others. The idea of stealing never enters his mind. He does not take even a blade of grass unless it is given to him. This is the true mind of a Bodhisatva. It is a characteristic of their nature, that is, it is the nature of a Bodhisatva not to steal, and this nature never changes. The nature of fire is heat and the nature of water is wetness. The heat of fire and the wetness of water never change—because such is their nature. Thus it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva." The preacher then illustrates this by several anecdotes and repeats his statement of its being the nature of fire to be hot, of water to be wet, of metals to be hard, and of the nature of the Bodhisatva to be unchanging, until he has rehearsed each and all of the ten precepts and virtues. He then says:—"If we carefully observe the revolutions of the sun, moon and stars, we learn that from ancient times until now there has been no confusion or change in the law and order of nature. The falling

of rivers and the crumbling of mountains show that there is a destiny of things in their building up and in their breaking down. The thunder and the earthquake also show that constant change is going on in nature. By considering the facts that the moon waxes and wanes, and that all things fade and fail after flourishing for a time, we learn what the conditions of life in this world are... .....When one knows that law and order in nature are never deranged he will unvaryingly cling to the Path of Man. Such a one will never envy the rich, even though he himself may be poor; neither will he be envious of those in high position, though he himself may be in a low one. When one understands the principle of waxing and waning he will never be disturbed by the conditions of profit or loss. He will not become luxurious when he is rich; nor will he be regretful, if he should become poor ..... All things that can be seen with the eye and heard by the ear are such as to illustrate the precept 'not stealing.' From birth until death the true nature of this precept is revealed by all that we see and hear. Even from the beginning of the universe on down to its destruction all things reveal the true nature of the precept 'not stealing.' For instance, when one is born relatives come with gladness and prepare garments with which they dress the new born babe. They also gladly render other services and perform various ceremonies. All this is because of the virtue of 'not stealing' in a previous incarnation. The same is true when a prince or a noble is born. The four seas rejoice over such a birth. When such die after living out their fixed period of time the eight musical sounds cease and they are buried with prayers and ceremonial offerings. This is equally true of the virtuous of lowly position and rank. When a friend dies all others mourn. All this is the fruit-like result of virtuous conduct in not stealing in a previous incarnation. It is in such things that the root and fruit of right conduct in not stealing are clearly seen. It is true that there have been those who, though not stealing in a previous life, have been poor and even beggars and some of whom have even died of starvation. * * Such cases however are exceptions to the rule."

He goes on to confute those "who say that the laws of the Ten Virtues are for priests only to observe, and affirm that their observance by ordinary persons would make them weak and cowardly." True courage that springs from any other source is as exceptional as the wading of an angry tiger through a river. Then follow several anecdotes in illustration, ending with this one:—'Again, it is written in a second book, that on one occasion a dove was pursued by a falcon, and being hard pressed, took shelter in an open hall where Sariputra and Buddha were seated. When under the shadow of Sariputra it trembled with fear, but when it changed its place to the shadow of Buddha it rested content. The reason for this was the fact that Sariputra had still a trace of the sin of anger in his mind, while the Buddha's great benevolence shone out from his face and form. It was the perception of this that gave content and safety to the dove in the shadow of Buddha. This incident shows

that there is no reason in the teachings of Buddhism for both priests and laity that those who keep man's Path should be either weak or timid." The preacher then refutes a number of objections to Buddhism, showing that they are the mistakes of ignorance made by those who think it to be only that taught by the priests of some one sect. "Buddhism was introduced into China about 2700 years after the death of Buddha in India, and from China it came to Japan; yet from the first these teachings of the Ten Virtues have not changed in the least. They bring happiness to the homes and peace to the rulers and superior men of any country, to the extent to which they are practised. The truth of Buddhism should be firmly believed". Then follows an elaborate comparison of the great Path with Confucianism, or the sacred with the secular.

In the course of it he says—"The precept 'not stealing' is said by some to correspond to righteousness—'*gi*'; but the comparison is not a suitable one. The teaching concerning *gi* has also been handed down in China from ancient times and its meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. It can only be said that *gi* is *gi*."

"The precept 'not stealing' can be taught to all, nobles and commoners alike. Even holy sages of the highest virtues cannot immaculately keep this precept to the full extent of its meaning. The precept that forbids the stealing of anything that belongs to another forbids also the careless use of articles borrowed from others. It also requires an early return of an article borrowed from another. It is thus a teaching that can be taught to, and practised by, even foolish women and servants." "Some who know neither ancient nor modern teachings recklessly say that there are esoteric and exoteric—*nai-gi*—teachings in Buddhism. This is a mistake."

"This body of five feet in height that we are born to, and which has the Buddha nature, is the shadow or result of keeping the Ten Precepts. This is an interesting fact. Thus one's happiness or misery, length of life, rank, wisdom or ignorance, relatives, virtue and fate are all settled, and as they can not be changed, each must bear his own condition." "The law-nature is perfect; hence those who have obtained true ease of mind by the knowledge of it become rulers of the three worlds. There is no increasing of this or decreasing of that, neither is there any taking from one to give to another. This being the law-nature, he who steals a single needle or a single blade of grass is a thief to that extent. He who steals gold, silver, rice or other grain is a thief to that extent. He who takes a country or a province from another by violence is a thief to that extent. The working man who is paid for a day's labor and yet fails to do a day's work is a thief to that extent. A child who has received his body, rank and property from his parents, whose riches they were, and yet is unfilial, is a thief to that extent. A retainer who receives from his overlord rank, reward and all material things necessary for himself and for his wife, his children and servants—all of which are his lord's wealth—and yet is disloyal, is a thief to that extent." Several historical incidents are rehearsed and then the preacher says:—"In Japan and

from ancient times the Emperor's throne has been established and protected by the Ten Virtues, and the administration of affairs has been transacted according to them. Because of this we enjoy the hundred blessings and live in a land that is far superior to what China was in the time of the holy sages."

He relates how when Buddha was in the world a priest named Hoken went to him "and asked what he could practise in order to attain to the holy pattern. The Buddha replied that he must never take anything that was not his own. The priest, *Biku*, again worshiping, withdrew and went and sat under a tree in order to meditate on the meaning of what had been said to him. He thought that the meaning could not be merely that he should not take the gold, silver, rank or office of another, and it occurred to him that the house, property, rank and office that he had before he became a priest could not be his. He then thought that his wife, his concubine and other members of the family he had could not be really his own. He next thought that his body with its five feet of stature could not be his, as it was only a part of the flesh and blood of his father and mother, who had fed nourished and clothed it from the time of his birth, and that it would ultimately become dust of the earth. . . . . He then thought of his mind which distinguishes between good and evil and between right and wrong, and asked himself whether he might not claim this at least as his own, but decided that since the mind of itself does not know itself as mind, and the terms mind and will are names given from without, and hence are mere shadows, not realities, these too were not his own. At this point he became wholly separate from himself, and entered into and attained unto Arhatship. Think of the precept, 'not stealing', with this illustration in mind and then see how deep its meaning is. Only deep thinkers can fathom it." In conclusion he says "Deeds spring from mind. Where there is mind actions arise. Where principles are transgressed the law-nature is marred. There is certainly a hell, and there are worlds of suffering human beings and animals. Those who steal are made to suffer poverty when again born into Man's world. The five cereals when sown by such persons are sure to be injured by snow and by hail-storms. Those who steal act contrary to the Buddha-nature which is without flaw and perfect; they become out-cast people of the lowest class. Only those who circumspectly and reverently keep this precept, 'not stealing', have their own homes and store-houses safely and permanently filled with treasure."

Books received by the Librarian from Feb. 20th to March 20th, 1907.

Japan as it was and is. Hildreth—Clement, presented by the author.
Japan: its History, Arts, and Lit., Brinkley. 8 vols.
China: its History, Arts, and Lit., Brinkley. 4 vols.

Pamphlets and Journals.

Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. LX. pt. 4.
Zeitschrift der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, vol. XXXVI. pt. 6.
Journal of American Geogr. Society, Dec., 1906.

Geographical Journal, Feb., 1907.
Journal of Lisbon Geogr. Soc., July, Aug., 1906.
Journal of Imp. Russian Geogr. Soc, vol. XLII., 1906.
Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc., London, Jan., 1907.
Journal of Geological Survey of India, XXXIV. pt. 3., 1907.
Journal of Geological Survey of Canada, Nos. 923, 928, 939, 949, 959.
Report of Comr. of Education, Washington, vol. 2., 1904.
Report of Washington Acad. of Sciences, vol. VIII. pp. 197—406.
Report of U.S. Nat. Museum Bulletin, 39 parts P. and Q.
University of Colorado Studies, vol. IV. 1.
Museo Nacional de Montevideo, vol. III. 1.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift, Jan. 1907.
Batavia Dagh Register for 1678.
Circular of the newly formed Japan Society of America.

A. LLOYD.

20th March, 1907.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan* was held at the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, January 23, at 4 p.m. Mr. J. Mc. D. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been published, were taken as read.

The lecture of the afternoon was then delivered by Dr M. Anezaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University, Tōkyō, on the subject "Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures." As his paper was too long to be read in full, he presented only the introduction.

An interesting discussion followed, but since the paper is not to appear until a subsequent volume of the Transactions, the record of the discussion in also deferred.

Prof. Lloyd, Librarian of the Society, then read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised edition of Keene's History of India, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be one in which the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries were traced. Japanese

* These minutes, although incomplete, are introduced into this volume of the Transactions, for the sake of the librarian's report which they contain; and yet out of their chronological order, because of the necessary delay in the publication of the paper by Prof. Anezaki, to which they properly belong.

Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of Nippon by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and critism, an extract from the Transactions of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book, *Rajawan*, or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguan, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again, I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get, as Vol. XLIX parts 1 and 2 of the Transactions of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition, with romanized text and Dutch translation and notes, of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which, like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded it. The Romance was written in a loose unhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

We have further received:

Journal of the Royal Grographical Society. Dec. 1906.

American Geographical Society. Nov. 1906.

Chinese Recorder. Jan. 1907.

Washington Academy of Science. Dec. 1906.

Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. XXVI. pt. 5

Royal Society of London Biological Sciences. Dec. 1906.

Royal Dublin Society Economic Proceedings, vol. 1 pt. 8. Scientific Proceedings vol. XI. 10 pt. 62.

Vesterreichische Monatschiift fur den Orient. Nov. 1906.

Al. Moktabas. (Cairo) Zeitscheift der deutschen Morgen landischen Gesellscheft vol. LX. part III., 1906.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

Vol. XXXV. PART II

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TOKYO, 1908

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meeting

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Society's Rooms on January 23, 1907 at 4 p.m. J. McD. Gardiner, Esq. Vice-President for Tokyo occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been published, were taken as read. The lecture of the day was then delivered by Dr. M. Anesaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University, Tokyo, on the subject, " Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

BY DR. ANESAKI.

The subject on which I am allowed today to read is a very obscure and perplexing one even for specialists. The whole result of my studies will be printed, and though it may seem a mere series of tables, it will really be found to embody a long history of the Buddhist Scriptures and the painstaking labours of many translators up to the end of the 5th cent. A.D.

As a short introduction to the whole matter, I shall begin with the traditions concerning the compilation of the Buddhist Scriptures.

The tradition generally accepted by all Buddhists ascribes the first compilation of the sacred writings to an assembly of Buddha's disciples held immediately after his death. It is believed that this first Council, or Sangiti, finished the compilation of (1) all sermons and utterances of Buddha, (2) all regulations and rules of discipline, and (3) the explanations and expositions of Buddhist doctrines composed by Buddha's leading disciples. These three make up the Three Baskets (tripitaka), so-called because Indians keep their manuscripts in baskets. Leaving the latter two divisions out of consideration, our first question is whether the sermons of Buddha, now called the Sutta-pitaka, were really compiled at so early a date. To this question we must answer decidedly, no. The present Sutta-pitaka, as it exists in both Chinese and Pali, shows not one stratum of composition, but many. Some texts are cited in others. Some sermons are mere duplicates of one another, in the same words and sentences, addressed to different persons. Sometimes a long series of hymns is incorporated in the sermons under very different circumstances. These and other facts point to a gradual accumulation of materials, and to a later compilation of those materials in

systematic forms. Just as Christ's sayings were handed down first in the form of Logia, so it must have been in the case of Buddha's. This is shown partly by the existence of a short collection of his sayings in precisely the Logia form. The collection is entitled "Itivuttako", *i. e.*, "So was spoken", and each of its simple parts begins with the formula, "This was said by the Lord, &c." (see Buddhist and Christian Gospels, pp. 79-80). Moreover, that most of these sayings were transmitted in verse is shown by the existence of a text named "Dhammapada", or the verse of the Faith, and by the references to the dhammapadas in some portions of the Sutta-pitaka itself. Around these logia, or verses, long sermons and dialogues must have clustered, whether from the actual reminiscences of direct disciples, or from oral traditions, or, probably not seldom, by way of new interpolations and additions.

But nearly two hundred years after Buddha's death scholars were well versed in the Three Baskets and in the Five Divisions. This last, Five Divisions or Panca-nikaya, meant the division of the Sutta-pitaka into five, as we have it to-day. They are:

1. Digha, Skt. Dirgha, or Long Collection.
2. Magjhima, Skt. Madhyama, or Middle Coll.
3. Samyutta, Skt. Samyukta, or Classified Coll.
4. Anguttara, Skt. Ekottara, or Numerical Coll.
5. Khuddaka, Skt. Kshudraka, or Small Coll.

These divisions, *Nikayas* as they are called among Southern Buddhists, or *Agamas* among Northern, are as old as the 3rd cent. B. C. But the mere existence of the names does not prove that the five divisions at that time were the same in contents and forms as the present ones existing in Pali or Chinese. It was formerly believed by Southern Buddhists and some European orientalists that the present Pali canon represents the original form of the divisions and collections. Leaving the question as to the language of the original compilation aside for the present, we are now in a position to controvert that assumption. The research into Buddhist

scriptures in Chinese has indicated this change of position most decidedly. In Chinese translations there are preserved only some single texts of the fifth, or small, division, but there are complete translations of the other four. I have tried to bring to light the counterparts of these texts in Pali, with results most satisfactory to myself. These two branches of traditions present agreements and deviations in a conspicuous manner, showing that they must have been compiled from the same materials but arranged in different ways by different shools. The tradition preserved in the Chinese versions is neither a corrupted form of, nor a later deviation from, the Pali one, but the two branches of traditions are brothers or cousins. Minute points in proof of this conclusion can only be brought out in the tables to be printed and by actual comparisons of the counterparts. I shall mention only some chief points.

The first three of the *Agamas* agree in their titles with the three Pali *Nikayas*, but in the fourth we meet with a difference, not of meaning, but of idiomatic formation of compounds. It it called in Pali *Anguttara, i. e.* "One part over/after another." The Chinese counterpart for it is *Ekottara, i.e.*, "Increasing one by one."* This difference becomes more interesting when we consider that the numerical division shows the traces of a compilation, latest among the four, in both Chinese and Pali. It is not properly a collection of sermons, but rather a compendium arranged after the number of the topics. This method has its models in some texts of the Long Collection in both traditions, and it is in this numerical division that we have the most quotations, expressly so designated, from older compilations. The difference of the two traditions is not only in the title, but the deviation of single texts and of

* The difference between the Pali Anguttara and the Chinese Ekottara, as indicated by their names, seems to be that in the former the component portions of the Sutras have been so intertwined that they form a complex whole, with one part skilfully laid over the other so as to give the impression of being a harmonious whole, whereas in the Chinese Ekottara the component portions are laid side by side, one after the other, without any attempt at artistic blending. Possibly 'complex' and 'compound' would express the difference of meaning.

their contents, even when they agree as wholes, is most conspicuous. As my researches show, the collections have only ten per cent. of the texts (suttas) in common. Those Pali Anguttara texts which are not found in Chinese Ekottara are found in other Agamas in Chinese, and vice versa. For instance, 70 Anguttara suttas are found in the Chinese Madhyama, though some of them are also in the Ekottara. In like manner most of the Chinese Ekottara texts may be traced in other Nikayas and Agamas. (I have not yet enumerated them.) A comparative examination of the contents of the Numerical Collection themselves on the one hand, and of the deviations of the two traditions on the other, will help us to conclude that the Collection was the latest in origin in both branches of the traditions. The pretension of the Pali tradition to original purity is destroyed, at least so far as this Collection is concerned.

Next we come to the Classified Collection. It is a collection of short sermons, dialogues, hymns, songs and a few tales, classified according to topics and subject matter. This division is found in two Chinese translations, one complete and the other partial. They were hopelessly confused and the title was formerly understood as meaning "miscellaneous." Fortunately I have been able to restore this mass of mishmash to order by the comparison of the two translations and by bringing them side by side with the sister compilation of the Pali text. The results show that it is divided into eight (as against five in Pali) great chapters, or *Vaggas*, and these again into 62 (as against 50 in Pali) smaller parts, or *Samyuttas*. (I shall omit remarks on further divisions.) Of these eight chapters four agree with the Pali in their titles and subject matter as a whole, and one differs in title only, the remaining three being unknown in Pali. But some of the smaller divisions in these chapters, which are not found in corresponding chapters in Pali, are found incorporated in other chapters.

Again, among the 62 smaller parts, 35 are founded on the same principles of classification. (Their titles are lost in

Chinese.) But this does not exclude the supposition that many texts are incorporated in other divisions under different titles. And these smaller parts, samyuttas, common to both, are, again, not quite identical in their composition. Some of them contain some suttas which are not found in Pali, and vice-versa. Even in the case of the three parts which contain exactly the same number of agreeing suttas, the order of successive suttas in them is different. When we examine the suttas, or single units of sermons or dialogues, which are found to agree as a whole in Pali and Chinese, some parts may be made parallel with each other, word for word, but other parts differ considerably. The agreements and deviations may be shown most clearly in the case of verses. Their relations you may imagine by the analogy of the Synoptic Gospels. But I do not mean that the differences between the Chinese Samyukta and the Pali Samyutta are quite of the same character as in the case of the Synoptic Gospels. The two branches of traditions before us seem to have had one original compilation in some form, from which the two have descended; though this conclusion can not be asserted decisively. Their agreements are not only of original raw materials, but of arrangement as well. On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that their deviations are far wider in degree and more remote in origin than the different readings of Shakespeare in the Quarto and Folio. These remarks may be also made of the other Collections.

So far I have spoken of the relations of the Pali Samyutta, on the one hand, and of the two Chinese versions of the Samyukta, on the other. But between these two, the one older and partial, the other complete, there are certain deviations. In some respects one stands nearer to the Pali than the other, and vice-versa. (Example, Vangisa 12.) You will see here how these different traditions differ from one another, but all point to one source.

This Classified Collection is composed of several hundred short suttas. Most of them treat of doctrinal matters, such

as the five constituents of life (skandhas), the six objects and organs of the senses (ayatanas), or of morality, such as mediation, virtues etc. Sometimes one whole chapter consists of tedious repetitions of the same teachings and contents, with few differences, or as addressed to different persons. But some others contain interesting dialogues, parables, songs, lullabies or even parodies of popular songs. It is to be regretted that these texts have not as yet been translated into any modern language, with the exception of a small portion containing dialogues between Mara, the Satan of Buddhism, and Buddha, and those between Mara and the nuns. I shall here read one of these suttas in Fausboll's translation of the Suttanipata. (S.B.E. Vol. X. pp. 25-29, Hemavata.) To this I shall add a ballad. It reads: (S. Vol. I., p. 209.)

(1) Do'nt make a noise, dear Pigankara,
The monk is reciting the verses of the faith.
Give attention to the verses of the faith,
And embrace them, it will be good for us.

(2) Be self-restrained among living beings.
Tell not lies.
Train yourselves in virtue (virtuously).
Then we shall be freed from the womb of demons.

This shows how active Buddhism was in the work of popular propagandism.

When we come to the Middle Collection, the dialogues are longer and some of them have quite a dramatic effect. The whole collection is accessible in an excellent German translation by K. E. Neumann. Returning to the textual question, the texts seem to be as old as in the former collection, or it may be even older. Buddha appears here as a teacher, who conversed familiarly with his disciples, discussed several questions of philosophy and morality with heretics, and led his followers on the path to Nirvana by his own personal example and guidance. In short a vivid human personality of Buddha is conspicuous in these dialogues. The language is free and colloquial. Perhaps the collection furnishes the best materials

available for the study of Buddha's person and teaching.

The collection in Pali contains 125 sutras, as against 222 in the Chinese. Among these, 98 are common to both, and the counterparts agree pretty well with one another. Besides these, 22 Pali Magjhima dialogues are found in the Chinese Ekottara and Samyukta, 70 Chinese Madhyama dialogues in Pali Anguttara, 9 in Digha, 7 in Samyutta and 5 in Khuddhaka. Nevertheless the methods of division into chapters and the order of successive dialogues are quite different. I shall omit other details, because in the paper to be printed I have pointed out the many deviations and agreements between the two versions. Here again the relations of the two traditions point to the sameness of the source and the differences of transmission.

The last one, the Long Collection, contains about 30 long dialogues and narrations. The famous dialogues held just before Buddha's death are found in this, though parts of them are incorporated in other collections also. Generally speaking Buddha appears here with more dignity, and in two of the dialogues he is in close communication with celestial beings. These superhuman dialogues must have given models to the later Mahāyāna texts, as for example the Lotus of the Law, which is the Johannine Gospel and Apocalypse of Buddhism. In this Collection the Pali and Chinese traditions differ from each other least among the four collections. Mr. Nanjio has identified 24 of these dialogues by their titles, but we can now add four to the list, and the comparisons of the contents are quite satisfactory.

So far I have spoken exclusively of the four collections, but now some words must be spoken about the fifth, the Small Collection.

This one contains in Pali 15 texts made up of various ingredients. Among these I have been able to discover up to the present the Dhammapada, the Itivuttaka (Logia), each as a whole, and the greater part of the Sutta-nipata. For the most part the relations existing between the two traditions as to these texts point to the same conclusions, as was stated with

regard to the former. Among these parallel counterparts, the Chinese Dhammapada has later additions, but the Logia in Chinese show a compilation older than in Pali. These will be shown in the new editions of these texts at which I am new working.

Now before concluding my paper I must touch on the question as to the language of these traditions. In which language did the original compilation of Buddhist scriptures appear? Was it Pali? In which language were the texts written which were translated into Chinese?

No scholar can answer these questions with certainty. Many Buddhists and scholars have believed, and still believe, that the original compilation was in Pali. But recent researches show that we must modify this statement somewhat. It is quite natural that Buddha's sayings and other oral traditions should have been in Magadhi, the language spoken at Buddha's time in Magadha, in Central India, where Buddha ministered mostly, and where he had most followers. But this Magadhi language was not quite identical with the present Pali. The home of the Pali language is now sought further south, but with no definite result. That Magadhi contained the most prominent part of Buddhist tradition we can believe as most probable. But did not the language of Kosala come into play as another important factor? Kosala is situated in the north, close to the foot of the Himalayas, and Buddha's native place was there. In Kosala lay the monastery of Jetavana, known as Giwon in Japan. Several hundreds of dialogues and sermons are ascribed to that monastery, and it was Buddha's beloved abode, where he must have spent nearly half of his ministering years. Unfortunately we know nothing of the Kosalan language. A great light will be thrown upon the language of Buddhist scriptures by future discoveries in this field. You may imagine the relation of Maghi to Kosala as similar to that of Greek to Aramaic, to take the analogy of Christian scriptures.

Last, as to the original of the Chinese translations.

Here again the question is quite obscure. What is told of the originals is only that the later translation of the Classified Collection, dated A.D. 435-443, was based upon mss. brought from Ceylon by Tahien some twenty years before the date of the translation. Now we know that at that time some sections of the Ceylonese used Sanskrit as their sacred language. This has been shown by the discovery in Ceylon of some votive stones, on which Sanskrit formulas are inscribed. On the other hand the translations themselves throw little light upon the question. We meet in them some Pali forms, such as Savitti, Kisa, Uttika, Vakkali, but at the same time quite as many Sanskrit forms, such as Rsidatta, Aristha, Asvajit. Turning from these transliterations of proper names to the differences of rendering, which point to difference in the readings from Pali, most of the variants show that they could not have arisen unless at one time the original of the various readings was in a language very akin to Pali. A few examples will suffice :

Sanna—Samma.
Kummo—Kumbho.
dipo——dipo, doipa. &c.

These, however, do not prove that the translations were made from Pali. The variants may have been older then the mss. from which the translations were made, and the mss. may have been already sanskritised from these variants.

Some hints may be taken into account, which suggest the characters in which the original may have been written. For instance, the variants *loha* and *lobha* show that the mss. were written in characters which may easily cause the confusion of *ha* and *bha*. But this is equally possible in the northern and the southern alphabets. To take another, *Talaputa* in Pali is read in Chinese *Calacula* (both transliteration and translation confirm this). Here are confusions of *t* and *c*, *p* and *c*, and *t* and l.

For the present I must satisfy myself with these vague conclusions, or non-conclusions. But one step has been

attained in placing side by side the two branches of traditions, which had probably been separated from each other for over 2000 years. Sisters or cousins meet here. Another step is to reveal their parents or grandparents.

I thank you for your patience in having listened to these dry and obscure matters, expressed in my defective English.

The Chairman having thanked Dr. Anesaki, in behalf of the Society, for his valuable contribution to its Transactions, Prof. Lloyd rose to congratulate the lecturer on the results of his labours which he had that day laid in part before the Society. It cannot indeed be said that the Professor has in any sense reached the end of the road which he has begun to travel; but when he has gone a little further and drawn the conclusions which his researches warrant him in drawing, he will find that he has revolutionized Buddhist scholarship. In Europe and America, scholars have hitherto gone on the assumption that the Pali Scriptures as used in Southern Buddhism represented the original deposit of Sakyamuni's teachings, and have treated the Northern Buddhism, which is based on a few Sanskrit texts and a great number of Chinese translations of Sutras, the originals of which have been lost, as a bastard Buddhism really outside the pale of the Buddhist family circle. If Professor Anesaki has established his point, this will no longer be the case. We shall then have to consider that just as Christ taught in Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine, so Sakyamuni spoke in the vernaculars of Magadha and Kosala, where he spent the greater part of his life, and that the first written records of the teachings were made in those vernaculars. Afterwards an appeal was made to a wider circle of hearers, and the hastily written records took a literary shape. In the case of the Christian books there was a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew (now lost) side by side with a Greek one. In the same way we get a Pali version of Sakyamuni's teachings side by side with the Sanskrit version from which the Chinese

translations were made. Neither the Pali nor the Sanskrit version can claim to be the original, they are sister versions of nearly equal antiquity and equal authority. Neither of these versions was final, each received revisions and recensions before they ultimately came to the form in which we now have them. But it cannot be said that either version claims absolute priority. There are primitive portions in the Northern and Chinese Scriptures, there are later accretions in the Pali Scriptures, and *vice versa* ; and the really original body of teaching can only be got at by a process of sifting and comparing. Herein lies the very great value of the work which Professor Anesaki is undertaking.

Professor Lloyd then proceeded to point out that there was another way of classifying the Buddhist Scriptures with the Small Vehicle (Shojo), the great Vehicle (Daijo) and the one Vehicle (Ichijo), the first being designed to teach a man how to save himself by his own efforts, the second, how to save others, and the third being designed to point a man to a means of salvation by reliance on some outside Being, a Saviour or Redeemer. By the One Vehicle Scriptures most Buddhists denote the Hokekyo (*Saddahrma pundarika*), but in the Jodo and Shinshu sects there are added the three Sutras which speak of Amida and His Western Paradise. These Scriptures teach doctrines so entirely at variance with the rest of the Buddhist teaching, and the conception of Amida is so very much at variance with anything else to be found in Buddhism, that many observers have deemed it to be a totally alien element. He should therefore be very much obliged to hear as to the date at which the Amida idea might be supposed to have come into Buddhism, and at which it might reasonably be concluded that the Amida Sutras had been composed.

Dr. Anesaki replied as follows :—

The questions as to when and where the so-called Mahāyāna texts were mostly composed are obscure ones, which perhaps have no parallelism in the history of the Christian Scriptures. The questions must be attacked from three sides,

i. e., their language, the form of their composition, and the ideas embodied in them. The language in which these texts are written is commonly called the Buddhist Sanskrit, in distinction from the Vedic and the classical. It is not a homogeneous language, but contains heterogeneous elements even within one and the same text. (For example, Dhamacakra, Svastyayana).

I think no scholar can claim anything conclusive as to the nature or origin of the Buddhist Sanskrit; but judging from some texts known to us, we can say, hypothetically, that those texts which seem to owe much to the Agama (or Nikaya) texts are much more heterogeneous than those which seem to represent a further development. The Mahavastu, which is closely connected with another version of Vinaya, known as the Sarvastivada Vinaya, is most prakritic, *i.e.* akin to Pali. The heterogeneity and the prakritic elements decrease in Lalita-vistara, Divyaavadana and also in Saddharma-pundarika. When we come to Vajraccedika and other Prajna texts, the language is more homogeneous, but at the same time becomes more artificial. If we were able to arrange various texts in a series according to to this standard, there would be revealed more light upon the nature and development of the Buddhist Sanskrit. Then the question may amount to this, whether those earlier Sanskrit texts were translations from the original Magadhi, or were dialectic differences coeval with Magadhi or Pali. If I am right in this supposition, then the origin of the Sanskrit texts must be sought for as early as that of the Pali. But this implies, of course, that most of the Mahāyāna texts are later than the Pali texts. The parallel development of Brahmanic literature, from the verse upanishads to the Mahabharata and Manu and the final systematisation of Sanskrit by Panini, probably in the 2nd cent. B. C., point to the conclusion that the flourishing period of the Buddhist Sanskrit was contemporary with this development of the Brahmanic Sanskrit. Then can we assign to it two or three hundred years preceding the Christian era?

The chief characteristic of the Mahāyāna texts is their splendid dialogues, with varieties of situations and persons. But this is only a question of degree. Some of the Nikaya dialogues have these features. A further development of the older dialogues with intermixture of the celestial beings, will make up the Mahāyāna texts. To this change and development the intermingling of commentary may have played a part. This is shown, for example, by the commentary of the Parayama, printed by Faussböll. There Pingiya, a brahmin of the Southern country, after having visited Buddha in the North, comes back to his master and utters stanzas in praise of Buddha's wisdom. Here the commentary adds, "Buddha, knowing this, emits rays of golden light to their seat from the North and these two brahmins see Buddha himself appearing before them surrounded by his saints." This kind of interpolation must have caused the expansion and modification of the original composition. The result may be the present form of the Mahāyāna texts, which are also called the Vaipulya, *i.e.*, expanded texts. Then the final expansion may be of later date, but their original composition and materials may be older than their present form.

As regards the idea embodied in the Mahāyāna texts, it is distinguished by the acceptation of the *ekayana*, *i.e.* the *one road* leading to nirvana. The Mahāyānists are proud to say that they preach the one road to the attainment of Buddhahood, in contrast to the three roads of the Hinayanists. The three roads mean those of Bodhisattvas, of Pratyeka-Buddhas and of Arhants. This distinction is unknown to the so called Hinayanists. But an undeniable fact is this, that the Nikaya Buddhism has a double morality of monks and of laymen. It is quite natural that those who were dissatisfied with this double morality proceeded to accentuate the one and all-embracing way of salvation. In this feature the Mahāyānists represent an advanced from of Buddhism, which has been pushed to its consequences by Shinran in Japan.

But here again the idea in its essence is not quite foreign

to the old Buddhists. They recognise the one way which has led, and will lead, all Buddhas and saints of the past and of the future to Buddhahood. This I have pointed out in pp. 242-247 of my book on the development of the idea of Buddha's personality. One of the passages, which I adduced in support of this idea of the Ekayana, is, as I have lately discovered after finishing my book, cited by Nagarjuna, the great Master of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, in support of the idea of *Dharmakaya*. Here again the idea itself is not new, but the development must have required a long time, probably as long as to the 2nd cent. A. D.

Last comes the question, who is Amida?

Among hundreds of the epithets, with which the author of the Lalita-vistara (ed. Lefmann, pp. 423-436) adores Buddha, the title Amida does not once occur. One of these epithets is *apamananananta-rasmir*, *i.e.*, The One whose rays are immeasurable and infinite. The pasage is a very important one, since these epithets supplied speculation with the materials for the belief in the existence of as many manifestations of Buddha as there are epithets. This kind of speculation is developed in the Lotus, and there we meet with the epithet Amida. There the name, probably for the first time, signifies a personal existence of Buddha in the western land, being one among many in the lands of the ten directions. The idea here expressed, that these Buddhas preach the same truth at the same time in their respective abodes, is new, but the text itself is quite after the pattern of the Arunavati, in the Classified Collection, or of the Mahanidana, in the Long Collection. The Buddha are said in this latter text to have appeared successively. It is very possible that this succession in time was modified to co-existence in different regions, when we consider that the very words expressing *before* and *after* may mean also the *eastern* and *western*. In an early document (Vinaya Cul. v. 2. 3.) we meet a prophetic belief that the future Buddhas will appear in the *eastern lands* (puratthimesu janapadesu). Parallel with this there may have been growing the belief that past

Buddhas are residing in the western region (pascimayam disi). Here the parallelisms *before* and *eastern* (pura, or pubba) and *after* and *western* (*pascima* or *paccha*) are overturned, but in this change the myth may have acted and caused the western region to be ascribed to the Buddhas who are past and gone. I shall not enter here into a minute discussion of the textual questions. It will be sufficient to conclude from these materials, that the idea of a Buddha, a redeemer, residing in a western land of bliss, had its source in older texts.

But we must not overlook another side of the question, *i.e.*, how there came into existence the idea that the Buddha's *primal vows* (purva-pranidhana) are the mysterious force which redeems us. I am inclined to think that the vows expressed by Gotama, which are described in the introduction to the Jataka, are of the same type, and that the conception itself was being fostered long since among Buddhists.

Summing up these considerations, I might say that most of the Mahāyāna texts date from some two or three centuries before Christ. It seems to me rather difficult to trace the origin of the idea, not of Amida, but of the Trinity also, to Christian influence. But it is quite another question whether the Amida-Buddhism in China was influenced by the Nestorian missionaries or not. We have the present translation of the Sukhavati-vyuha, dating from the middle of the third century A.D.; but the first and chief propounder of the faith, Donran, flourished in the sixth century, and Jendo, on whose authority Japanese Amida-Buddhists founded their faith, lived in the seventh century. But here I must stop, because it lies outside of my textual researches.

Some points of Professor Lloyd's remarks, published in the *Japan Mail*, must be touched upon last.

(1) The first mention of Amida's name is older than Nagarjuna. Besides the Lotus and other scriptures we have its mention and that of the faith founded on Amida's personality, in a book ascribed to Asvaghosha (see Suzuki's translation, The Awakening of Faith, p. 145).

(2) Nagarjuna's date must be later than the first century A. D. I think it is the second century.

(3) The council under Kanishka finished the compilation of a great commentary on the Abhidharma. It had nothing to do with the Mahāyāna texts. At least it is never expressly said so. If the present Mahāyāna texts had been compiled under King Kanishka or in the Scythian countries, the home of classical Sanskrit, they must have been written in a more regular Sanskrit.

Prof. Lloyd, as Librarian of the Society, then read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised Edition of Keene's *History of India*, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be to trace the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries. Japanese Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of *Nippon* by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and criticism, an extract from the *Transactions* of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences, containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book *Rajawan* or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguan, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get as Vol. XLIX., parts 1 and 2, of the *Transactions* of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition with romanized Text and Dutch Translation and notes of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago, when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded them. The Romance was written in a loose unrhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

NOTES ON THE JAPANESE DRAMA

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meeting

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Rooms, Ginza, Tokyo, on May 22, 1907 Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced the election of four new members: Rev. E. W. Thwing, Honolulu; Prof. H. P. Beach, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Geo. B. Smyth, D.D., Berkeley, Cal.; and Rev. F. W. Heckelman, Yokohama. Prof. Arthur Lloyd then delivered a lecture, entitled "Notes on the Japanese Drama".

NOTES ON THE JAPANESE DRAMA.

BY PROF. A. LLOYD.

"NO" AND "KYOGEN."

Dr. Florenz (*Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur* vol. ii. p. 371) speaks of the Japanese Drama as being the most notable production of the Muromachi age. It is true that we have, from the earliest times, traces of the *Matsuri*, or Japanese Festival, with its *Norito* Liturgies, and its mimic *Kagura* dances, but it is not until the year A.D. 671 that the Nihongi speaks definitely of a *Tamai* or "rice-field dance" as having been given in that year. During the succeeding centuries, the *Tamai* is often mentioned as the sacred dance of the rice harvest: by the beginning of the eleventh century it had become a well-established popular pantomime, with a Chinese name—*dengaku*—which is but a translation of its original title; and in 1096, Oe Masafusa, in his Rakuyo Dengakki, speaks of the celebration of these *dengaku* festivals in terms which remind us very vividly of the Grecian Bacchus-festivals which also lay at the root of the Athenian drama. The most flourishing era of the *dengaku*-pantomimes is given as the middle of the 13th century. They were acted by persons who, from their name of *dengaku-boshi* and their shaven crowns, seem to have belonged to the clergy, like the lay-singers in an English Cathedral, and they seem in process of time to have enlarged their scope so that by the end of the Kamakura era they included even historical subjects, in which case they were called *Dengaku no No*, or "*Dengaku Works of Art.*"

In the middle of the ninth century we get a further expansion—the *sarugaku*, or Chinese dance (sangaku), a comic drama added to *Dengaku*-pantomime, which was always more or less solemn and decorous. Its object was to move

the audience to laughter by comic acting and posturing (whence comes the popular but false etymology of *sarugaku* as the monkey dance), and when dialogues were added after Chinese patterns to the lyrical dramas of the *dengaku*, the new *genre* of stage-writing was popularly styled *sarugaku no no*, or the high-art piece of Chinese art. What has here been stated may be easily deduced from the following considerations. The golden age of the Chinese drama was the period of the Mongolian dominion (A.D. 1206-1368), the commencement of the Japanese lyric drama dates from about the middle of the 13th century. The interval between 1206 and 1250 was a period of great and frequent intercourse between China and Japan: many travellers, especially monks, visited the Celestial Empire for purposes of study, and it was in Nara, the favourite residence of monks, that from 1250 to 1300 we get the *Sarugaku No* plays.

These dramas retained the essentially lyric character of the earlier *dengaku*, the lyric element being increased by additions from the lyric portions of *Monogatari*, the working up of Japanese and Chinese uta and shi, various dances, such as *kusemai* and *shirabyoshi*, and monologues and dialogues from the already mentioned *monogatari* or histories of the heroes.

Hence, the "*no* may be looked upon as an *opera* of primitive character in which the sung portions of the libretto are the principal elements, the spoken portions being looked upon as of secondary importance." This may be seen in the fact that the written text of these dramas is called in Japanese "*utai*," in Sinico-chinese, *Yokyoku*,—"piece for singing."

The *Yokyoku* are always of a serious character and rather epic than dramatic. The personages are generally passive rather than active, the sport of external influence, over which they have no control, rather than themselves the makers of their own destinies. There are therefore but few dramatic situations, and in places where we should expect action we get, instead, lyric odes on the situation. The pieces are very

short: mostly one act only, without divisions into scenes. In some plays we have a quasi division into acts, the first act showing the hero in an assumed, the second, in his proper and natural character. There are also one or two more lively pieces such as Funa-Benkei which have a very vigorous swing in them. But these are the exceptions.

HISTORY OF THE "NO."

It is not accurately known at what precise date the *no* drama shook itself free from its original connection with the Kagura dances of the Shinto temples. There is a tradition (which is not however universally accepted) that the Emperor Gosaga (A.D. 1243—1246) found in the Imperial Library a collection of sixteen dramas dating from the reign of the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 947-967) and gave them to the family of Emai (圓満井) who were at that time the guardians of the Kasuga shrine at Nara in Yamato.

Doubts have been thrown on the tradition, but the fact remains that the *no* dramas, as we now have them, were originally based on more primitive forms known as *kuse*, and that these primitive elements may still be recognized embedded in the *no*. The development of the *kuse* (曲) into the *no* seems to have taken during the reign of Yoshimitsu, the third of the Ashikaga Shoguns (A. D. 1368-1394), and to have been due to the simultaneous and apparently independent efforts of several families of play-wrights and musicians, among whom may be reckoned the Emai mentioned above, and the family of Yusaki, afterwards known as Kwanse (觀世) and to three members of it in particular, Kwanami, Seami, and Onami. Throughout the Ashikaga and Tokugawa Shogunates, the Kwanse family took the lead as expounders of the *no* drama. There were also other families, such as the Komparu (金春), Hosho (寶生), and Kongo (金剛), but it is noticeable that all these descend from the religious musicians of the Kasuga shrine at Nara.

The three dates which I have given in the preceding

paragraphs, those of Murakami, Gosaga, and Yoshimitsu, are in themselves suggestive. They coincide with the periods immediately succeeding the religious activities of Kobo Daishi, Honen, Shinran, and Nichiren, the palmy days of Buddhist influence (as may indeed be seen in the pre-eminently Buddhist mould in which they have been cast), and it would be an interesting subject for enquiry, though not within the scope of this paper, how much, if any, connection may be traced between the Indian drama and the primitive *kusa* elements of the Japanese *no*.

Born in an Imperial Library, nurtured by musicians connected with the more than aristocratic shrine of Kasuga, the *no* has always remained the special privilege of the higher and military classes. Taiko Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu were not only constant spectators but frequent actors of *no* dramas. Many a daimyo had his local *no* stage, for the solemn performance of these quasi religious plays, and *no* actors were held in honor. But the *no* was practically the monopoly of the higher classes, and there was only one day in the year on which the common people were allowed to view it.

THE NO-KYOGEN STAGE.

The stage on which these two classes of drama are played is a platform about six yards square, with three of its sides open, and with no decorations about it except an old pine-tree painted on the wood-panelled wall which occupies the fourth side of the square. Behind this wall there is a small "green-room" or "vestry" for the use of the actors and musicians. "Green-room" and "vestry" are both permissible terms in this case, for the *no-kyogen* are both derived from the ancient *kagura* dances of the Shinto rite and the *no* stage is merely a replica of the *kagura* stage which may be seen connected with almost every Shinto shrine of any importance. The actors and orchestra have their exits and entrances on the right side of the stage, the chorus on the left.

THE NO-ACTORS.

The following are the designations of the principal actors employed in the rendering of a *no* drama.

1. The *shite* (シテ) or protagonist.
2. The *waki* (脇) or deuteragonist.

Both of these actors have their proper place assigned to them on the stage. It would seem that the original *no* did not contemplate the employment of more than two grown actors. This may be seen from the fact that the tritagonist and tetragonist are not called by any special name, but are simply known as,

3. *Shite-tsure* (シテヅレ) or assistant to the chief actor,
4. *Waki-tsure* (脇連), or assistant to the chief actor.

This does not however seem to have referred to any but grown up actors. There is also found, in *no* dramas,

5. the *kokata* (小方) or child actor, often used to play the part of emperors or noblemen, an arrangement which seems to take us back to the days of puppet-emperors, puppet-shoguns, puppet-regents, and the extremely vigorous military classes of the early middle ages of Japanese history.

THE CHORUS.

The *no* chorus generally consists of eight singers whose duty it is to assist the actors by singing. Their functions are very much the same: indeed, the Chorus plays a very important part in the *no* drama which aims at producing its effects through the ear rather than through the eye.

THE ORCHESTRA.

The Orchestra is known as *hayashikata* (囃方). It consists of four instruments, the fourth of which is, however, sometimes omitted. These are:

1. A flute (*fue*), the flute-player being the conductor and director of all the musicians and singers.
2. A small *tsudzumi* (鼓).
3. A large *tsudzumi*.

4. A drum (sometimes omitted).

These instruments serve to guide and regulate the movements of the actors. The *tsudzumi* players add effect to their music by giving vent to shrill cries at important crises in the drama.

PRINCIPAL "NO" DRAMAS.

It is strange, as showing the popular origin of the *no* dramas, that although there are extant over 200 pieces, all of which are well known and familiar to the ordinary *no* audiences, in no single case has the original author's name been preserved, and this even though in most cases the musical composers' names have survived. The *no* dramas may perhaps be compared in this respect with the miracle plays and mysteries of mediæval Europe. They were based on popular stories. which were felt to be common property; each succeeding generation of actors felt itself at liberty, within certain limits, to add, expand, or modify, until, when at last a generally satisfactory version had been finally constructed, it was no longer possible to say by whom the piece had been originally composed.

The *no* dramas may be looked upon as epic poems dramatized. Some writers have even maintained that they were originally meant for reading but not for acting, and we have already seen that the effect of the play is designed more for the ear than the eye. The themes are very largely historical, but they are all impregnated with the pessimistic thoughts of the religious atmosphere of the day in which they were produced: and they are evidently intended to appeal to an educated audience. The language used is classical, and the plays are full of learned allusions and quotations from Confucian, Buddhist, and Chinese classics. The thoughts are always elevated and noble, according to the standard of the times, and there are many native critics who will, without any hesitation, place the *no* dramas as the highest productions of Japanese literary art.

A "NO" PERFORMANCE.

When a *no* performance take place, five or six of these dramas are selected for representation, the intervals between the pieces being filled with selected *kyogen* plays, more or less appropriate to the themes of the *no* dramas between which they are placed. A *no* play is sung and not spoken, and in this point the *no* has been compared with the Western opera. The comparison however is somewhat fanciful. The Japanese actors monotones rather than sings, and his gestures in dancing are never so active and lively as they are in our operas. Gracefulness is the fundamental principle to which everything must be sacrificed, and there are no realistic scenes such as make us shudder in the popular *shibai* dramas. There are, for instance, no prolonged death agonies; an actor is supposed to be killed by the simple wave of his antagonist's sword, and then to walk slowly and sadly off the stage. There is no scenery, nothing but the painted pine-tree on the solitary wall at the back of the stage, and as few stage-accessories as possible. This simplicity of scenic apparatus, is in accordance with all the traditions of true Japanese art and is intended to bring out to the full the powers of the actors who have nothing but their own skill to rely upon.

The *no* resembles the ancient Greek drama in the use of masks by the actors. It may perhaps be said to have a closer affinity with the *masques* of the European renaissance. Certainly the later developments synchronized with the appearance of the European masques, and Milton's Comus might be classed as a *no* play, or perhaps as a *kyogen*.

A feature common to both *masques* and *no* is the employment of child-actors. In the Japanese *no*, the *kokata* were used to represent Sovereigns and noblemen, (never warriors) and generally any mild or benevolent characters. In sorrowful scenes, such as the parting of husband and wife, child actors were also frequently employed with the idea of heightening the pathos.

KYOGEN.

As interludes between the *No-yukyoku*, which are at times wearisomely pompous, we get the *Kyogen*, or comic pieces, which serve the same purpose as that of the satiric drama, which came at the end of a complete Greek trilogy. *No* and *Kyogen* are acted on the same stage, but never by the same actors; in the latter, the actors are unmasked, and there is no musical accompaniment to the dances which are there given. The dances themselves are the same, but the style of execution is different. In the *no*, the dances are solemn and ceremoniously performed; in the *kyogen*, the gods have, as it were, unbent, and are refreshing themselves by having a good time. The *no* relates the misfortunes of heroes, the early deaths of heroines, the *kyogen* represents the contrasts of the gay and grave which we find so often in human life. This contrast may possibly have had a historical basis, for, as Dr. Florenz says, there was in the old Kagura dances, an elevated *Togaku*, or Chinese dance, by the side of a humorous and sometimes vulgar *Komagaku*, or Korean dance; but it is more probable that the *kyogen* came into existence simply for the purpose of relieving the strain of too much solemnity and pomp. It is very seldom that a *kyogen* piece is acted by itself. Monsieur Benazet (*Le Théatre au Japon*, published by the Musée Guimet) mentions the *Tokaido Hizakurige* and *Hassamba* as rare instances. In the *ai no kyogen* there is no special drama at all; the actor, who has a special seat assigned to him, merely explains the general meaning of the dance or pantomime. The *kyogen* actors can always be distinguished by their yellow *tabi* whilst the *no* actors wear *tabi* of white.

It is in the *kyogen* that we get the true pictures of the social and national life of the Ashikaga period. It was a period of high ideals, with a few great men towering above the rest, and bearing witness to the priestly holiness and knightly bravery of an age gone by. These are brought be-

fore us in the *no*. But it was also a period of mediocre performances: the country swarmed with ignoble and contemptible lords and knights who disgraced their swords, and priests who disgraced their religion. Mingled with these were dreamy scholars who were incapable of managing their money-matters, and innocent country people who were the sport of every designing rascal. In the 250 *kyogen* pieces which remain to us we have all these personages held up to kindly ridicule and to derision from which all the sting seems to have been taken.

Dr. Florenz classifies the *kyogen* according to their subject matter, as follows:—

(*a*) Those ridiculing the *nobles*:—*Oni-arasoi*, *Suminuri*, *Hagikaimyo*, etc.

(*b*) Ridiculing the *clergy*: *Nio*, etc.

(*c*) Ridiculing the *blind*, *maimed*, etc.—*Kawakami Jizo*, *Sanninkawata*, etc.

(*d*) Thief-stories:—*Renga nusubito*, *Cha-tsubo*, etc.

(*e*) Conjugal difficulties: *Niwatori-muko*, *Kanaoka*, etc.

"SHIBAI."

Like the *No* and *Kyogen*, the *Shibai*, or popular drama, is said to be derived from the mimic rites of the *Sarugaku* (猿樂) or kagura (神カグラ), the origin of which goes back to the mythological era, to the dance which *Uzumi no mikoto* is said to have performed in front of the cave in which the incensed sun-goddess Amaterasu had taken refuge.

Historically speaking, it is of much more recent date. We have seen that the common people had no part or lot in the refined and scholarly representations of the *no* and *kyogen*. The *shibai* were started to provide the populace with dramatic entertainments, and the date assigned as the birth-year of these plays is A.D. 1603. The originator of the *shibai* was a woman of the Keicho era, Okuni by name, whose husband, an ex-*samurai*, helped her to modify the *kyogen* to suit popular wants. The *shibai* immediately be-

came popular. Actors of either sex, were employed freely, the women actors being mostly if not entirely drawn from the prostitute class; and the moral effect of the Okuni Kabuki (or Okuni Theatre), as it was called, was so bad that in 1629 the reigning Shogun Iyemitsu issued a decree by which the employment of women actors was stringently forbidden. Hence the period from 1603-1629, *i.e.* from the first beginning of the *shibai* to the prohibition of female actors is sometimes known in Japanese literary history as the age of the "Woman's Plays."

POSSIBLE CONNECTION OF "SHIBAI" WITH EUROPEAN DRAMA.

If we remember the date at which the *shibai* plays were commenced, we shall see that it is not altogether inconceivable that there may have been some sort of connection between them and the Spanish secular drama which was then in its most flourishing period. In 1603 the Spaniards had been fifty years in Japan, and they were not all priests and missionaries. Sailors and merchants came, too, many of whom would associate with Japanese, and some probably with Japanese of the class to which Okuni and her husband, the ex-*samurai*, seem to have belonged. Such men would naturally be fond of theatrical representations, some of them would possibly possess copies of some of Lope de Vega's comedies, and thus may have come to Japan the seed from which grew the *kabuki* theatre.

This is a pure conjecture, but if a true one it would throw some light on the proscription of the *Kabuki* plays and players by the Shogunate Government. There were other licentious practices in Japan in the seventeenth century which were not interfered with. Why should the *Okuni kabuki* have been thus singled out? The proscription would become intelligible and consistent if there was even a shadow of ground for suspicion that the *shibai* and the Spaniard were even remotely connected.

THE REFORMS OF GENROKU.

When the women-actors were prohibited in 1629, the theatrical managements met the difficulty by providing boys to take the female parts. Hence the second period is sometimes the "Period of the Young Lads." During the whole of this period the plays were more popular than ever, larger theatres were built, more money was spent on staging, scenery, and costumes, and the people showed their appreciation of what was being done for them by crowding the houses to see the popular pieces. But the morality of the country suffered by the change, the boy actors were worse even than the women, and the Government was obliged to issue more stringent edicts on the employment and training of the boys in theatres, until at last, in 1652, a number of the theatres in Yedo were forced to close their doors.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, from the year 1701 A.D. we come to the period of the Japanese Renaissance, a revival which naturally was not without its influence on the drama. The stringent regulations which the Government had felt obliged to issue half a century before had not been without their influence on the theatres which remained after 1652, or which had been opened since that time. Much was effected in the way of theatrical reform. All the old pieces that were practically nothing but exhibitions of dancing and posturing (often of a doubtful character) were swept away, and proper plays based on definite plots, in the modern sense of the term, were substituted for them, the actors themselves being often, as in Shakespeare's time, their own play-writers. Better musical instruments, notably the *samisen*, introduced in 1678, were brought in, and though a Japanese orchestra still leaves much to be desired, yet in this respect, a *shibai* is unquestionably far ahead of the flute, *tsuzumi*, and drum of the *no* stage.

But the prohibition of female actors was the almost direct cause of the establishment of another form of dramatic

art which gained great popularity during the early years of the eighteenth century and forced the professors of the more legitimate drama to look to their laurels. I refer to the *ningyo shibai*, or "Marionette theatre," which came into great vogue during the Genroku era (A. D. 1688-1703) and which retained its popularity for many a long year. In the *ningyo shibai* the acting is done by means of dolls cleverly manipulated, whilst the speaking takes the form of a *jōruri* or dialogue which is read with musical intonations to an accompaniment of *samisen*. The marionettes were, for a while, most popular. Eminent writers, such as Chikamatsu and Takeda, did not deem it beneath their dignity to write *jōruri* to be recited at such performances, and the *kabuki* or regular actors found that they had much to learn in posturing, etc., from their inanimate rivals. The *kabuki* theatre borrowed from the *jōruri* of the doll plays many of its most popular pieces, distinguished into *jidai mono* or historical plays and *sewa mono* or realistic representations of actual or contemporary life. It is in this period that we get such noted actors as Mizuki Tatsunosuke, Sawamura Sojuro, and Ichikawa Danjuro, the first. After the Genroku age, the *kabuki* theatre went to sleep along with the rest of Japan. Nothing of dramatic importance occurred until 1847 when another Ichikawa (Kodanjo) revolutionized the *sewa mono* by bringing them up to date.

We must remember that the *shibai* was an entertainment specially provided for the lowest classes of Japanese society, who were excluded from the aristocratic *no* and *kyogen*, and for whose moral and social elevation there were few that cared in the dead period of the Shogunate. The *shibai* had but a poor reputation: no *samurai* or respectable person would have degraded himself by attendance at a performance, and the actors themselves were looked upon as the dregs of society. They were (perhaps deservedly) styled "riverside beggars" and compelled to live, like the *eta*, in ghettos or districts of their own, being shunned by all persons of position

or repute. It was folly to expect anything at all noble or inspiring from persons compelled to live in such surroundings, and it speaks volumes for the despised play-actors and playwrights that they did not sink lower.

We have already seen that in 1847 efforts were made to bring the *kabuki* theatre to a higher level of efficiency and dignity. The Meiji Revolution brought about a most welcome change. Actors gained the privilege of full citizenship at that time: in 1876 the Shintomiza Theatre in Tokyo was built, the opening representations being attended by several of the Ministers of Foreign Powers, who thereby gave a great impetus to the reformation of the Japanese stage. Ten years later, in 1886, Ichikawa Danjuro, the great actor of modern days, was honored by His Majesty with a command to play in his presence. A society was formed for the Improvement of the Stage which has however dissolved without having accomplished very much. The late Ichikawa Danjuro together with the well-known writer Fukuchi Genichi worked very hard during the eighties to revive a genuine historical drama; but their efforts can hardly be said to have been successful, and since their death there has been very little accomplished in the way of Living Historical Drama.

What is known as the Soshi Shibai (ソウシ芝居), or Student's Drama, dates from 1884. Its originator was a young man of the name of Sudo Sadanori, who in that year brought out in Osaka a play written by himself and entitled the "Brave Student." The movement is, however, far more closely connected with the name of Kawakami Otojiro who has pushed it with considerable success. Indeed, the success which has attended Kawakami's efforts may well be compared with that which followed the first crude tentatives made by Okuni and her husband in the early years of the seventeenth centurry. There are at present over three thousand actors of the Soshi School, and it seems that whilst Kawakami's methods will undoubtedly undergo very great

modification before anything approaching finality can be reached, yet it is this school of dramatists that holds in its hands the future of the Japanese Stage.

DAZAI ON FOOD AND WEALTH

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meetings

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, Methodist Publishing House, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, June 26, at 4 p.m. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the Chair. The Recording Secretary announced a gift from Messrs. John Hyde, J. W. Woodward and John B. Sleman, Jr., of Washington, D.C., of 30 *yen* for the purchase of books, etc., relating to the history of Buddhism. He also announced that Prof. Arthur Lloyd had been elected the Society's representative at the Orientalists' Congress to be held in Copenhagen in August, 1908. He further reported that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: S. W. Woodward and John B. Sleman, Jr., of Washington, D.C.; E. A. Filene, of Boston, Mass.; and Prof. Geo. Haley, of 30 Tsukiji, Tokyo. Mr. R. J. Kirby, of Tokyo, then read a portion of his paper, which is a translation of "Dazai on Food and Wealth." After the Chairman had thanked Mr. Kirby for his valuable paper, the Society adjourned.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, 4 chome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, October 16th, at 4 p.m. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, took the chair. The minutes of the last meeting having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary reported that the following persons had been elected as members of the Society:—C. V. Sale, Esq., Yokohama; Mrs. D. R. Noyes, St. Paul, Minn.; H. E. Coleman, Esq., Tokyo. Mr. R. J. Kirby then read selections from his paper on "Dazai on Food and Wealth." These selections were the most interesting part of the paper and presented much valuable information about the economical problems, as well as popular superstitions of that period. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Kirby for his entertaining paper.

FOOD AND WEALTH.

AN ESSAY BY DAZAI JUN

TRANSLATED BY

R. J. KIRBY, ESQ.

Food and Wealth are called the means of governing life, for all ranks, from the Emperor down to the lowest of the people. In the Kyohan of the Shosho an account is given of how Taiu governed the earth. In it are mentioned the eight governments, these being the eight most important articles needed for governing a country. The first of these eight is food and the second wealth. As these two are the most important of the eight, the whole are called food and wealth. Kanmoken in the Kansho gives an account of the government of life in the Kan Dynasty, and argues about its profits and losses and the good and the evil of this government, and calls it an essay on food and wealth. Food is what men eat, and refers to the rice cereals. Wealth is material wealth and means treasure. There are many kinds of things comprising wealth, such as linen and cotton for covering the body to protect it from cold. Tea, salt, wine, sauce, flesh of fishes and vegetables are aids to the five cereals in nourishing the body. Brushwood, firewood, oil, charcoal and such like are things in ordinary use. Then in addition there are all kinds of implements in general use in the houses of men, and such things as bamboo, wood, stone, sand and so forth, which are used for all kinds of purposes, assisting life; therefore these things are called material wealth. Then there is currency called money. There are three kinds of money: gold, silver and copper. Gold money is of such a nature as the gold *O* and *Ko*-ban of to-day; silver money consists of the silver coins in use at the present time. Copper money is the

cash of to-day. Anciently money (*sen* 錢) was written 泉 (a spring). Money circulates over the earth to meet the needs of man, just as water springs out of the earth and flows here and there. Therefore money was called sen (spring). Later on the word *sen* (money) came into use. Gold coins or silver coins are money. In the foreign country (China) in very ancient times leather currency, made from the skins of animals, was used as money; but later this was changed for gold and copper. Silver subsequently came into use. These three kinds of currency are used instead of things, and are therefore called wealth.

The most severe forms of privation, to which man is subject, are the two things, hunger and cold. The cure for hunger is food, and the preventative against cold is clothing. Food consists of the five cereals. The five cereals grow from the ground and pass through the hands of the farmer. Clothing is linen and silk. The planting of mulberries and hemp is the business of farming families. The picking of mulberries, the breeding of silkworms, the making of silk, the spinning of hemp and the weaving of linen are the work of women. As the five cereals, mulberries, and hemp grow from the ground, they can be produced anywhere. And although if food and clothing are provided they are enough to secure escape from hunger and cold, so that nothing else is needed; still food and clothing alone will not satisfy. As already mentioned above, there are several things really necessary. Again, in producing clothing and food certain kinds of implements are required. Also, as the soil of the earth is not everywhere the same, some things can be grown in certain soils and some cannot. Therefore the sages of old in teaching agriculture also taught barter; so that that which was not in hand could be obtained by exchanging for it that which was. Barter is for this person to exchange things with that person. If things one has are exchanged for those which one has not, they are made to circulate between this person and that, and so all demands are met. In the

Shuyeki occurs the expression, "In heaven and earth the great virtue is equally produced." It means that in heaven and on earth the producing of all things is a virtue. After a thing is produced there is a way for it to be nourished. Provided the laws of heaven and earth are not transgressed, nothing with life dies because of lack of nourishment. The teachings of the sages are therefore the teachings of heaven and earth. If the teachings of the sages are followed and the way of governing life is observed, not only will the sorrows of hunger and cold not exist, but there will be no shortage of the daily necessities, and life will be passed easily and quietly. This is the great virtue of heaven and earth. In the government of Gyo and Shun this is what is called Usefulness and Full Life (利用厚生). The governing of life is what man ought to think carefully about, but the minds of men differ. Some work at life government, and others do not. Again, as regards the bodily actions of masters and their good and bad government, the habits of the lower classes change in accordance with such actions and government; therefore on the advent of a selfish person the equal distribution of rice cereals and wealth ceases, and the sorrows of the people come into existence and difficulties for the State arise. People, whether high or low, cannot exist even for a day without food and clothing. The rules of etiquette ought to be observed, but it is usual for men when pressed by hunger and cold to forget these rules. Kanchu says, "When the granaries are full, then men understand the rules of etiquette; when clothing is plentiful, glory and shame are understood." By this he means that men understand the rules of etiquette when there is no scarcity of clothing and food and when the hardships of hunger and cold do not exist. Mencius says, "To be without a regular income is to be without a constant purpose." A regular income means the regular income of the gentleman, agriculturist, artisan or merchant. To have a constant purpose is to be of steadfast heart and to keep the way and not

up like a mountain and one be inside, it would not be warm there; but by wearing one linen coat disease may be warded off. This shows that gold and silver are not the things to save a man from hunger and cold. But foolish people reason that treasure is better than rice, thinking that if they have gold and silver they can easily procure rice, as under a peaceful government the ways of exchange and of buying and selling reach everywhere; and, further, that if gold and silver are possessed rice and linen and silk can be procured at once; also, that rice is bulky and heavy, and is tiresome to carry about, whereas gold and silver can be put in the pocket and hung on the loins, and in going 100 or 1000 *li* a handful of it will satisfy many wants. Therefore the foolish man of the world thinks there is no better treasure than this. But in times of rebellion, or in bad years of famine and when rice is scarce, how about it then when it is difficult to procure rice with gold and silver? This shows clearly the truth that the virtue of gold and silver does not reach so far as that of rice. The ancients knew this, and therefore such a man as Chosaku, of the Kan Dynasty, memoralized the Emperor Bun as to the way of causing the cereals to be honoured and wealth dishonoured. In Japan in ancient times the cereals were honoured, and gold and silver were not, as they are now. In these times the people of the earth assemble in the Eastern Capital, and since from the various daimyo and honourable ones down to the ordinary people they all live as travellers, and it has become the fashion to do everything with gold and silver; and since in distant provinces it is the same: therefore it is that rice is dishonoured and gold and silver honoured much more than in ancient times. The people of this age of long peace do not know what it means to call food "heaven".

If gentlemen, agriculturists, artisans and business men are called the four kinds of people, then gentlemen too are of the people. But the agriculturists grow the five cereals, artisans make implements, and business men circulate that which i

in hand for that which is not. These three live by their business, but gentlemen are used by the State and live by the salaries received from their lords. Thus gentlemen ought to be excepted, and the four kinds of people should be agriculturists, artisans, business men and shop-keepers. Business men travel and sell their goods; shop-keepers remain in their houses and sell them: all being business. In the work of the people there are both the base and the top, agriculture being the base, and artisanship, business and shop-keeping the top. These four kinds of people are the treasure of the State, and if any one of the four is missing, then it cannot really be called a State. For example, should the agricultural people be few, the food and clothing of the State will fall short. The Government of the First Kings made agriculture specially important. Agricultural work is very hard, i.e., tiring, work year by year, with little profit and with no chance to eat good cereals. Therefore the farmers envy the light though evenly paid work of the artisan and business man, and many change from agriculturists to artisans and business men. Even if they do not go to live under the castle walls, but carry on business in the country, their profit is greater than that derived from agricultural work; and thus it becomes the custom to do farming carelessly and to take more pains in buying and selling; and this means causing the State to degenerate. To be exact, if the agricultural people gradually become fewer, rice will become scarce. If artisans and business men increase, than a great many kinds of material wealth will be produced and collected from all parts, and the heart of man will be made proud, and it will come about that gold and silver is made the principal treasure. The future necessities of the State will become gradually scarce, and the beginning of poverty for high and low alike will be the result, and this will be a great calamity to the State. Therefore, in the government of the sages, the registration of the people was justly effected, and the houses of the four classes were often re-arranged, and agriculturists were pro-

hibited from willfully changing to other work. But in this age there is no such prohibition, and the artisans and business men increase daily and the towns become full, and though this is convenient for supplying the needs of men, it makes men wish to change, and all the gold and silver treasure is paid into the warehouses of the shop-keepers. Is not this sad?

To dislike hard work and to like ease is natural to man. The four clases of people all fail to exert themselves, each class at its own legitimate work, and they envy the work of others. To like to be idle and to be addicted to idleness is just the same at present as in ancient times. Mencius, when he said "Slackness is not good," meant, as amongst the four classes, that the agriculturists have the most severe work to do, and that if the government does not supervise them, but leaves them to their own devices, when the hardships of hunger and cold are not present to incite them to effort they will neglect farming and not properly exert themselves at any thing, and extremity and beggary will come upon them before they have time even to swing round on their heels. Therefore the way to govern the people is by a severe and not by an easy government. If it is too easy, it will be to the hurt of the people. So the government should repeatedly supervise the people and examine them, see who truly exert themselves and who are lazy, and then reward or punish as the case may be. In the foreign country (China) there is such a thing as the encouragement of agriculture. The Emperor sends a messenger to the people to encourage agriculture and the exercise of filial and brotherly love in the field. When through filial love younger brothers, who work under the father, mother or elder brother, diligently farm their fields, and reports of such conduct have been presented by, and heard from, the local officials, then rewards are given by the government. In this way the people are kept mostly from thoughts of laziness. By exerting themselves at agriculture they avert poverty. If the people are rich, the State

is rich too. Finally the people are like children and are good or bad according to the nature of the government and the teachings of the government.

The treasure of the Emperor and of Princes is the soil. Mencius said, "Of the three treasures of the Princes the first is the soil." The soil has five names. You can see the term "The five Soils" in the Shurei. The first soil is that of mountains and forests, the second that of rivers and swamps, the third of hills, the fourth of embankments and low-lying tracts, the fifth of plains and moist places. Mountains are high and built up of earth and stones; forests are large areas of bamboo and wood; rivers are places where water flows, and swamps are such places as ponds, marshes, lakes and so forth. The meaning of hills is slightly high ground, mounds and big banks. Banks are the embankments near water, called by the common people walls; low-lying tracts are where the ground is low and level. Plains are high ground spread out all on a level, and moist places are where it is low-lying and damp. These five kinds of soil all have their uses, and will feed men and become treasure for the State. All ground will surely produce things. That which produces the good cereals, wheat and rice, is soil. Even if somewhere these cannot be produced, something else can be of the 100 cereals, which will make food for the people. In addition to food there are many things produced which are of profit to the State. This is the nourishing of men by heaven and earth, but it must not be called heaven and earth. Nothing can be taught without the hand of man. The five soils are all sources of profit for man. Though they are the way of the wealth of the State, this is unknown except by clever people. Unless one is gifted one cannot know this.

In the foreign country (China) in ancient times there was a retainer of the King of Gi, named Giri, who established the way of extracting from the soil the whole of its power. This was practiced in the country of Gi and made that State rich. The meaning of getting the whole of its power from

the soil is to get everything out and leave no profit whatever remaining in it. In later times very few understood this, and even if some did understand, they had no power in that country, to make their knowledge affective. In the country of So, a man named Benwa found in the mountains a precious gem which gave forth light. He took it and gave it to the King of So. The King had it examined by gem experts, who said it was not a gem but a stone. The King, saying that the man had falsely called it a gem to deceive his lord, had one of his legs cut off. The man again presented it to the King, who, as before, not believing him, had the other leg cut off. Benwa, taking the gem, returned to the mountains and wept day and night for three days. Then the King of So took the gem and ordered the gem experts to polish it, when it was found to be truly without a rival and the most beautiful gem on earth. Here we find that, even when a really valuable gem was found and given to the King, it looked before polishing like a mere stone and the finder was given the name of a deceiver and had both his legs cut off. How much less would a person be believed, if he simply said there was a treasure inside the mountain. To get out the full strength of the soil is just like this: people take no heed of anything, unless they can see immediate profit. There is certainly no one who is willing to look forward to a profit to be obtained five or ten years later. There is not likely to be a person who would not be afraid to spend labour and gold and silver in beginning a work, about which he felt that he would never see any profitable result. Should even Giri come to life again in these times, he would find it difficult to carry out his system. Much more is it so when men like Giri are scarce. It is to be feared that within the several seas (i.e. Japan) there is a great part of the soil that has been left unused, or has not had its full strength developed. To get the full strength out of the soil is not only to cultivate the five cereals. Inasmuch as the soil grows all things, to know which things can be grown well in any one of the five kinds, and than

take out this and use it for the people, is a real gain for the State. The people of to-day think that soil not suitable for rice-fields is of no use, and that soil which cannot produce the five cereals is likewise valueless. This is a great error, as soil nourishes the people. Inasmuch as the five cereals support the life of the people, the soil is the most valuable of treasures. That a country must have the five cereals is a matter of course, but on earth there are many different kinds of soil, some of which will not grow the five cereals. If the five cereals cannot be grown, surely some other thing can be. If the soil throughout the earth would certainly grow only the five cereals and nothing else, this would be most inconvenient for man. Therefore the sages of old made the division into the five soils, because the profit to be derived from them was not limited to the five cereals. There is the God of produce, who causes to grow out of the five soils many different kinds of things for the use of men, and he uses the knowledge of men so that the five different soils are separated one from another and many things are grown from them without loss, and as much profit as there is in the ground is all taken from it. Moreover, this can be done without exhausting the soil, which is therefore a warehouse that will never be exhausted. As these inexhaustible warehouses are to be found in all places, we may think of an inexhaustible warehouse at a certain place and take the things it contains out of it. And, in addition to this, there can be exchanges carried on between places, that which is possessed at one point being exchanged for that which is not possessed there. Thus there will be no scarcity of what is needed for use anywhere. Managing soil in this way is called bringing out its strength, or leaving no profit in it. Leaving profit is leaving hidden what belongs to the State. Giri taught the above way. This art is not possessed by the people of to-day, who have only ordinary natural knowledge. Only scholars can attain to this, and it is seldom that such a man as does so can be found among as many as ten million. In late times has occurred the

enrichment of his country by a certain Takoshi, a lord of Prince Tsuwan, who made paper and thereby enriched his province. He can be called a man who brought out the strength of the soil. After him there was Giko of Mito, who, in governing that locality, showed that he also knew how to bring out the strength of the soil. I have not heard of any others than these two.

From ancient times it has always been considered that the opening up of uncultivated lands was an evidence of good government. The meaning of opening up uncultivated lands (草萊 *sorai*) comes from rai (Mugwort), rough ground which is dense with *sorai* being cleared off and made into new rice-fields. To have a great deal of uncultivated ground is to the discredit of the person governing a country. To open up land and make new rice-fields, this is truly good government. But to open up new rice-fields is a very important matter. To bring it about abruptly will mean that old rice-fields will be damaged, and this will involve the people in loss. As regards the interests of the State, sometimes even before there is any profit great losses may occur. But if the Lord is pleased by this kind of thing, and the person having the power of government wishes to get merit through using it, and the lower class persons wish to please the upper, the latter in order to obtain their selfish personal ends will come like a swarm of bees to ask that this thing be done. These kinds of persons never think of the profit or loss to the state, they never ponder over the sorrow and hardship of the people, but think only of the immediate advantage to themselves, and try to secure this, and by so doing get merit through the medium of ideas which they put into the lungs and the stomachs of their superiors. As the superior classes do not understand the affairs of the people, and do not really know about the causes and effects of which the soil is the subject, they are deceived by the sayings of the applicants, and do not think of the harm sure to result later on; and then when it comes, even though they abandon the matter at once, the harm done to

the people cannot be remedied and that received by the State cannot be undone. To bring forward such schemes is what is called establishing profit. From ancient times the State has disliked this. Therefore, although to open up new rice-fields is a congratulatory matter, the ancients, understanding that it was difficult to know whether a thing would be profitable or not, considered this very carefully and did not lightly enter upon such undertakings.

Again, as has already been said, the five soils have each their uses, and although when compared with rice-fields such things as flat moors and wide fields are useless, these can nevertheless be turned to account for the pasture of horses and cattle, and the grass can be cut for the manuring of rice-fields; and also flat moors and wide fields are necessary as places where the lords of men may go a hunting. And in any great State emergency if there are no wide places where several tens of thousands of soldiers can be brought together good rice-fields may have to be trampled over instead. To like to plant the five cereals and change all of the wide flat ground into rice-fields has therefore its inconveniences. This fact needs careful consideration.

Then again rivers and valleys are the boundaries of water. These are one of the five soils. Water has the quality of running, and is a thing which finally goes into the sea; but before it reaches the sea, if there are hollow places, it collects in them and forms ponds and marshes, or, if in great quantities, lakes. This is what is meant by the power of the soil. It is not made by men, but by heaven, and is natural. And though these water-filled swamps cannot grow the five cereals, to call them useless is a great mistake. In rivers there lies the virtue of rivers, and swamps of water have the virtue of swamps. The meaning of the character *taku* (澤) is moisture, and it indicates a moist swamp. A swamp has the virtue of providing moisture for the soil. In the argument regarding the establishment of profit, the character may mean the application for a permit to dry up ponds and swamps and

convert them into new rice-fields. For drying up natural ponds and marshes it is necessary to create new rivers and aqueducts, and so provide a way of escape for the water, and in such places many rice-fields and villages must necessarily be damaged and the people suffer greatly and the State also. Ponds and marshes in the dry season have their water drawn off to nourish rice-fields; whereas in the time of long rains and floods water is collected in them, and then the distribution of the water is necessary for the State. Those who think this useless, and who wish to draw off the water of ponds and marshes and make rice-fields do not understand the use of the five soils. In China, in the So dynasty, when the Minister ŌAnseki had control of the government, as he was very fond of new rice-fields, the members of the lower classes applying for them were very numerous, and they had many kinds of schemes. Amongst these was one for drawing off the water from a certain great lake, 500 *ri* in extent, with a view to making it into new rice-fields. Anseki was pleased and wished to commence the work at once. It was a day upon which he had numerous guests, and he spoke about the matter to the guests saying, "How shall I draw the water from the great lake? What do you each of you think about it?" All the guests present wished to flatter Anseki, and there were some who wished to urge him on to doing the work; but before they any of them spoke a man named Ruikoho said, "Indeed there is nothing easier." And when Anseki inquired how so, Koho replied, "If you wish to draw off the water of the great lake, you must dig another lake of the same size near it, and then the water can be drawn off." Anseki being a scholar on hearing this understood the man at once and laughingly gave up the idea. Anseki ought to have seen this before, but he was deluded by the thought of gain and his mind was darkened. It was right and natural of Koho to say another large lake must be dug. Where a necessary natural lake is dried up, if men do not provide a substitute for it, heaven surely will. But only men who

understand heaven and earth can grasp this fact. From ancient times where water swamps have been filled in and level ground made, or where water has been drawn off and new rice-fields created, the calamity of floods has followed, of which there are many examples in both China and this country. Then again, mountains, rivers, valleys, hills and swamps are in general defences of the state for its strengthening. In building cities and castles the rule is to take advantage of these defences. The Shui says, "The safeguard of the soil is mountains, rivers and hills." King Ko said defences should be established and the country guarded. Therefore, as swamps are the safeguards of the State, they must not be lightly done away with. Then again, if there are trees on mountains, there is sure to be water. If there is water on the mountains, there will be rivers and swamps below the mountains for nourishing the rice-fields thereabouts. If there are no trees on the mountains, there will surely be no water. Water gives life to trees; therefore, as trees grow through reliance on water, after they are grown they contain water, and they have the breath of their mother. So if the trees of the mountains are all cut down, the watery breath of the mountains will be done away with, and the swamps and rivers below the mountains will surely be dried up. If the rivers and swamps are dried up, then there is no way to cultivate the rice-fields. To cut down mountain timber is to use up the strength of the soil with a bad and improvident heart, and so to invite great calamities. Again, to get fish out of the sea is truly an operation which has no limit, and when during the reign of the Emperor Bu, of the Kan dynasty, the fisheries were siezed by the officials, in that year there was no fish; but later, when the people were once more allowed to catch fish, then there was plenty. Again when the sea tax was increased the fish supply ceased; whereas when the sea tax was reduced the fish became again plentiful. Even from the unlimited warehouses of God things must not be taken out wastefully. Therefore to avoid using up the

power of the soil it must be treated with thought based upon knowledge. Officials here (縣官) are the public officials (公儀) of the Shogunate. Sea tax is the yearly tax on sea products.

The tax which is presented by farmers to their Lord is generally of three kinds, namely, *So* (租), *Yo* (庸) and *Cho* (調). This is according to the Chinese (唐) law of *So*. *So* is a tax (租 稅). This is now called yearly tax (年貢) by the common people of Japan. *Yo* is the labour of man, *Cho* means *Mitsugi* (tribute) ⅛. That which comes forth from the ground in addition to the rice cereals is merchandise of many kinds, such as salt, wine, tea, lacquer, linen, silk, cotton, paper, charcoal, firewood, oil, wax, the various vegetables, birds, beasts, fishes, turtles, feathers, hair, hides and leather. These are called the products of the soil. Of the products of the soil it is usual to present to the government ten per cent. This is according to an ancient law, which is the same in China as in Japan. In speaking of *So* (tax) we will leave for the moment the laws of China and of old Japan. The rice-field tax (田租) of the present time is usually four tenths. To present to the government four out of every ten *koku* is what is now called by the common people the "four things." Sometimes more and sometimes less than four is taken, according to whether the soil is fat or lean, or the fields are of the best or the worst class on the average. Four is about the present average for the medium. Though it appears high when compared with the ten per cent of the ancient law of wells and rice-fields, it does not hurt the people of the present day. To take little in taxes is generally called humane government on the part of kings. And of course to make taxes light is a good thing. But the people are like children if they have plenty of clothing and food. Such a government is accordingly too easy, for under it the people gradually become lazy without noticing it, and do not work properly at the business of cultivation. After becoming lazy people finally become short of clothing and food, and suffer from famine and

cold. There are people who, being pursued by taxes, fall into crime. Generally, the government which is both severe and lenient is the best. This is the teaching of Confucius. But from ancient to present times there are very many examples of where the people have been subjected to suffering through extortionate taxes, and the State has finally been overthrown. During modern times I have never heard of the people suffering harm through too little taxation. To sum up, therefore, if the upper classes give up their extravagance, provided there is enough to meet the necessities of the State, there will be plenty for them without taking too much from the people. To take largely from the people is extortion. Extortion is cruel government, and cruel government simply means that before you can turn round on the heel trouble will arise for the State. I have latterly seen and heard many examples of this, but I have not time to m ntion them now.

Concerning the law of *Yo* (庸). Under the law of serfage the people were requisitioned for the army, public works, hunting in the field, etc. This law was established long ago. But if people are worked thus during the time needed for cultivation, suffering is caused to them and harm done to the State. Therefore, to leave them free at such times, and use them only when they are at leisure, is according to the humane government of good kings. Confucius says, "In using the people choose the time." In the Reiki there is a quotation from an old law treating of government by kings, which runs as follows: "In using the strength of the people do not exceed three days in a year." Without limiting oneself to three days, however, when absolutely necessary labour might be forced for a longer period without its being unjust. It is only when it is requisitioned frequently that the farmers are sure to suffer. Therefore the lords ought as much as possible to do without it. This is humane government. But in the present times the people are seldom called upon to work as serfs. In the capital, for public works etc., labourers are hired for wages.

And although with a peaceful government there is no fighting required, there is the guard work to be done in Osaka, Kyoto, Suruga, etc. Except for this kind of military work the *daimyo* do not call out the people of their provinces. In Tokyo, as just said, they hire men for wages, by which is meant that they employ them by the day. Now for every kind of work money is paid and hired labour employed, so that the people do not suffer. In fact, it is just the reverse, they profit. This is quite different from the ancient system. In discussing the third question, the law of *Cho* (調), the ancient law, as already shown, was that one-tenth of the whole product of the soil should be given to the government. Should this be exceeded and things be taken unjustly, this would be to oppress the people and would be rightly called cruel government. At present it seldom happens that things are taken from people's houses. They are mostly bought for gold and silver from the hands of merchants, and it might therefore be said that there is now no such thing as the law of Cho.

For collecting the land tax there are now two methods employed. The first is to take *on examination*, and the second, *by settled permit*. Years are generally either good or bad. In other words, with regard to the ripening of the five cereals, there are best, medium and worst qualities. And to take on examination is this: after every autumn crop the official representative and his assistant officials go round the district and examine the cereals to see whether they have matured or not. For the best maturity the highest taxes are taken and for the worst the lowest. The common people call this *permission*. The representative officer reports to his lord just what he was seen on his travels round, and the lord then decides on the permit for that year, and notifies the people in writing what amount of taxes he will collect. This is called the *permit*. When the taxes are paid without such a permit, just as if there were none, this is called taking on *examination*. By settled permit is meant to take the average of the best and worst maturities for a period of 10 or 20

years and fix with that a rate at which the tax is to be paid yearly. Thus when there is the best maturity much is not taken, and in a year of worst maturity the people are not made to hate the government. This law is what Mencius refers to as the Tribute Law, and was the law of the Ka dynasty ; and though Mencius in the writings of Ryoshi calls it a bad law, he was really referring to something else. Let us now leave off discussing ancient Japan for a little and turn to the present. There is now no better law than that of the settled permit. To take on examination is very hard on the people. In fact the examination of the autumn crop by the representative officials is what the common people call *kemi* (hair seeing 毛見). When the representative officials are carrying out *kemi*, the people are kept running about for several days getting ready for them, clearing the roads, washing and cleaning up the houses and preparing all kinds of wonderful dishes. When the day for the arrival comes, the principal villagers go to the borders with horses and chairs to meet the officials and conduct them to the official residences, where entertainment of all kinds is then provided and all sorts of presents are made. The amusements are most elaborate. Not only to the assistants, but even to the lowest followers, according to their station, gold and silver is given. The expense consequent upon so doing is of an amount which cannot be calculated. If too little of all this is done, the hearts of the officials are not satisfied, and they demand various kinds of hard conditions which make the people suffer. And, in addition, when the *kemi* is carried out, by saying that a worst maturity is one of the best they make the permit a high one. But if, on the contrary, the entertainment is sufficiently elaborate, and the presents are sufficiently valuable, and the attendants, even down to the lowest, are sufficiently bribed, then their hearts being full, they issue a permit such that even a best maturity is made one of the worst. Consequently, the villagers do their best to make the representative officials happy. These men by carrying out

kemi gain largely, even their attendants receiving a great deal of gold and silver.

Thus all of the officials were wont to steal continually. And the evil was not confined to the *kemi* times. There was no limit to it even in ordinary times, whenever bribes were given to the representative officials and their assistants. Therefore, although the fellows who acted in this capacity had small salaries, they were actually on a level with the rich lords of the provinces. Even the assistants, who had only salaries enough to feed two or three mouths, not only supported ten mouths or more, but saved large sums of money besides, and finally bought themselves entrance into a family of the Hatamoto (household troops of the Shogun) and attained to much glory. The selfishness of the representative officials and the sending of bribes to them, as above mentioned, has been seen and heard of by me personally; for, some time ago, I lived in a country house and saw the sufferings of the people and the harm done to the State, which come from generally practising the method of taking by examination. But under the settled permit system this yearly *kemi* is not necessary. There is no difficulty in collecting taxes on this basis. If, therefore, there were no necessity of bribing the representative officials, there would be no such doings as I have described and no waste of gold and silver, and hence no hardship for the people. Therefore, even if taxes are collected on a high rate permit, the settled permit is nevertheless for the benefit of the people. If there were no *kemi*, the position of representative official would be unnecessary. The existence of the office means simply rice for food, and much rice besides to be given in bribes. That is to say, without it there would be no necessity for rice for food, to be so used, and this would be of advantage to the State. This is what is meant by speaking of the Law of Taxes on rice-fields, namely, that there is nothing which excels the settled permit. And as it is the law of the Daisei Shinu, there is nothing foolish in quoting it.

In Japan the people of the five provinces round Kyoto excel those of all other provinces in agriculture. In the eight provinces east of Hakone they are lazy. In customs, too, the Kyoto people are more upright; while in the provinces east of Hakone they are proud and extravagant. This is what I, Jun, have myself seen and heard. Anyone wishing to govern the people must know this.

The high or low price of rice affects the profit or loss of the people. The men who govern the country must do their best to plan with this in view. Of the four classes of people, the farmers generally cultivate the cereals. After paying their taxes with a part of the product, they eat the rest, or sell it to meet their various requirements. *Samurai* receive salaries from their lords, and with these they meet their needs for clothing, food and other things. Artisans make implements, using their four limbs, and they exchange what they make for rice. Merchants sell goods and buy rice. Of the four kinds of people, the *samurai* and farmers sell rice, and artisans and merchants buy rice. Therefore, when rice is dear it is to the profit of the *samurai* and the farmer, and to the loss of the artisan and merchant. If rice is cheap, then it is to the profit of the artisan and merchant, and to the loss of the *samurai* and farmer. From ancient times cheap rice has been the sign of peace. During the time of the Emperor Sho, of the Kan Dynasty, rice was bought and sold at five *sen* per *koku*. In the reign of Taiso, in the To Dynasty, rice was said to be three to four *sen* per *to*. This was really the result of peace, and though anciently the measures might be relatively short, and the purchasing power of the *sen* high, five *sen* per *koku* and three to four *sen* per *to* are very cheap prices. We call this the sign of peace, because of the beauty of having an abundance of cereals and a lack of scarcity for the people. But truly if rice is very cheap, the *samurai* and farmers will suffer loss. From ancient times, however, until quite recently the four classes of people used rice for all their requirements, and gold and silver were not used as they are at this day; so

that with rice cheap and the rice cereal abundant and the warehouses full, the *samurai* and merchants were not troubled. In the present age the *daimyo* and all below them, down to the common people, assemble at the Eastern Capital exactly like travellers, and use gold and silver to meet their various wants; therefore, if rice is high, the *samurai* rejoice, and if it is dear, they grieve. The *samurai* receive plenty of gold and silver, and since they are stupid as regards profits and their mind for saving is small, for the sake of having a short experience of pleasure and glory they spend their gold and silver freely. And the artisan and merchant fellows obtain this profit and are glad. Should high-priced rice be sold, the quantity required for food is small, and hence the profit made is large. So, though rice is dear, no real hardship is felt. If rice is cheap, then the *samurai* are short of gold and silver, and the artisans and merchants do not get much profit. Therefore, at present, if rice is very cheap, the four classes of the people suffer much more than in ancient times. Here is where the ancient and present governments are not alike. Generally speaking, then, if the price of rice is very cheap, the *samurai* and farmers suffer; while if it is very high, then it is the artisans and merchants who are sure to suffer. Consequently, during the time of the Emperor Gi, of Kan, a person named Kojusho said to his lord, "Peace warehouses have been established. They have been built in various places, and when the price of cereals is cheap, the price at the warehouses is raised, and the people's cereals are bought up and stored in the warehouses, and when cereals are dear, the price is then reduced and the cereals sold. In this way the price of the cereals is never very dear or very cheap, the price is always a proper one, and the four classes mutually do not suffer any harm." The reason why rice is generally stored up by a peaceful government is that bad years and famine may thus be provided against. And in case there arises some special event, then it can be used, say, for provisioning troops. This is of great importance for State purposes, and is a thing now carried out. If cereals are

stored for a long time, such as rice in the husk, stored no matter for how long, they never develop insects and do not rot.

In the present dynasty, from the beginning of the Shogun government until Kembyo (the 5th Shogun), though the price of rice was very cheap, the *samurai* did not suffer so very much, because the customs then prevailing were pure, and there was no extravagance, and things were not especially dear. During the Genroku period, in the Shogunate of Kembyo, the price of rice was still cheap, so that in the Eastern Capital it was one *ryo* for one *koku* and one or two *sho*. Kembyo, however, was fond of extravagance, and things became gradually dearer under his rule, and the *samurai* were troubled and talked amongst themselves, bewailing the cheap price of rice and saying that with rice at one *ryo* per *koku* they would be unable to live. This might have been so, but for the fact that through the extravagance of the upper classes silver and gold had great circulation and borrowing and lending were much practised, so that the *samurai* did not after all really find it hard to live.

In the 12th year of Kembyo, the year 1699, in the autumn, on the night of the 15th day of the 8th month, there was a typhoon and the cereals of the year did not ripen. In the winter of this year, at the rice treasury, the price for 100 bags, or 35 *koku*, was fixed at 59 *ryo*, that is, seven *to* of rice for one *ryo*. Inasmuch as rice had for a long time been very cheap, the *samurai* secured large profits and were very glad. The artisans and merchants, however, and small people generally, even though they put forth their best efforts, were only able to sup gruel. After the price of rice had remained at the above high figure for three years, in the winter of the year 1701, there were a great many starving people in the city, and along the roads there were the bodies of those who had died of starvation. So Kembyo ordered certain officers to build sheds in the village of Honjo, where daily for over 100 days several tens of *koku* of rice were boiled into gruel and given away. In the spring of the following year the

starving people gradually became less numerous. For two years after this the cereals ripened well, and the price of rice ought to have gradually fallen; but in the year 1703, on the night of the 23rd of the 12th month, there was a severe earthquake in the Eastern Capital, and the eastern provinces as a whole were affected by the calamity. The large and small *daimyo* called out the people for the repair of their cities and castles, and there was much suffering by reason of this forced labour. The next year, moreover, 1704, in the third day of the 7th month, there was a flood to the north-east of Yedo, and the rice did not come to maturity, and the price returned to what it had been before. Then again, in the year 1707, at the end of the 10th month, fire came forth from Mount Fuji, and sand-stones fell over an area of several tens of *ri* round about, and in the eastern provinces the rice-fields were buried, so that the number of deserted fields could not be counted. For this reason rice again became high. In the year 1709 Kembyo died and Bumbyo, the 6th Shogun, succeeded to the shogunate. Then from the autumn of the year 1711 the price of rice gradually became cheaper, so that in the spring of 1712 it was about nine *to* for one *ryo*. By this time the *genkin* (元金) of the Genroku period had been abolished and *kenkin* (乾金) had come to be current, and thenceforth once more two *ryo* of the *kenkin* was considered as one *ryo*. Then a request for a return to the old currency of Keicho was made, and the people quickly lowered the value of the *kenkin* and reckoned one *ryo* as half a *ryo*; and when the price of rice ought to have become gradually cheaper, the very reverse took place. The value of the currency had been reduced by half, and so rice became once more dear. In the 10th month of the year 1712 Bumbyo died, and left behind him the advice that the gold currency be revised.

In the time of Shobyo, the 7th Shogun, the *kenkin* currency was low in value, and once more over four *to* of rice was bought and sold for a *ryo*. Towards the end of the Shotoku period there were cases of starvation amongst the

lower classes, but they were few as compared with those of the former times. Previous to the end of the Shotoku period the gold currency was not improved. When the Shobyo government came into power a return was made to the old currency of Keicho, and from the first year of Kyoho (1716) until the 6th year of Shinchiu (1721) rice still remained at a high figure, though during the 20 odd years between Kibo (1699) and Shinchiu (1721) the price went up and down. When cheapest it was never as low as one *koku* for one *ryo*. But from the winter of Shinchiu the price increased greatly, so that in the summer of the following year 100 bags of treasury rice were sold for the equivalent of 56 *ryo* of the present currency, which would be the same as 112 *yen* of *kenkin* currency, or say 6 *to* 2 *sho* and 5 *go* of rice for the *ryo* of today. This is the highest price quoted at any time since the Genroku period. How then was it that in the Capital there were no cases of starvation? For over 20 years from the year Kibo the poor people had become accustomed to dear rice and had learned how to live accordingly, and then, too, the *samurai* spent a great deal of money. We hear of dear rice in ancient times, though it never reached the high prices of recent years; and yet there were people then who starved. The fact that during the times of very high prices in recent years there were none who starved, was due to experience and inexperience. Experience is to have learned about a thing. Such things are difficult for the minds of ordinary people to grasp. There is generally a natural reason for any great change that takes place. In the winter of 1722 rice suddenly became cheap. After this it rose a little and then fell a great deal. During six or seven years it became cheaper and cheaper, until it was only about two fifths of the high price of former times. The people came to regard rice as the same as dirt. The *samurai* and gentlemen sold all that they didn't want for food, and used the money received in payment for other purposes, and they were so busy that, although they worked from morning till night, there was not

time enough for all their undertakings. In order to do other things they sold so much rice that they hadn't enough left to eat, and their sufferings were extremely severe. And the farmers were in the same plight as the *samurai*. In good years, though large quantites of cereals were harvested, when it came to selling them, the sales did not repay the cost of the men and horses employed for transport purposes; so that people got barely enough to eat and could make no profit at all. As the *samurai* were poor, money was scarce, and even such men as merchants and artisans got little profit. Therefore, just as with the *samurai*, the lower classes had not enough property and rice to live on, and so many starved. It is difficult to explain this by natural logic. Generally speaking, as mentioned above, cheap rice was anciently considered a sign of peace; but at present, if rice is very cheap, it causes suffering to the four classes. This is because of the differences between modern and ancient times. It is because in ancient times rice was honoured and now money is honoured. This kind of thing is said to be due to the force of circumstances. Without knowing this fact it is difficult to govern. All that Kagi, of the Kan dynasty, said was to this effect.

The Law of Public Granaries (常平倉) as carried out by Shujusho, of the Kan Dynasty, was just the same as what is in vogue at the present time. Generally, any agreement about the profit and loss of the four classes, as regards dear and cheap rice, is only of short duration. When there is a succession of fruitful years and there are large quantities of the cereals in hand, it is truly beneficial for the State. Though it is usual with the *samurai* and gentry of the present to look upon cheap rice as a calamity and to wish for bad years, this is against reason. Therefore when we argue in favour of raising the price of rice, there is no wish on our part to decrease the actual quantity of rice in the land. It is difficult now to carry out the Law of Granaries. But it should be the case that practically at all places within the

four seas, which are under public jurisdiction, warehouses are built and the cereals of the districts round about stored therein and not sent to the Eastern Capital. It should not be sold even at the places of production, but stored up; so that if it grew scarce in the Eastern Capital, the price would increase naturally. If there were enough rice in the Eastern Capital to support the *samurai*, and to serve as a reserve against unforeseen calamities, then there would be no shortage. If, in addition to these two reasons, large quantities of rice are transported here and there within the four seas, this must be regarded as needless work. If a larger quantity of rice than is needed at the Eastern Capital is sent there, then the price will be greatly lowered and universal distress will be the result. In the Eastern Capital, if rice is scarce, the price will rise, and if it is dear there, it will be dear everywhere within the seas. This then is one real gain. If rice is very cheap, the people regard it as dirt. If the price rises a little, then all know how to honour the cereals. And this is the second gain. Should the granaries be built and large quantities of cereals be stored in them, then if bad years of floods or drought should occur, there would be a provision for succouring the people.

It is said that in the government of the *Seno* (先王) for three years of cultivation there would surely be one year's food, and for nine years' cultivation there would be three years' food, and that if this could go on for thirty consecutive years, even though there should occur bad years of drought and flood, there would nevertheless be no vegetable-coloured people; and it was said further that if the country had not nine years' store in hand, this would be equivalent to a shortage, and if not six years' store, that would mean danger, and if not three years' store, the country would be virtually non-existent as such. *Vegetable-coloured* means that the starving people ate vegetables and the colour of their faces became bad. For a country not to exist as a country means for it to have been broken up and seized by other people. But if the cereals

at distant places are not transported to the Eastern Capital, but are left instead where they are grown, and are stored there for nine or ten years, then when any unexpected calamity occurs, they can be taken out and used to succour the people. And during this time, should the price of rice generally become very dear, the stored up rice can be sold at a reduced price. Then, when rice is again very cheap, it can be bought up once more and stored in the warehouses, and thus the four classes need not suffer from its being either very cheap or very dear. This is the third gain. Further, if the cereals are not moved to the Eastern Capital, the State is not put to the expense of their transport thither. And this the fourth gain. *So* (漕) is to transport by boat. *Ten* (轉) is to transport by cart. As the granaries have the above named advantages, should they be established at this time, it would be in accordance with good government. If it is intended to establish granaries and store up cereals, the latter must be of unhusked grain. Hulled rice easily develops insects and rots. For long-time storage unhulled rice is best. The history of Japan shows that in the time of the Emperor Hai granaries were established.

Generally the *samurai* and those above them have rice-field stipends (田祿). Rice-field stipends are rice-field ground given by the lord. This is what is now called *Chiko* (知行). The meaning of *Chiko* is to make rice-field ground one's own property; therefore *Chiko* must certainly be connected with local land. At present those receiving small stipends, and that in the shape of rice from the rice granaries, even though they have no land, call themselves *Chiko*, in imitation of those who receive land. Those who receive rice stipends and carry out the *Chiko* principle are called *kiujin* (給人). Those below *kiujin* who do not receive rice stipends, but instead store up rice or gold or silver money, and who receive clothing and food, are said to be salaried (俸). This is what the vulgar now call *setsubei-kiubun* (切米給分). Salaries are divided into two kinds, the yearly and the monthly.

Again, when rice is given on salary account, this is called a rice salary (米俸), and when gold is given, it is called a gold salary (金俸). When a person does not receive a rice stipend, but receives a rice or gold salary, he is what is today called a *muzokujin* (無足人). This is a rule with agriculturists, who amongst themselves call a person who owns rice-fields a farmer, *hyakusho* (百姓), and a person without rice-fields a *muzokujin*. Generally speaking, the officials of the country, down to those of the lower classes, as many as do not receive rice stipends receive rice salaries. In the present generation, from those who attend on the Shogun's court down to the lowest followers, *sotto* (卒徒), all receive rice salaries. *Sotsu* (卒) are a kind of *ashigaru* (足輕), (lower followers of the Shogun's court). *To* is a sort of small personage of the Chugen (lower attendants of the Shogun's court). In the domains of the several *daimyo* both rice salaries and gold salaries are paid. The older lords pay more frequently in rice than in gold. In fact there are some who pay no gold salaries. With the newer *daimyo*, however, gold salaries prevail for the most part, with only an occasional one paid in rice. In the countries of the *daimyo* it is as a rule inconvenient to pay gold salaries. In fact, to speak plainly, the income of the large and small *daimyo* received from their fiefs is in rice, and as they sell this rice they receive in exchange gold and silver. If rice is dear, then they receive much gold and silver; whereas if it is cheap, then the gold and silver received is of small amount. The different *daimyo*, in estimating for the men they have to support, must allow for few *kiujin* but many *muzokujin*. Rice comes from the rice-fields; so that, provided there are no calamites, such as those by flood and drought, the amount of rice given to the *kiujin* is the same from year to year, without increase or decrease. It is only as regards the *muzokujin* who receives a gold salary that it alters; because, according to the high or low price of rice, more or less of the cereal is then given out. From the time of Genroku (1688) until the 6th or 7th year of Kyoho (1722), as

the price of rice was high, very little was given out on account of the gold salaries that had to be paid, and the governing classes profited in consequence; but from 1722 on rice was very cheap, so that the amount given out for gold salaries was more than double what it had been before. Again, in these present times the large and small *daimyo* are all poor and have not enough for the requirements of their holdings; therefore they either reduce the stipends of the *kiujin*, or do not appoint other *kiujin* in cases of death, or else, unless where crime has been committed, they give to many long holidays, and so on. If we compare these times with those of thirty years ago, we find that the *daimyo*, who have regard for the men of the *kiujin* status and over, have been reduced in number and stipends, so that the total amount of rice given out is reduced by one third. This does not apply to the large countries of the older *daimyo*, but to the small *daimyo* of the new countries, which are all of about the same grade. By such means enough may be secured for meeting the country's needs. How is it that there is suffering in one year more than in another? The reason lies in the extravagance prevailing since the Genroku period, and is further due to the fact that so many receive gold salaries. And although, as has already been stated, the *kiujin* and those above them had both their stipends and their number reduced, it is not so easy to reduce the number of *muzokujin*. The salaries of these being settled, and all on the same basis, there is no way of thus reducing their number. From all this we may see that the ways of the ancients did not differ greatly from those of the people of the present time. The evils of paying out salaries in gold are now clear.

As the *samurai* do not practice farming and are generally supported by their lords, it is natural that such low fellows as attendants and servants should be paid in rice. The business men and artisans, having themselves no salaries, when they keep servants, of course pay them in silver or gold. But the stewards of the different *daimyo* cannot keep people on gold

wages. If they wish to change a gold to a rice salary, they must take into account the highest and lowest rates of rice wages ruling in recent years. The medium price for about twenty years ought to be taken in order to decide what the rate for rice salaries should be. If all the *muzokujin* were paid in rice, then the quantity necessary for the keep of the people could be easily determined, and there would be no increase or decrease. Should there be a bad year, when the cereals failed to ripen and the quantity paid in to the State fell below the average, then in relation to that quantity the salary for that year should be reduced. If it is a fixed rice salary, no one would be disturbed by having it reduced.

Generally speaking, those above the *samurai* and gentlemen who receive field stipends, including even the various princes and Emperors, receive the same from that which comes out of the earth. What comes from the earth is principally rice and cereals. Thus the stipends of the *samurai*, the gentlemen and those above them are rice and cereals. These stipends were formerly called "cereal stipends." Because of this custom the *samurai* and gentlemen and those above them, especially the different princes etc., must of course manage all their affairs with the use of rice. To manage every thing with rice means that all expenses ought to be settled on a rice basis. This is what was meant when reference was made to the way of honouring the cereals.

In these times gold currency is honoured, and therefore all of the princes of provinces settle their expenses on a gold or silver basis. For instance, so many gold and silver *ryo* for taxes, so many gold and silver *ryo* for clothing, furniture etc., so many gold and silver *ryo* for the needs of the kitchen, so many for the up-keep of the stables, so many for the maintenance of the women's department, so many for the support of the heir, and so many more for that of the other children, so many for the help of relations and poor people, and so on. Not only have the *muzokujin* to be provided for with gold

salaries, but the great error is committed of following the custom of the age in settling all of the above mentioned expenses in gold and silver. If expenses are settled in gold and silver, then whenever the price of rice is high the quantity of the rice given out is small and is to the advantage of the one giving it. And when the price of rice is low, the quantity given out is great, which involves a corresponding loss.

As the scale of expenses is already settled, there is very little chance of increase or decrease, so that more or less rice goes out without the quantity being fixed, and this makes the accounts difficult to keep, and not only causes great inconvenience to the State, but, as has occurred in late years, when rice is very cheap, the quantity of rice given out is doubled, even though the payments in gold and silver are fixed as to their amounts; all which leaves a shortage for the use of the State. This accounts for the poverty of the *daimyo*. If these expenses were estimated in rice, then there would be simply so many *koku* of rice for so and so. Let a payment be fixed at such and such a number of bags, then whether rice was cheap or dear the quantity given out would not be increased or decreased, and there would be neither profit nor loss to the giver out. The consequence of this would be that, the amount of the expenses being definitely fixed, the accounts could be easily kept. Accounts (*kaikei* 會計) are accounts (*kanjo* 勘定), and when settled in gold and silver, in the event of rice being very cheap, to reduce the salaries of others in proportion to the price of rice would be difficult, although one might reduce one's own expenses at will. But with regard to all those dependent upon the lord's bounty, such as the occupants of the women's department, the heir and the other relations, if when rice was cheap their supplies were reduced from the settled amount, it would certainly cause dissatisfaction and anger towards the lord. Also the lord's officers would be made angry by such a course. Therefore, even should rice become very cheap, it is impossible to lower the above mentioned gold and silver

expenses in proportion to the fall in the price of rice. This is a thing which, because of the nature of man, cannot be helped. Therefore no one will deny that all of the above expenses ought to be settled in rice. If this is done, then the rice can be sold, and gold and silver received for use in meeting all expenses. If rice is high, then there will be a great deal of gold and silver received, and it can be used lavishly. When the price of rice is low, to conform with the consequent scarcity of gold and silver things can be done without, and one's needs reduced, and economy practiced. Should the condition of the *samurai* and gentlemen and those higher up be just the same whether rice is low or high, then there would be no reason for discontent anywhere. It would mean that the hearts of the people would be left undisturbed by reason of any rise or fall in rice, and that there would be no profit or loss as concerns the budget, and no anxiety as to a possible scarcity for meeting the needs of the State. This is a very important matter in the country's accounts. By accounts is meant the sum total of the receipts and expenditures of the *daimyo* and of those above them.

In the dynasty of Kan the Emperor Bu was much given to extravagance, and, more than this, the affairs of the State were many and various, so that all of the different feudal princes were poor, and they borrowed gold, silver, rice and cereals from the rich merchants in order to satisfy their wants. Then when the autumn harvest was garnered, they repaid these loans from the village revenues. Village revenues are the receipts (收納) from *Chiko*. The *Shiki* and *Kanso* relate that for these loans the lords of the fiefs made supplication actually with bowed heads. The lords of the fiefs are those who have received lands within the domains of the feudal princes, or, in other words, what we now call *daimyo*. To bow the head is meant that the lords of the fiefs, even though men of honourable degree, bent their heads to the low merchant-fellows and begged! The meaning of *kyokiu* (to supplicate) is this: *kyo* (仰) is to request and *kiu* (給) is to carry on. To be

pressed by need and to be unable to keep up appearances, and so to have to ask others for help, is to supplicate. What we hear concerning the Emperor Bu happened a long time ago, but at present the *daimyo* all, both large and small, lower their heads and beg from the shop-keepers. In Yedo, therefore, and Kyoto, Osaka and other places they manage to live simply by the favour of the rich who are residents of those places. Hence all of the village revenues go to these people, the capitalists (子錢家), and such things occur as that at harvest time they will go and lock up the warehouses of the *daimyo*. The capitalists are the people who lend the gold and silver. But even though the village revenues are all given over, there is still not enough to repay the loans, and the *daimyo* are being constantly pressed for payment and cannot easily find excuses to give to the claimants. When they see the capitalists they fear them as they would a god, forgetting that they themselves are *samurai*, and they bow down to them, to shop-keepers, or else they give away valuable articles in order to secure escape for the time being. So they starve their households to feast the capitalists. As capitalists the merchants and shop-keeper fellows are in effect given salaries without any reason whatever, and are admitted into the ranks of the family retainers. They let things which they have thus received remain in their possession, not paying for them, and they go so far as to withhold just payment from artisans and labourers, and thereby cause suffering to these people. They forget modesty and shame and are all alike guilty of inhuman and unrighteous conduct. If it is thus with *daimyo*, how much more with the *samurai* and the gentlemen.

This is an altogether rotten state of affairs, and sad indeed. Some one may say that it all exists simply because of the extravagant customs prevailing since the Genroku times; but really it is because the *samurai* and gentlemen and those above them do not understand how to live. From the Emperor down to the lowest of the people, however, all ought to understand how to live.

In the Keiki, in the Chapter "On Government by Kings", it is stated that "The receipts must be counted and then deliveries made". This is a most important sentence on the subject of how to live. A thousand sayings in a thousand words are contained in this one sentence.

Since the common people are much the most clever as regards the knowledge of how to live, we will say nothing about them here. While discussing the living of the *daimyo* and the counting of receipts, it should be said that these latter refer to what is received for one year's *Chiko*. That is to say, the finding out of the total of what is received in one year in rice, cereals, and taxes on the sea and on the mountains, this is what is called counting the receipts. To pay out results in the use of that which is paid out, and generally there is no limit to what the heart of man desires in the way of dissipation and pleasure; hence no matter how much rice, cereals, riches and property are thus scattered, man never thinks it is enough and remains unsatisfied. But there must be limitations according to circumstances, and estimates must be made out for the proper amounts to be spent; and yet in speaking of the proper amounts these are difficult to arrive at. It is only done by counting the receipts and then paying out accordingly. This is what must first be carefully seen to, that is, the taking into consideration whether one's circumstances be large or small, and counting the amount of *Chiko*, or revenue, received, and so getting at the total, counting the fixed total amounts, for instance, to be paid out every year in rice, cereals, gold and silver, and striking a balance between receipts and expenditures, and seeing which is the greater. To have the greatest amount of revenue and the least of expenditure, this is best, this is the ideal. If the expenses are greater than the revenue, there will be a shortage; and should a deficiency occur, even if it be but slight, some of the expenses ought to be reduced and thought be given as to where the reduction may be most properly made.

Finally, the law of economy is that the expenses must be less than the revenue. Economy means that everything is brought within the circle (内輪). Confucius said, " Be frugal " (節用). Bokushi in his teachings said, " Frugality is especially important ". The knots, *settsu* (節), of the bamboo have limits. So with regard to to expenses, they ought to be kept within limits, as are the knots of the bamboo, and carefully counted, so as not to exceed the limits of the knots. This is frugality. In the Government of the Kings the saying, " Receipts must be counted and then payments made ", means frugality. It means that the payments must be less than the receipts. The State of course has expenses (*keihi*). Here *kei* (經) means usual, and *keihi* usual (常) expenses. The yearly public and private settled expenses in rice, cereals, gold and silver are called *keihi*. The occasional requirements, for say once in two, three, four or five years, are also included in *keihi*. *Keihi* is that which is estimated for and for which preparations are made in one year for the next, so that when the time arrives no difficulty will be experienced. This *keihi* is the expenditure of the revenue for meeting expenses. People like if possible to have their revenue and their expenses balance, and usually so arrange it that there is nothing left over ; and they also like to regulate their lives by living full up. This is the high class finance of these present times. But in the country and in the State there is such a thing as the unexpected happening, that is, the occurrence of things that have not been previously thought of. The first of these unexpected things are calamities by flood, drought or typhoon, such that the cereals of the year do not ripen and there is a shortage in the village revenues. Then next are the calamities due to fire and water, which are heaven sent. Robbers are calamities caused by man. Then again *gunryo* (軍旅) and *koyeki* (行役) are the results of great events occurring in the State. Though armies (*gunryo*) are not used in times of peace, yet to see that preparations for war are not forgotten, is the way of safe-guarding the country. Even in peaceful times armies

must be continually thought of. *Koyeki* is the watch, *ban* (番), who now guard Kyoto and Osaka. The performance of military service is generally called *koyeki*. There is sure to be the need of *koyeki* in times of peace. All these are unexpected things which come from the outside. But to have in one's house a sick person, or a death, these are unexpected things which come from the inside. These inner and outer unexpected things may come at any time, and necesitate the expenditure of rice, cereals, treasure, and others sorts of property. They cannot be run away from, whether by the Emperor, or by the *daimyo*, or by those below them down even to the common people. Again, on the occasion of festivals, such as *kitsuji* (吉事) and *kaji* (嘉事), the gods and the ancestors are worshipped. What the common people of today call the performance of the yearly mourning, this and Buddhist worship generally, are *kitsuji*. Births, changes in life at 15 years of age, and marriage are *kaji*. Although these are not certain for every year, they are nevertheless sure to occur sometime, and as they call for the expenditure of rice, cereals, gold and silver, even though they are not properly *keihi*, they are of the same nature as *keihi*. Then again, even if nothing happens to one's own country or house establishment, there are unexpected sorrows, which come to relations or other people, and these cannot be overlooked. As the unexpected is sure to happen to the province and to the private individual, provision for it must be made in advance. To make provision is to take note of and remember. Therefore, to think that the amount of the revenues and the expenses may properly be the same, and that only, is not to provide for the unexpected. If no preparations are made for the unexpected, and the unexpected is then encountered, there will be a shortage of what is necessary ; and here begins the process of borrowing. If rice, cereals, gold and silver are borrowed, they must be returned plus the interest. The debts increase in the way young rats are born. And first of all comes the difficulty of repayment. Because of this the above mentioned lords must certainly beware of the unex-

pected. To beware is to take care. Ribun said, "To prepare beforehand for the unexpected is a good teaching of the ancients." For instance, if it is asked why the expenses should be less than the revenue, and preparations be made for meeting the unexpected, the answer is found in the Law of the Kings, where it is said, "If there are three years of cultivation there must be one year's food". This is the law of the Sages. This law does not mean that if there are three years of cultivation there will surely be a surplus amounting to one year's supply of food. It means that the income for one year shall be divided into four parts, three for that year's nourishment and one for a surplus to be saved. For instance, take a *daimyo* of the present time who has an income of 10,000 *koku*. Let him use 7,500 *koku* to meet immediate public and private wants, and store the surplus of 2,500 *koku*. Then by adding together this surplus for three years you have 7,500 *koku*. This is one year's food. If this plan is carried out, one-fourth being saved every year, in nine uneventful years there will be savings amounting to three years' nourishment, and in thirty uneventful years there will be ten years' nourishment saved. And thus, no matter what bad years, what famines or unexpected calamities may come, there will be no shortage for the country. In the minds of the men of the present day a surplus of one-fourth every year is very much too great. But this is foolish account-keeping.

Should fires occur in the countries of the *daimyo* and their castles be burnt, this will use up several years' income from their villages. If there are fires which burn up the *yashiki* in the Eastern Capital, this will mean the paying out of two or three years' village revenue. Or if there are earthworks to be built for the State, then labour must be provided, or if there is military service to be rendered, this too will mean two or three years of village revenue. In addition to these several causes, if there is also somewhat of the unexpected, then it will often happen that a half or whole year of the village revenues will have to be paid out on that account. If details of the accounts were

gone into, even if there were a surplus saved of a quarter each year, there would still be a deficiency. Through not understanding the old laws of the code called "The Law of the Kings," and through not saving out one year's food from every three, when the above mentioned unexpected circumstances arise then recourse must be had to loans from the merchants and shop-keepers; and thus, though the most urgent demands may be settled, there being no funds to meet this shortage year by year, the needs of the province will become more and more pressing, and at last there will be no means of feeding the household, and the things borrowed will not be returned, credit will be lost, duty will go unperformed, and in many other respects will there be failure to comply with the proper way of life. Therefore, is not the ancient way of the sages, this definite putting aside of one year's food out of every three, a good teaching in the interests of the budget? Generally speaking, for small and great people alike the revenue of this year ought to be used for the expenses of next year. To use this year's revenue for this year's expenses is very much too sudden. To do as the *daimyo* and those below them are at present doing, and exceed the year before they are received the revenues of that year, or of the year after, is the very worst of policies. It is truly most pitiable that such an unscholarly and unscientific way of doing things should exist.

In the foreign country (China) there are things called Duty-Warehouses (義倉). In the time of the Emperor Bun, of Da, there was an official of the Treasury (度支尚書) named Chosonhei. The *Takushishosho* is the office for controlling the various affairs of State relative to expenditure and the receiving and delivering of money and cereals. In the time of Kaiko, Chosonhei memorialized the Emperor and built duty-warehouses in different places, and from each individual house of the people, according to its poverty or wealth, one *koku* or upwards of millet and wheat had to be given every year. This was collected and stored in the local warehouses, and the village fathers and elders were put in

charge of it. In ordinary years this was kept intact, but in bad years of famine it was given out to relieve distress. These buildings were called duty-warehouses, because by means of them the people mutually helped each other in times of dire need. They also existed in Japan in the time of the Emperor Bun, and the principle is likewise carried out now. If the people in different places, as a matter of course, and the *samurai* and gentlemen of the different daimiates were to adopt this method, it would be of great assistance to all. The following is an example of the law. The *daimyo* of 10,000 *koku* and over ought to deduct 1/20 from the salaries of their retainers and store that amount in the duty-warehouses. One-twentieth is five bags taken from every one hundred bags. It should be taken, of course, from the salaries of those receiving one hundred bags and upwards, and from all of smaller salaries also one out of twenty should be taken. The lord, too, should give one-twentieth. If he had 10,000 *koku*, then this would mean for him 500 *koku*. Thus one-twentieth would be taken every year from high and low alike. If stored in cereals, it would be in rice or millet, and any surplus could await a time of high prices, and be then sold and the sum received laid up in gold. From out the ranks of the *samurai* some one honest and well versed in figures could be chosen and put in charge of the duty-warehouse; and under him men could be placed to guard the same, and these guards could be used also in the labour of receiving and giving out cereals. Should there be a bad year at any time and the food supply be deficient, then this stored up supply could be taken out and the shortage be made good. Should there be such an occurrence as a fire in this or that country village, or at the *yashiki* in the Eastern Capital, the supply could be drawn upon also to overcome this trouble. To any who have encountered such experiences of calamity this help can be given, or they can have it lent to them. These are the dangerous troubles which may happen equally to all. Again, in the house of a *samurai* there may be some sudden sickness

or death or other occasion of mourning, and thus an experience of pressure all unexpected and hardly to be endured; and again, even though without its being unexpected, a wife may be wedded or a daughter be given in marriage, and so forth, and these events always call for large expenditures. At such times, an application being granted, cereals or money may be given out on loan, repayment to be made, according to the amount, in one year, or two, or three, or even four or five. For this loan interest would have to be paid. Interest should be settled at about one *sho* of rice per *koku* per month, the interest on gold and silver to be in like proportion. The rice interest to be returned to these duty-warehouses should all be deducted from the yearly salary. Usually borrowers among the *samurai*, if anything unexpected arises and there is not enough to meet the demand, borrow outside, and that means the payment of high interest, or else a possible sudden demand for the return of the money, which itself causes much trouble. Or, in the event of pressure beyond this point, one's substance, beginning with military and horse equipment, and including the valuable treasures of generations, is sold and dispersed; and there are many who have even to pawn their clothes, which prevents them from performing their public and private duties. Those of the *samurai* of to-day, who are damaged in reputation and have lost their honour have all begun in precisely this way. Are there some persons who will question the propriety of thus lending out duty-warehouse money and cereals and causing interest to be paid thereon? Pawnbrokers and money-lenders all lend at high rates of interest, and so, instead of wishing to borrow from outside at high rates, to go to the duty-warehouses would be to go to one's own armouries, as it were. Moreover, since there is no great pressure as regards time of payment, there is no such trouble involved as that of running after the people who have borrowed; and besides, this borrowing from the duty-warehouse is very convenient and for the benefit of the *samurai* concerned. After this law has been made, to

borrow outside, or to pawn clothing and military equipment, should be strictly prohibited, and laws be enacted forbidding the incurrence of any kind of debt. The *samurai* each knowing his position would put economy first, and the government on its part would be carried on so as not to favour extravagance. A country where this system prevailed, if fortunate enough not to be visited with any untoward event for a long period of time, would have the wealth of its duty-warehouses year by year increased. If, however, there should unfortunately come bad times, or should occasion arise for army or military service, and should there be a deficiency for the country or for the needs of the army, then the supreme lord and his retainers could borrow from the duty-warehouses and meet all such needs. And then, when uneventful times again came round, this drain could be made good in a very few years. Should a *samurai* die without heirs or relatives to succeed him, and his house thereby come to an end, and should he have a widow or orphan daughter, then an account could be taken of the cereals put into the duty-warehouse by his ancestors, and the amount be given to his widow or orphan daughter. This is again one of the methods of procedure characteristic of a humane government. The art of the duty-warehouse is somewhat as above described. Though duty calls for caution against extravagance in peaceful times, and enjoins carefulness as to expenses, and the saving little by little of one's property as a reserve against unexpected events; yet men of forethought are in the minority, and those who work only at things that are right before their eyes are in the great majority. So, if the government should issue such a command as the above, only one man in a hundred would make personal preparation for the unexpected. Most people, as regards things in their own houses, when something unexpected happens and they are pressed for the means to meet the necessity thus arising, will use up the savings of years for this one occasion, and, clasping empty purses, finally become poor. The duty-warehouses

contain the savings of a province and not those of any one person. There are laws both for storage and for delivery, and the goods cannot be taken out at will. If a certain settled amount of rice is yearly taken from the salaries, and if private houses are not asked to make new gifts, then the people will not suffer greatly. Generally speaking, a hundred million people are not all of the same mind, and they differ in the amount of good or bad which they experience from the government; but when something unexpected occurs, they are one in the suffering that arises from a lack of the means to meet their various necessities. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that when, under the control of the lord of the province, there is gain or loss, the government which in ordinary times takes these precautions against unexpected calamity is a good government. The duty-warehouses referred to just now are a device which can be put in practice at any time or place. I have heard that at present in Miharu, in Oshiu, the government of Mr. Akita is of this nature. We should like to see that of other *daimyo* the same. That government is good for country and village, which is well regulated, and which secures the production of enough for paying the salaries and for providing the food of high and low alike. The *daimyo* of these days are all wasteful and hold back the salaries of their retainers, not paying them the settled amount. Their old debts are of such a kind that even several years' income, if all were used, would not suffice to cover them, and they would find it impossible to erect duty-warehouses. All this causes a person with thoughts on economics veritable pain and sorrow.

With regard to the ancient Japanese gold currency, we do not know much about it; but we have heard that from the middle ages gold was used. It is not clearly known when it was that silver was first used. Copper money was not cast in large quantities subsequently to the casting of the *Wado* (和銅) copper coins. After the middle period of ancient times the *Kaigen sen* (開元錢) of China (唐) came over in large quantities to this country, and after that came large

quantities of So (宋), *sen*. *So*, although *sen* had not been previously cast in Japan, there was no lack of this kind of coin (cash). In the eastern provinces of Japan the price of rice lands was estimated in *Yeiraku sen* (永樂錢), and salaries too were settled in amounts of so many hundreds or thousands of *kwan*. As the *sen* of China had been so plentifully used here, no Japanese *sen* had been coined; but in the present dynasty for the first time the new *sen* of the *Kwanyei* (寛永) (1624) years were cast. These have on them the characters "Current Treasure of *Kwanyei*" (寛永通寶). They were current along with the *sen* which from ancient times have come from abroad. It is said that one *kwan* (貫) of *Yeiraku sen* was equal to one *ryo* (兩) of yellow gold, and four *kwan* of *Kwanyei sen* were equal to one *kwan* of *Yeiraku sen*; but as large quantities of the new *sen* were issued, the value of the *Yeiraku* fell, so that later it became of the same value as the *Kwanyei*. Again, in the *Kwanbun* period (寛文, 1661), new *sen* were cast, on the face of which were the characters "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure," and on the back the character *bun* (文). In the Shotoku years (1711) and those of Kyoho *sen* were again cast of the same kind as the "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure," and bearing the characters "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure", but without the character *bun* on the back. As the new *sen* have been frequently cast, the foreign ancient *sen* are becoming gradually fewer.

In the Hoyei (1704) period, in Noshiu, a farmer who was digging a house site turned up some gold sheets (*hankin*, 板金), which in size and shape were similar to the *oban* of to-day. They had no characters or letters stamped upon them, but on both sides there were rough engravings. By engraved letters (欵識) is meant an inscription (銘名), or engraved seal (刻印). This man of Noshiu took the sheets he had found to Kyoto, and shewed them to a person in the Gold Currency Bureau there, and was informed that they were gold sheets of the Ota time. On asking why they bore no characters or inscription of any kind, he was told

that "being made of pure gold they would circulate without any inscription, and that there would be no one who would attempt to counterfeit them; and also that, in case it was necessary to use part of a coin, it could be cut into cubes and used by weight." I, Jun was in Kyoto at the time and saw these gold sheets. Generally, pure gold and silver are honoured. It is difficult to counterfeit pure metal; whereas stamps and characters are easily imitated. This was the reason that in former dynasties pure metal was employed and there were no seals or characters used with them. In the present dynasty pure gold and silver are used, but they have seals, characters and inscriptions. This is to prevent forgery. In gold the weight is four *sen* (錢) and eight *fun* (分) to the *ryo*. Two *sen* and two *fun* go to one *bu* (歩). An *oban* is thirty six *sen* in weight. This is seven *ryo* and two *bu*. A *koban* is four *sen* and eight *fun*, that is to say, one *ryo*. The gold *kan* are round in shape, and the gold *bu* are long and rectangular. There are three kinds of gold currency, the values of which are not different, this high and that low, they are all three of the same value. One gold *ryo* equals sixty silver *sen*, and is usually current for four *kwan* and eight hundred *mon* of copper *sen*. At times the price is higher, and then again lower, but it is generally as above. In changing *oban* for *koban*, however or *koban*, for gold, exchange must be paid. The common people call this the cost of cutting (切賃), this meaning to cut big gold pieces into smaller ones. The exchange-shops take this exchange as their profit; but this is only for converting large coins into small, there is no real difference in value. There is no difference in the value of the *ryo*, whether it is expressed in *oban*, *koban* or *bu*. The reason a charge is made for exchanging from the larger denomination to the smaller is that the one is easier to use than the other. The denominations that are difficult to use are the *oban* and the *koban*. Therefore the gentry and people pay out exchange and obtain gold *bu*. This is to the profit of the exchange-shops and to the loss

of the gentry and those above them. Of these several varieties of coin the *oban* is the one least used by the people. The *koban* is used by the gentry in common with gold *bu*, and it is on this account convenient for effecting exchanges. Thirty years ago the exchange on one *ryo* was from eight to twelve *mon*; but in late years the usual rate is thirty or forty *mon*, though sometimes it goes as high as a hundred. This means great loss to the gentry. If it were possible, I should like to see the *hankin bu* (板金) abolished, and have only the one kind of currency, viz. gold *bu*. Then there would be no need to pay out money on exchange account, and this would be of great benefit to the gentry.

In the Keicho period of this dynasty (1596–1614) gold was obtained from the mines of Sado. With this a gold currency was made, which is still in use at the present time. During the Genroku period (1688–1703) there was not enough pure gold for the uses of the State, and a new gold currency, mixed with silver, copper, lead and tin, was coined. The inscription upon it contained the character *gen* (元). In addition to the three kinds above mentioned, gold *Nishiu* (二銖) were introduced. These were half a gold *bu* (歩), and were therefore smaller. The four kinds had lost the true yellow colour of gold and looked like brass. This was the new gold of the Genroku period, and it was current everywhere within the seas (Japan). The old gold of the Keicho period was abolished. It was not pure and was easily counterfeited, and there were a large number of criminal counterfeiters who were made to suffer crucifixion. The people despised this currency, because it was not of pure gold, and because it gradually increased the price of the different kinds of merchandise. The price of gold had not fallen relatively to that of old gold; but as the prices of merchandise had risen, the value (purchasing power) of gold had fallen. Again, there was a great deal of forged money in circulation, which people were constantly receiving without knowing it. Bumbyo was much perturbed on account

of this fact, and after his accession to the throne he wished to bring the gold currency back to its former condition. But as the money of the Genroku period was alloyed with silver, copper, lead and tin in the same proportions as gold, if he had wished to produce a currency like the old coins of the Keicho period, he would have had to diminish the amount of the gold currency by half. So he decided, as a temporary measure, and until such time as a return could be made to the old gold standard, to make small coins. He therefore recoined the gold *koban* and *bu* of the Genroku period, discarding the impurities they contained, and making a new currency out of pure gold. The thickness was lessened, the size made smaller, and the weight reduced to half that of the old currency. That is to say, the weight of the gold *koban* was made two *sen* (錢) and four *fun* (分), and the weight of the gold *bu* six *fun*, two *rin* and five *mo*. The gold *oban* was not altered, nor was the gold *nishiu*, as the intention was to abolish it. The new currency was issued during the Hoyei period (1704–1710), and it circulated within the seas on equal terms with the gold currency of the Genroku period. In the inscription on the gold *koban* there was introduced the character *ken* (乾) and so these coins were and are called *kenkin*. From the time this gold began to be used no forgeries have been committed by the people. As no one has suffered on account of the existence of false coins, the people have found this currency most convenient to have. But as the coins are thin and small, and the weight only half that of the coins of the old currency that were without reason despised, and though the actual coinage value has not fallen, the prices of many things are materially enhanced. Then again, this currency is not intended to be left long in circulation, but only until a return can be made to the old currency of the Keicho period ; since this in turn is only to be circulated for a short time, until the debased currency of the Genroku period can be effectively abolished. If in a short time a return is to be made to the old Keicho currency, the

people know that the *kenkin* will naturally come to be of only half the value; and so they advance the prices of all commodities in order to prevent any loss when the time of return to the old currency arrives. The cleverness of the common people at making profit out of knavery can never be equalled by the gentry and those above them. For this reason the *kenkin* is very inconvenient. When Kembyo was dying, in the 3rd year of the Shotoku period (1713), he sent for his ministers and made known to them his dying wishes, saying that it would be better to return to the old Keicho currency. Thereupon the people gradually reduced the value of the *kenkin* and raised the prices of commodities. They gradually altered values, so that one *ryo* (兩) became the equivalent of two *kwan* (貫) and six or seven hundred *mon*, (文) of copper money.

In the time of Sobyo (7th Shogun) a new currency was coined of the same standard as the old Keicho currency. The *koban* and *bu* were coined first, the *oban* not till later. They were made of pure gold. The inscription *ken* was done away with, and the size and weight were made just the same as in the old Keicho currency, and the coins were issued so as to come into circulation gradually towards the end of the Shotoku period. This was called *new gold* and one *ryo* of it was exchanged for two *kenkin ryo* and one *bu* for half a *Keicho bu*. Half a *bu* is a *nishiu*. Orders were given that this currency should be circulated in the same way as the old Keicho currency. At this time there were so many kinds of gold currency in use that a great deal of inconvenience was experienced by the people. The present government, at the beginning of the Kyoho period (1716), definitely abolished the *kenkin*, and at the same time did away with the old *nishiu* of the Genroku period, and caused the new gold to be circulated for the most part. When the new currency of the Genroku period was coined and the old currency of the Keicho period was thus abolished, the Keicho gold went quite out of circulation; but on the coming in of the new currency at the

end of Shotoku period, a return was made to the old currency of the Keicho. As the new and the old were caused to circulate on the same terms, a great deal of the Keicho appeared, amounting to about half of the total volume of the currency. Where it had lain hidden during the twenty years following the Genroku period no one can tell. The phenomenon was most strange. Although it was said that the new gold, the Kyoho, would take the place of all the *kenkin*; nevertheless, as the people knew that the *kenkin* was of pure gold, they no doubt hid large quantities of it. The old currency of the Keicho period, if compared as to its weight with the present new gold, is said to be distinctly lighter, there being some loss in weight due to rubbing during long years of use. Thus the new gold is held in esteem and the old gold despised, and the old which was hoarded is gradually being given out and the new hoarded instead. In a very few years' time the amount of Keicho gold in circulation has become really very great, the new gold being only one-tenth as much. From the fact that the old currency, which was abolished at the close of the Genroku period, has now come into circulation again, it can be clearly seen that a great deal of the present *kenkin* is being hidden. As gold and silver are the forms of wealth used for promoting the circulation of commodities, they are things which ought not to be hoarded and hidden. It is right that the bad gold of the Genroku period should be prohibited. The *kenkin*, however, though only small and thin, is of good gold, and if this is kept from circulating, then as much of it as is hoarded by the people is practically useless. After the time for recoining the currency is once past, old gold cannot be changed for new, and thus it will become naturally an abolished thing, like a hidden jewel buried in the earth. Is this not very sad? It is in this way, however, that the wealth in actual circulation becomes deficient. If possible, let the *kenkin* be estimated at half the value of the new gold, and, as before, let the old and new circulate together; then the hidden *kenkin* will be br

out of hiding and the wealth of the world will become abundant. This is profitable for both the nation and the people. From 1727 the new gold *oban* were circulated, and those of the genroku period abolished, and at this time all of the gold currency recoined since the Genroku period was abolished, and a return made to that of the old Keicho. This was indeed good government. When the new law of the Kyoho was issued, the gentry and people, thinking that the gold currency of the country would be reduced by half, shed many tears; but, though several years have passed, during which the new gold has been in circulation, there is no special sign of loss through this reduction, and the people have forgotton their pain. The government truly made and has carried out a wise decision.

The silver currency of this dynasty has been from the beginning of two kinds: one, *silver shoes* (銀錠) and the other, *broken silver* (碎銀). As for the silver, four *sen* (錢) and three *fun* (分) go to one *ryo*. *Broken silver* is both large and small, not all alike, the weight varying from three *fun* to four of five *sen*. The shape being like that of a bean, the common people call the coin *mameita* (bean board). The *silver shoes* are in ten *ryo* pieces, the weight being the equivalent of forty-three *sen*. The common people call them silver sticks (銀挺). There are large and small shoes, they do not have to be all actually equal to ten *ryo*. Though there is no question of quality, i. e., of good and bad silver, in the two kinds; yet in converting shoe silver into broken silver, and vice versa, exchange has to be paid. As in changing gold *han* for gold *bu*, it is simply a matter of convenience. At the first, when the State was established, the silver was pure; but when it was recoined in the Genroku period, copper, lead and tin were mixed with it, and the number of coins made from a certain quantity of metal was increased. The character *gen* was placed in the inscription, and the money was called the new silver of the Genroku. Compared with the very old Keicho silver, it was a little lighter in colour. While this currency has been circulating in Japan, the old silver has been

abolished. As it was not of pure silver, there appeared many counterfeiters, and the gentry and people received a great many counterfeit coins. When this new silver should have been abolished in the Hoyei period, there was again a deficiency of coin for State purposes, and in order to increase the supply, the copper, lead and tin parts were added to, and in the inscription the character *ho* was stamped, and this was called the new silver of Hoyei. The silver of the Genroku was thereupon abolished, and the new Hoyei currency left to circulate alone. The colour was dark, and when compared with that of the Genroku coin it looked like lead. Accordingly the people despised it. But this was not all, the alloy was later increased, and the inscription was made to contain two of the *ho* characters. The colour then became really bad, and the contempt of the people became altogether exceptional. Nor did it stop even at this. Later on the alloy was again increased, and in the inscription three *ho* characters were introduced. And then the alloy was further increased, and four *ho* characters introduced. Therefore, in the Hoyei period the coinings of silver currency were called by the people the One *ho*, the Two *ho* and the Three *ho*. And when it came to the Four *ho*, the colour became very dark indeed, with practically nothing at all of the true colour of silver, being in no wise different from that of lead and tin. The way the people despised this money was precisely as if it had been earth and stones. The old silver at the time of the first beginnings of the State was counted at sixty *sen* to the gold *ryo*, one copper *sen* being usually taken as the equal of seventy or eighty *mon*. The value, or purchasing power, of the Three *ho* and Four *ho* bad silver, kept on decreasing, until there were over eighty *sen* to the gold *ryo*, one *sen* being taken at about forty *mon*. At this period the sorrows of the gentry and people were extreme. As in the eastern provinces gold and copper were the metals employed, very little silver was in use, and thus the suffering from the ill effects of bad silver was slight. But to the west of Kyoto, silver being mor

largely in use, the ill effects of bad silver were many. Counterfeiting was extremely common, and the sufferings of the gentry and people on this account were beyond all conception. When Bumbyo succeeded to the government, he was at once greatly troubled by this sorrowful state of affairs. He wished to melt down the five lots of bad silver issued since the close of the Genroku period, and return to the old currency of the beginning of the State, and he finally ordered his officials to coin a new currency of pure silver, similar to that of the former time. In the second year of the Shotoku period the new currency came gradually to be circulated. Its value was the same as that of the old currency; for one *sen* of it was taken at fours *en* of the four *ho* currency, while three *ho*, two *ho* and one *ho* coins were taken at their relative silver value. The four kinds were accepted at a slight advance in the new currency, according to their colour. Inasmuch as there was not enough of the new currency for the needs of the people, the five kinds of bad silver were not abolished, but were allowed to circulate along with the new currency. This having but one kind of silver currency, though with six grades of excellence, was a cause of much suffering to the gentry and people. In the beginning of the Kyoho period, however, a new order was issued, in accordance with which all of the bad silver since the Genroku period was abolished, and only the new currency was left in circulation. By this means the silver currency of the country was reduced to one-fourth its former volume, and the gentry and people were made to suffer greatly in consequence; but after a number of years, when the new silver currency had spread throughout Japan, the suffering gradually disappeared, and the old state of affairs, that had existed at the beginning of the State, imperceptibly returned. This again was fortunate and a result of good government.

Copper sen came into circulation mostly after the Kwanyei period. In the Genroku period it became too scarce for the needs of the State; and so new sen were ordered

to be cast in the Eastern Capital. An official by the name of Hagiwara So and So, thinking to prevent any large use of copper, mixed in with it lead and tin, and made the *sen* smaller in size and thinner than before. The Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* weighed ten *fun*. The Kwanyei new *sen* of the Genroku period, though inscribed Kwanyei–Tsuho, weighed only six or seven *fun*. The Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* were dark red in colour, and for coarseness and badness were beyond all comparison in either ancient or modern times. In China the *sen* called *Niggardly Sen* (慳錢) were of this bad sort. The official's idea was that, whether the *sen* were good or bad, one *mon* would always be one *mon*, and he thought it useless to waste copper and good workmanship on them. This was owing to ignorance and a lack of understanding of past experience. The *sen* may be a lowly thing, but it is nevertheless a treasure of the earth for purposes of circulation, and is intended, not only for circulation in the present, but to remain for the use of future generations, and people talk about it as the *sen* of this or that man's time. In the reign of king Kei, of the Shu Dynasty, large *sen* were coined, and the inscription on them was *hokwa* (寶貨). Over 2200 years have passed since then; yet these coins remain to this day. As the Kan dynasty came after that of Shu, there is a large quantity of them still, and also, of course, a great quantity of what was introduced subsequently to the time of the Kan Dynasty. Of all old things that have been handed down to us, there are none that have continued to exist so long as *sen*; therefore in China great pains have been taken coining them. Copper of the very best has been chosen, and the inscriptions have been written by the best contemporary penmen. It is said that in the time of king Taiso, of To, when the Kaigen–Tsuho *sen* were coined, the great penman, Chosuiro, was ordered to write the inscription for them; and also that the inscription on the Daikwa–Tsuho *sen*, that were issued in the So period, was written by the Emperor Biso. Biso was one of the best penman in the

world of that day. These matters are not at all secret. And all the other *sen* also have given examples of the work of the best penman of the periods that produced them. The writing employed was in the seal (篆) form, the *rei* (隸) form, the eighth, tenth and true grass forms etc., and its beauty was all of one kind. Again, in the old *sen*, silver being mixed with the copper, the colour was green with white rays, and was pretty. Even now, if old *sen* are subjected to fire, the silver will come to the surface and stand out like dew, which is a proof of what I have written. The old *sen* of Japan, such as the *Wado* and *Kaichin*, are very beautiful, as regards coinage and the inscriptions placed upon them, and are not inferior to the old coins of the Middle Kingdom. In these times the copper of *Kwanyei* and *Kwanbun* is not only inferior in quality to the old copper, but the circumference of the coins is very large, and the characters in the inscription are very small, so that the general appearance is bad. The writing is done by ignorant persons, and the letters are badly shaped and not to be compared with those of the old *sen* of China, and they also can not be compared with the *Wado sen* of Japan. If such *sen* as these should be carried across to China and passed down to posterity, they would be laughed at by the people. Much more does this apply to the Hokei *sen* of the Genroku period, which are the worst *sen* ever heard of. Any one, therefore, who wishes to allow these to exist does not know what it is to bring shame to the State. The officials who have caused the State to err in the matter of their production have all been of this depraved sort. During the Hoyei period, as there were not enough *sen* for the needs of the State, orders were given to coin large sen, with a diameter of about one *sun* and five *bu* (one and seven eighths inches). The inscription on the face was Hoyei–Tsuho, and on the back were the four characters, Yei-kiu-sei-yo, and one *mon* was taken at ten *mon* of the ordinary *sen*. When these *sen* were issued the people thought them very inconvenient and

thoroughly disliked them; and though the State issued an order that they must be circulated, the people refused more and more to accept them. Notice was given that persons not using them would be severely punished. The officials gave orders daily to this effect; but the people were very determined, and the *sen* absolutely refused to circulate. At such a juncture even the power of the State could not enforce the circulation. Things that were not in accord with the desires of the people could not, even under severe penalty, be forced upon them.

In the spring of Teichu (1637), at the beginning of the government of Bumbyo, these obnoxious *sen* were abolished, and the people rejoiced exceedingly. But those persons who had accepted many of them in trade, and so had them in their possession, lost heavily on that account. Then, at the end of the Shotoku period, in the Shobyo reign, new *sen* were coined. The rules for the *sen* of the Kwanyei and later were adopted, and even the inscription was made Kwanyei-Tsuho; but the copper employed, when compared with that of the old sen of the Kwanyei and Kwanbun, we find to have been very inferior. The characters of the inscription were much smaller, and after say ten years' wear they quite disappeared. After this, the number of coins in use being too small, their purchasing power rose, and during the *Kyoho* (享保, 1716) period, new sen were coined, similar to those of the Shotoku period, and with the addition of these the number of *sen* in the hands of the people became once more sufficiently large. If there is a shortage of coin, the value (purchasing power) of the unit of exchange becomes high; whereas, on the contrary, if their number is too large, the value falls, just as with ordinary merchandise. The *sen* rate is generally based on the value of the Kwanyei *sen*, i. e., it is made four *Kwan* (貫) *mon* to the *ryo*. If the upper classes are paying out money to the lower, or the lower to the upper, this is the rate that is always used.

But among the people themselves the value is over four *kwan* and eight hundred *mon* to the *ryo*. When *sen* are scarce,

it sometimes happens that the price does not reach to four hundred *kwan mon*; or that when plentiful, it may reach as high as five *kwan*. It is to the advantage of the gentry that *sen* be cheap; whereas for the people dear *sen* bring profit. When *sen* are dear, gold is cheap; and when *sen* are cheap, gold is dear. Though it is to the profit of the merchant and shop-keeper to have *sen* dear; neverthless, even when *sen* are cheap, they do not lose their usual amount of profit, it is only the gentry who suffer. For, since these sell their rice for gold, and with gold buy *sen*, and make all their payments in *sen*, when gold is cheap and *sen* are dear, then they have not money enough for their needs. This is quite a different state of affairs from that of the merchants and shop-keepers who are made to lose nothing of their profits when *sen* are cheap. Therefore, for the present government there is no better plan than to have in circulation an abundance of *sen*, and exchangeable at a cheap rate.

In this dynasty *sen* have many times been coined since Kwanyei. But from ancient times until now *sen* have never been really abundant in Japan. The fifth and seventh years, when new *sen* were coined, were the times when they were plentiful with the people. But after the twentieth year they became scarce and were bought and sold at advanced prices. The reason of this is, first, that in times of fire coins are burned up and lost, and second, that among the common people, when the burial of a person takes place, under the name of "Six Road *Sen*" (六道錢), six *mon* of *sen* are placed in the coffin. Six *mon* is of course very little, but there is no knowing how many thousands and tens of thousands of persons die daily. If the *sen* put in the coffin are for an earth burial, they become earth, if for a fire burial, they become ashes. A third reason is that foolish persons ascend Fuji, Asama, Yudono and other mountains, and throw *sen* into the craters. Since those in charge of such mountains cannot get into the craters and recover the *sen*, they are of course utterly lost. And there is a fourth reason, namely,

that when images of Buddha and bells for temples are being cast, foolish men and women throw *sen* into the furnaces. Then, lately, as copper has become very dear and good copper scarce, and as the Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* are made of the very best copper, there are those who collect the coins and cast Buddhist images with them, or such things as tea and other utensils. The above four roads for the destruction of *sen* are all well known to people generally. In addition to these, however, there are certain ways that are not ordinarily known or noticed. Up to the time when I was young, there were only Kwanyei and the Kwanbun *sen* to be had, but since the Genroku period bad *sen* have come to be used, and the old Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* have gradually become scarce. If we take any hundred *sen* now in circulation and examine them carefully, the bad *sen* among them will be mostly those of the Genroku period; or any ten, and among these there will be only one or two of the old Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen*, with fewer still of the old Yeiraku, or of any *sen* of a previous date. This is a proof of the disappearance of the *sen*. The State must make laws to prevent the disappearance of the *sen*. Now in China also, on funeral occasions, *sen* are buried, and when the gods (神) are worshiped, are burned, or in the case of the Water God, are cast into the water, and so forth. But in later times so-called paper *sen* have come into use, *sen* shaped and stamped like *sen* made of metal. I am strongly adverse to the disappearance of copper *sen*.

In these present times, in exchanging merchandise with foreign countries (China), a great deal of copper goes abroad. For this reason copper is very dear. Though the copper-producing mines in Japan are numerous, still on account of the cost of mine labour, the officials in charge do not mine deeply, and the quantity of copper produced is very small. It is not too little for the world's use, but the price is very high, and this makes the cost of coining new *sen* very great. Hence if the State wishes to coin *sen*, the officials are sure to prevent it by saying that copper is scarce. Anciently when

the *daimyo* Kawagoye, in the time of the government of Nobutsuna, broke up the copper Daibutsu of Kyoto, and coined Kwanbun *sen* out of the material thus obtained, he performed an excellent deed. The Kyoto Daibutsu was thereafter an image of wood instead of copper. The Southern Capital (Nanto) Daibutsu was not broken up at that time, and exists in its copper state to this day. Then again the Kamakura Daibutsu is of copper. In addition to these the number of copper images in Japan cannot be called small, there are many of the height of ten or twenty feet. During late years *Rokujizo* images (六地蔵) (the six images along the road side) have been cast in the Eastern Capital, and it is said that they are sixteen feet long. Now if the ancient images are thus useless things, to cast new and larger images is certainly a waste of copper and a harm to the State. Persons who do such things are called Wood Insects (蠹). Wood Insects eat trees. If there were in these times a nobleman like the *daimyo* Kawagoye, he would break up all the great images, beginning with that of the Southern Capital, in all the various places where they are to be found, and would turn them into copper *sen*. And if there were any copper left over, it would be applied to the uses of the State. And after this a severe prohibition would be issued, preventing the useless casting of even small images. Even large temples, except where they are especially famous, ought to be forbidden to cast great bells. In the case of small temples they might be allowed to hang small bells, but all the large bells should be broken up and coined into *sen* and the copper thus obtained made use of for other purposes. If this were done, copper would no longer be scarce, and as a consequence the State and the people would greatly profit. According to the tenets of Buddhism, it is not absolutely necessary that the images of Buddha, to have most virtue, should be made of copper; if they are carved out of wood, or moulded in clay, their virtues would be just the same. Therefore to throw away copper of which there is not enough for the uses of the State, the Army, and the people,

merely on images of Buddha truly betrays a lack of learning. Even now, if only this prohibiting order were to be issued, there would be an abundance of copper in Japan. Again, though copper is obtained from different mines, the officials in charge thereof count up the cost of labour and the necessary expenditure for cereals, and if there is not enough copper obtained to compensate for the same, they simply do not mine deeply. This again is a result of ignorance. The money of the State, if spent on cereals given to the people, is not spent uselessly, and if even a very small quantity of copper, iron etc., is obtained, it can be applied to the uses of the State. Then again, there is the pleasure of helping poor people by using them in this connection, as during this time they can obtain food and be free from sorrow. This too is a gain to the people. Therefore the expenditure of the State ought to be faced without fear, and what ought to be mined should be, and the work of getting the entire wealth and power of the soil out of it unhesitatingly taken up. But the decision to do this can be reached only by men who have great powers of observation and calculation.

In ancient times gold was obtained from the mountains of Oshiu, but now there is none coming from thence. During the Keicho period (1596-1614) gold came from the Sado mines and it was abundant in Japan. But it gradually grew less and less, and is now said to have decreased very greatly indeed. Generally the things which come from the earth are produced by nature with a view to meeting the various needs of man; so, if a certain mine is deficient in its supply to this end, there will be some other mine producing the required quantity. This is the doctrine of dark and light, and of increase and decrease, and is one of the great fixed laws of nature. In Japan, therefore, at the present time, there must be in different places mountains which produce gold, silver etc., and if the mines which they must certainly contain are searched for, and, when found, are worked without concern for the cost of the labour involved, the output of gold will be

of such an abundance that there will be no need to issue a debased currency such as that of the Genroku period. But there is a decided art in all this. Let me speak of one variety of it. The mountain of Kimpo, in Washiu, is said to produce gold. This its name would suggest. But the God of the mountain begrudges man the gold, and will not give it to him. It is said that the God will be sure to punish anyone who attempts to work mines in this mountain. This, however, is merely the vulgar talk of the natives round about, and of the priests and priestesses of the mountain. The foolish people, believing this obsurd report, circulate it freely. Most of the officials of the State are ignorant, not clever like the *daimyo* Kawagoye, and when they hear this talk of the vulgar, they think it must be true, and are consequently afraid. Should there be a profit-loving fellow among them, who through his greed would make trial of mining the mountain, he would surely retire from the attempt through fear of receiving evil at the hands of the God, and the common people, on hearing and seeing the experience, would surely be made afraid, and there would be none who would dare to say anything further. Kimpozan, Kongozan and Arimazan are all mountains of this nature, and and there are no doubt many others.

Is it not sorrowful that that which would be of profitable use to the people is left hidden away, wastefully, so to speak, in the ground? To say then, as above, that there is art in all this matter means simply that there is a way. Heaven and earth produce all things for the nourishment of man. The Gods are clever and honest beings. So, if man reverences the Gods and worships them with the use of the proper rites, they will ensure him good fortune. Should man approach the Gods rudely, however, he will surely receive evil from them. Generally speaking, there are Gods residing in all mountains and rivers, and if there is a desire to obtain the treasures which are produced in these places, then important rites, as arranged by the Emperor, must be made use of for the worship of the Gods, and proper prayers be made for obtaining

the things wanted. As the Gods do not talk, it is impossible to hold conversations with them. They must be inquired of through divination. If then a God is pleased with the worship addressed to him, and the divination results favourably, this means that the God gives the desired permission. If the divination is unfavourable, then permission is not granted. After the God has given the permission, there is no danger of any kind, and no evil from the Gods will be encountered. If one will follow this rule, there will be no difficulty in entering into any God-mountain with mining operations. Thus by reverencing a God as a God the hearts of the people are freed from fear. Even now should an Imperial messenger be sent somewhere and the God of the place be worshiped with appropriate rites, then the matter would be decided for or against, according to the signs of divination. If the God's permission to extract the mountain's contents is obtained, then not only Mt. Kimpo, but any other mountain, could be entered. The Classics say, "Under the universal heavens there is no ground which does not belong to the King". It is said that the Emperor is lord over Gods and men. If the lord of the country makes request on behalf of the State, using appropriate rites, how can the Mountain and River Gods begrudge him their treasures? It is only because men try by rude and improper methods to steal away these treasures that they not only do not get them, but receive punishment from the Gods besides.

In China, as copper money was scarce, paper certificates were issued in place of it, and a great many of them were used. They were called Treasure Bonds (寶鈔). Anciently in our country such things did not exist; but in the Genroku period, as there was not enough metallic currency for the needs of the provinces of the *daimyo*, treasure bonds were made, each kind for use only in the province of issue. The common people of those times called them *silver tickets* (銀札), and the use of them was called *tsukai*. These bonds in appearance were two *sun* (2½ inches) or three *sun* (3¾

inches) wide and about one foot long. When put into a parcel or the pocket, since they were enclosed between boards, they were much more inconvenient to carry than *koban* etc.; or, in cases of fire, they would get burnt, or, if they fell into water, would get wet, or they would be eaten by rats, or get soiled, or wrinkled, or chafed. If they were damaged even a little, the value would fall; and so altogether there was no limit to the loss the people might suffer on account of them. In China, from ancient times, the use of paper money has never been considered a sign of good government. Though the government might profit, the common people invariably suffered. In the time of Bumbyo, strict orders were issued, and the use of paper money in the different provinces was prohibited; and though the people who possessed the paper lost their treasure at once through its abolition as money, and were caused much inconvenience and suffering, they were nevertheless glad to have the harm it occasioned, and which had lasted so long, removed. This was good government. Generally when the State is short of money for meeting its needs, those subjects who can manage to profit thereby make many wicked suggestions to the government. This in fact is most common. Among these suggestions that of making paper money is one, and since to do this is very bad government, it is a thing to be stoutly resisted. During the government of the Kan dynasty there existed a thing that was called *heijun* (平準). Now *heijun* is an instrument used with water, with which to prove that things are level. It is what the vulgar of to day call a water-level (*midzumori*). But *heijun* as applied to finance was a term used when different kinds of merchandize were neither dear nor cheap, but simply averaged. Duke Taishi, in the volume of his *History* called *Heijun*, has written about this matter. Generally the common people are skilful at getting profit. In the Rongo, where Confucius says, "The lower classes have perceptions for profit", he is referring to this fact. Morning and evening they think only of profit. Therefore,

in the direction of profit they develop extraordinary cleverness. The different kinds of merchandise come from the people. If the prices of merchandise are high, this means profit for the people and loss for the gentry. If prices are low, then profit accrues to the gentry and loss to the people. But although this is so, merchandise comes from the people, and the gentry buy it to supply their needs. Therefore, even though the prices are high, the gentry must buy, buy clothing, drink, food and other necessary household things, and the artisans, merchants and shop-keepers, knowing this, usually see that the prices are high. The government from time to time issues orders prohibiting the making of high prices, but all the same those who sell will not sell cheap. Unless they buy at high prices, the gentry cannot supply their needs; and so they buy, even though they know that the prices are high. The merchants and shop-keepers are said to lust after profits. For instance, *sake* is made from rice and water. When rice is dear, *sake* is dear, too; but when rice is cheap, *sake* ought to be cheap. When rice becomes suddenly dear, the price of *sake* also becomes suddenly dear. When rice is cheap, they say the *sake* was made when rice was dear, and so do not reduce its price. All merchandise is managed in this way. By making all kinds of excuses they raise prices, and when these are once up, they do not readily come down again. Then, too, each kind of merchandise has its *Koka* (行家). *Koka* is what is now called a broker, *Toya* (問屋). The *koka* are sure to have guilds (黨). Guilds are *Nakama* (仲間). First in Yeddo, Kyoto, and Osaka, and then in other places, the *koka* are, as we know very well, bound together in guilds. They exist for everything. When anything happens to the State, and prices ought in consequence to be raised by the *koka*, post messengers are sent out and notice given to the guilds, and the *koka* take advantage of the State's sudden needs, and raise prices accordingly; or, foreseeing that there is likely to be a scarcity, powerful brokers possess themselves

of all the merchandise, and then suddenly raise prices. Though the four seas (Japan) are wide, the reason why the merchants appear to hold all business in the palms of their hands and do with it as they like, is this banding together in guilds, and the going and coming of these post messengers. The government may issue severe orders and enact penal laws to make people fear, but nothing can be done. Again, when merchant-ships are on their way to the Eastern Capital, they are detained at sea to make things appear scarce, and thus the prices are raised. The State, hearing of this, orders officials to cruise the seas and drive in the merchant-ships that are stopping outside; when, to counteract this, the merchants bribe the officials and pray for a short respite. The knavishness of the common people is such, as regards profits, that no amount of cleverness on the government's part can counteract it. These men are under the power of the thing called profit (*Riken* 利權). To do as one likes with the profits residing in things, this is the handle of power (權柄). The men who govern well are those who take the power of profit for the government, and do not allow it to remain in the hands of the common people. This art is not possible for ordinary people. Even the scholars of the Economical World of the present day *Shushi* (末子), or even the literary gentry, do not know this, only those know it who have learned the political economy of the moderns and the ancients. In the Kan dynasty such men as Tojun, Kamjo, Soko and Yobokushuki etc. were all originally shop-keepers, and were chosen by the Emperor and advanced to high rank. They were placed in the ranks of the *Kukyo* (九卿) and were given profit power in the country, because they knew well that which was not known by the ordinary gentry. And although at that time they carried out various matters whereby profit was made to accrue to the State, having been originally shop-keepers, they were conversant only with matters of profit, and knew nothing about the teachings of Righteousness and true Cleverness. Not understanding the great and funda-

mental laws of State government, all they did resulted later on in much harm to the State; but the one law of averages (*heijun*) which they carried out, that was good government, and even now it is practiced to advantage. Officials are stationed by government at the places from which goods originally come, and they, seeing whether there is much or little merchandise there and whether the prices are dear or cheap, send the merchandise thence to the cities. That is to say, when things are cheap the government receives and buys, but when dear it gives out and sells. By this means rich merchants and large shop-keepers are prevented from selfishly obtaining abnormally large profits. This is the law of averages. The law of averages is the law by which to remedy high and low prices. Generally, if the governing classes are fond of profit, and compete with the people to obtain it, it happens surely that the people will succeed in seizing the profit and the State will suffer. This is because the gentry and lords cannot attain to the cleverness of the people in profit-getting. If they enter into competition to this end, they are sure to lose. Should the government act, however, without thought either of profits or losses, the profit-power which is in the hands of the people would come back to the government. That is to say, the law of averages means that the government must lose a little. To try and stop the acquisition of profit by the people without loss to the government is unlearned and unscientific. The profit will be seized by the knavish people in the time it takes to turn round on the heel. Of the four kinds of people none are so clever at profit-getting as the merchants and shop-keepers. Therefore in peaceful and in rebellious times, in abundant years and years of dearth and scarcity, whether other people gain or lose, the merchant and shop-keeper is sure to get his profit always. This fact the people who govern a State must take carefully into account, and must seek to fathom the hearts of the merchants and shop-keepers and carry out the law of averages, taking care to

get the power into the government's own hands, so that the rich merchants and great shop-keepers shall not seize the profits altogether.

The Japanese currency of the present day is of all three kinds, gold and silver and copper *sen*. To the west of Kyoto the inclination is to have silver; while that of the eastern provinces is for gold. But copper *sen* are current east and west. As the west inclines to silver, of the three kinds of currency, silver is there the chief, and the prices of gold and of *sen* go up and down in terms of silver. One gold *ryo* equals so much silver, and one *kwan* of *sen* is bought and sold for so much silver. But in buying or selling any kinds of merchandise prices are settled in silver. For instance, one *koku* of rice is valued at so much in silver, and likewise also a piece of silk or linen. Or, for a silver *sen* so much of other merchandise is sold. Even if an article should be bought and paid for in gold, or *sen*, the price would first be arranged in silver, and then the proper amount paid for it in gold or *sen*. The people of the west generally like silver and dislike gold *sen*. To them the value of gold and *sen* seems to vary with time; while they regard silver as always having one and the same value, and say that one silver *sen* is always one *sen*. For this reason the savings of the wealthy are always calculated in silver. They think that there is no increase or decrease in the value of silver. As the people of the eastern provinces, on the other hand, incline to gold, they make gold the chief of the three currencies, and make the value of silver and *sen* to vary. So much silver is bought or sold for a gold *ryo*, and the prices of all kinds of merchandise are settled in gold. For instance, one gold *ryo* represents so many *koku* of rice, or so many pieces of silk or linen; or so much of other merchandise exchanges for one gold *bu* or one hundred *mon* of *sen*. Should things be bought with silver, the price would first be named in terms of gold, and as much silver would be paid out as was equal to the gold sum fixed upon. Generally

the people of the east like gold and dislike silver. In their minds the price of silver varies with time; whereas gold when saved neither increases in value nor decreases. They think one *ryo* is always one *ryo*. For this reason the savings of the wealthy there are all calculated in gold. There are some people in the east who accumulate silver, and some in the west who accumulate gold, but in each case not really for purposes of personal saving, but for effect on the value of the metal possessed. Those who do this are mostly people with exchange-shops. The reason the people of the east and west either value or make light of, as the case may be, either gold or silver, is as stated above, that is, they like or else dislike the one or the other. The real fact is that the three currencies all vary in value with time, and that there is no really settled value for any one of them. People are deceived by the question as to which metal is host and which guest in each separate case. The one regarded as host is thought of as the one with the fixed price. But east is east, and west is west, and the currency value is according to the mind of the man of the particular locality; and the circulation of the currency is likewise affected. Thus there is really neither profit nor loss. But in arguing about the principles of profit and loss for the gentry and people, we must give silver the chief place as a currency of convenience, and must regard gold as relatively inconvenient. In the eastern provinces the prices of all kinds of merchandise are settled in gold, for one gold *ryo* there being so much of an article, and for one gold *bu* so much; so when buying things worth more than one gold *bu* the gold price is always the same. Therefore there is no loss or gain to buyer or seller. If things are bought of less value than a gold *bu*, inasmuch as the prices of these have to be in *sen*, they are reckoned at so many hundred *mon*, or so many tens of *mon*. The purchases and sales of most articles having fixed prices are at 100 *mon* or 10 *mon* amounts; so when *sen* are dear, it is to the profit of the seller and to the loss of the buyer, and when *sen*

are cheap, it is conversely to the disadvantage of the seller and to the gain of the buyer. Things are generally sold by merchants and shop-keepers, and bought by the gentry. It is very seldom that the needy gentry buy things with gold. They buy *sen* with gold and then buy things with *sen*. But things are bought and sold with *sen*, and even when *sen* are cheap, the things sold for one hundred *mon* are always sold for that amount; and so when *sen* are dear, this means much loss to the gentry. The gentry, and others also below the *daimyo*, do not always refuse to use *sen*. For this reason those merchant fellows and shop-keepers of the east profit by dear *sen*, and even if the government should issue a strict order to make *sen* cheap, it would still for this reason become dear again after a while. Such are the evil effects of making gold the standard. In the western provinces, as all merchandise is bought and sold with silver, the price of anything worth more than five *rin* (厘) is sure to be fixed in silver; and as the changing of the price to gold or *sen* is left to the the individual, one gold *ryo* or one gold *bu* is counted as equal to so much silver. When gold is cheap, then one *ryo* is rated at fifty *sen* in silver, and when it is dear, a *ryo* may run as high as sixty *sen* in silver, or even higher. In the case of *sen*, one silver *sen* may be counted in *mon sen* as equal to eighty *mon*. As regulated by the price of the *mon* at the time, whether cheap or dear, it is used as against silver. The reason that things which do not exceed five silver *rin* in value are bought and sold for from one *sen mon* to three or four *mon* is because of the dearness or cheapness of *sen*, and though there may be profit or loss in such transactions, it is only a very small matter. Things worth over five *rin* and one *fun* have their prices fixed in silver, but if in *sen*, then enough is paid out to match the silver rate. When *sen* are cheap, then for one silver *sen* eighty *mon* are paid. When *sen* are dear, then for one silver *sen* even forty *mon* in *sen* may be paid. Thus whether the price of *sen* is high or low, there is not the slightest profit or loss for the gentry and people. In

the eastern provinces if *sen* are cheap, the gentry rejoice; if they are dear, the gentry are troubled. In the western provinces, whether they be dear or cheap, unless there is some sudden cause for great profit or loss, there is neither joy nor sorrow. This is the advantage of making silver the standard. Therefore, even if now the customs of the eastern provinces were to be changed, and silver be made the standard of exchange, as it is in the western provinces, there would be no profit or loss, whether *sen* be high or low, and this would be to the advantage of the gentry. Although this is so, there is possibly not enough silver for the needs of both east and west, so that it would be difficult to make the change immediately. Again, even if silver cannot at first be used throughout, as it is in the western provinces, the prices of all merchandise might be settled in silver, and things be bought and sold for so many *sen* and *fun*. If *sen* were used instead of silver, it would be in the same way that the people of the west use them, and thus the gold of the gentry could be used to buy *sen*, and those people using *sen* to buy things would not lose by reason of *sen* being dear. There is no difficulty in carrying out this plan. The government should issue an ordinance requiring the change to be made within six months or a year. Of late the customs of the eastern provinces have been changing very much, and many people can be seen to have adopted the customs that prevail in Kyoto and Osaka. To change the customs of the people is the work of the government and is not such a difficult matter.

The kings are the lords of the earth and never pay out gold and silver to satisfy their wants. All kinds of merchandise are given them as tribute from the different provinces of Japan, and the things needed are never scarce. In Japanese this is what is called *mitsugimono*. With regard to the different kinds of furniture used, there was a place built in the capital, near the king's castle, called a *kyoku* (局). We may suppose a hundred artisans called to this place and set to work. A *kyoku* is what is now known as a work place (細工所). The

100 artisans called would be of different kinds. When summoned they would be given daily their morning and evening meals, called *kirin* (餼廩, rice allowance). In the *kyoku* there were different kinds of officials employed as overseers. As regards the artisans, the number called was large or small, according to whether the matter was of large or of small importance. The government found the material for the work, and only gave out in addition the rice allowance, it did not give any wages (賃錢). The 100 artisans were simply men requisitioned for the master's use, and their duty as towards him, was simply to do the assigned work, and there was no reason for their being paid wages. If need arose for wood or earthwork labour, men would be called upon from among the people for this purpose also and in the same way. No matter how many thousands or tens of thousands of men were made use of, they would be given only their morning and evening meals and not paid wages at all. They were mere labourers (役夫), and nothing more. In China this custom has prevailed from ancient times until now. In Japan it existed in the Kuge period. The lords of the earth of course followed it, and the feudal princes made the same use of the people in their own individual provinces. Things being as stated above, when the government inclined to frugality, then there would be peace within the seas, and the four classes of people would not suffer; whereas should the government be like that of the Emperor Bu, of the Kan Dynasty, or the Emperor Yo, of the Da (581–618) dynasty, and fond of extravagance and steeped in pleasures, then it would run short of supplies, and tribute would be forced, and the four classes of the people within the seas would suffer, and the hundred kinds of artisans would be called out and forced labour employed beyond the usual extent, so that the four classes would be exhausted and the State seriously endangered. Herein lies the danger of rebellion. This is the reason that from ancient times warnings against extravagance have been made from time to time, and that the leanings towards economy of the Emperor Bun,

of the Kan Dynasty, caused him to be praised as a wise ruler. In the present times there is no such thing as tribute. The government pays out gold and silver, and the different kinds of merchandise are bought therewith from the merchants, and the hundred kinds of artisans are not summoned to the *kyoku*; but artisans of all kinds are employed and are paid in gold and silver, or the furniture needed is made in the homes of the artisans and money paid for the same. For earthworks and for building of any kind, labour is not called out, but labourers are employed and are paid daily wages. Therefore, as all of the different wants are thus met, and as payments are made in gold and silver, if the governing classes incline to extravagance and frequently start large building operations, the merchants are glad to sell their goods and receive gold and silver for them, and the hundred classes of artisans sell their workmanship, and are pleased to obtain profits therefrom, and the labourers for hire in the city are glad to receive daily pay. Wherever the governing classes are fond of pleasure, gold and silver flow to the people, and the extravagance of the governing classes means an abundance for the people. For this reason the people of to-day pray for extravagance on the part of the government. Should the government be fond of economy, however, gold and silver would be saved by it, but the artisans, shopkeepers and all the small people below them, such as labourers, not getting any profit, would come on the contrary to suffering. Here lies the difference between the present government and that of the ancients. Changes as above have taken place all unnoticed, and it comes to this that if the ancient ways were to be tried now, it would be like sticking on the post (the bridge of a harp) with glue. This is just the same as what I said before of cheap rice, that it means a peaceful world; which is like saying it as the same as the way of the ancients. But unless a person knows when to apply the ancient and when to apply modern methods, it will be difficult for him to carry on good government.

Frugality (儉約) is the teaching of the Sages. For the character *ken* (儉) there is no Japanese equivalent. In the language of to-day it means temperance (*uchi wa*) in all things. The character *yaku* (約) means thrift (*tsuzumayaka*). This is what is meant in the tongue of the vulgar by *tsumashiku*. The teachings of frugality are combined in the two characters *setsuyo* (節用). *Setsu* is the knot of the bamboo. The knots of the bamboo are things with limits. It means that all expenses should have a settled limit, up to which they may go and which may not be exceeded. Expenses mean outlay (*irime*) for everything needed, that is, the expenditure of gold, silver, rice, cereals and merchandise. The Kagi of Kan (China) says that "the basis of frugality is Reduction (*Shoji*, 省事)". *Shoji* is to take away a thing. *Habuku* (省) is to make less (少). The fact that the *daimyo* and gentry are yearly becoming poorer is owing to many things. In rebellious times and in a country at war it is easy for both the upper and lower classes to accomplish all their undertakings. Easy (簡易) means without difficulty, without trouble. The character *kan* (簡) has the opposite meaning to *han* (煩), trouble. *I* (易) has the opposite meaning to *nan* (難), difficult. *Han* (煩) means troublesome. *Nan* (難) means difficult. *I* (日) means easy. In a rebellious age and in a country at war the upper and lower classes are always in a state of hurry, and all things are curtailed and done in a stingy way and without any care being taken. Everyone does things easily. But in times of peace and leisure, great pains are taken in all things, and in all matters of etiquette from corner to corner care is taken to leave nothing omitted or undone. Because of this, in a time of peace the longer it exists attention to details gradually increases. For instance, in ancient times a thing which would be finished at once and once for all is now considered finished only after it has been done over two or three times. In ancient times business that was transacted by word of mouth is now done on paper and by order. Then what was ordinarily settled by the word of one man is now

done upon a conventional basis after the whole world has been consulted, such that not even one man of the entire number concerned might rightly be omitted from the consultation. Thus every day matters increase in number, and, if matters are many, officials are many. And contrariwise, if officials are many, then surely matters will be many. If peace lasts a long time, then gradually things become many and the people without noticing it drift along, until finally, if it is desired to reduce the number of things, they are found to be beyond the possibility of reduction. To reduce things is to reduce things difficult to reduce and stop things difficult to stop, even though a resolute and determined mind is brought to bear upon them. It is difficult to do this, unless the person attempting it is illustrious and strong. In the ancient Koto, where the words, "When considering a thing and it is done easily" occur, the refrence is to this fact. A person in the government, who knows how to reduce things, looks carefully into State matters once every two, three, four, five or ten years, and if he finds that things have increased beyond what they were formerly, he endeavors to check and reduce them, so as to make their number less; but if this is neglected, things will gradually increase. In the warnings left by the great ancestor, Koshoku, of Shu, there is the following sentence: "Do not undertake many things. To undertake many things results in sorrow." This is a most important saying, and all persons in control of the State ought to take note of it. Again, what is now called frugality is to have a number of small officials who inquire into all sorts of small matters and take care that there is no waste. But even if small matters are minutely examined into, the total amount saved thereby is trifling. To carry out large matters carelessly and then to examine into small matters is folly. Moreover, the small officials are sure to steal the property of the government. Even amongst the gentry and those above them, the pure and upright are few. Therefore much more will the small officials, if their salaries are small, steal government property to

support their wives and children with, and thus make their way in the world. If they are prevented from stealing this thing, then they will steal that thing. If they are limited on the left hand, they will steal on the right. The saying that while the guardian may have no opportunity nevertheless the thief has, is almost a proverb. Therefore Confucius said, "The sages did not use up all the profit, but some was left for the people." The meaning of this is that the government did not take all the profit, as a little was left for the people to take. Just as in the vulgar proverb it is said that "That which falls down and runs over is the property of the priests." And inasmuch as in the houses of those who receive small salaries, the servants of each, in accordance with each house's individual standing, pick up and keep as their own the little that runs over and falls down, how much more does it differ from the human teachings of the sages when the *daimyo* and lords of the country try to prevent this falling down and running over. The officials of these times make the mistake of thinking that anything which runs over and falls down is thrown away and wasted. It is not thrown away. It really constitutes the riches of the lower classes. Therefore, if those in charge of the finances of the State could allow of a little running over and falling down in the budget, the person who would allow the small officials to steal this overflow would be a clever man. The person who is as careful of the property of his lord as if it were his own is truly a loyal retainer, but from ancient times loyal retainers have been very few. At present a loyal retainer is occasionally to be found, but he is so full of his own honesty that he thinks himself much more honest than other people, and accidents occur which frequently make his honesty a virtual misfortune to the State. It is on this wise and for this reason that a loyal retainer becomes and is a really disloyal one. The saying

"If water is very pure there are no fish," and "If a person is too prying he has no friends," are known to be true through the teaching of the ancient sages.

In the time of Confucius, Koseika went as a messenger to the country of Sei, and Senyu asked Confucius for rice in the husk to be given for the maintenance of Koseika's mother. Confucius said to give her a *fu* (釜) of rice. A *fu* is six *to* and four *sho*. Senyu thought this was too little, and asked for some increase. So Confucius said, "Give her a *yu* (瘦)." A *yu* is one *koku* and six *to*, just one and a half times as much as a *fu*. Senyu still thinking this too little, gave what he thought to be right, which was five *ye* (秉). A *ye* is sixteen *koku*, so that five *ye* would be eighty *koku*. When Confucius was told of this, he said, "Koseika is a rich man. When he went to Sei he rode a fat horse and wore a light overcoat. I hear that the sages in dealing with a poor man are not mean but generous, but with a rich man they do not add to his riches." He accused Senyu, in giving five *ye* to Seki, of piling riches upon riches. To pile riches upon riches is what the low people call, in a proverb, "painting a rich man's shin with sauce". At this time there is a great deal of this kind of thing being done. The present times are considerate of the rich and noble, but fail to help the poor; on the the contrary, they put them far away and give in excess to the rich who lack for nothing. Confucius, in giving a very little to the mother of Ka, did not act thus through avarice. Had Ka been poor, Confucius would have given the rice without any request from Senyu. He decided that since Ka was a rich man and was going to Sei with a fat horse and a light overcoat, it was not right for him to have to feed Ka's mother. He did not refuse Senyu's plea, however, or go against his wishes, but, thinking to give only a little, said to give one *fu*, and when Senyu thought this was not enough and asked for the increase, he gave a little more than the *fu*, namely, a *ye*. It was Confucius' intention that a rich man's shin should not be painted with sauce. This is the teaching of the sages. Senyu had not attained to this

teaching. Not understanding Confucius' thought, he made a great mistake in giving five *ye* and strayed from the teachings of the sages; therefore Confucius said what he did in order to make his intention clear.

Mr. Lloyd rose to ask a question: Were there in Japan in Dazai's times local mints in the various daimyates, or was there one Imperial mint for the whole country? A singular coincidence had come to his mind while listening to the very interesting paper Mr. Kirby had given them. Whilst Dazai was inveighing against the deterioration of the coinage in Japan, Dean Swift in England and Ireland was doing the same thing. Indeed, the Irish coinage of Swift's time would have merited all Dazai's invectives. With regard to the ways and means of persuading the gods of the mountains to permit mining, as advocated by Dazai, he could give a modern illustration. A couple of years ago, a well-known resident of Tokyo wanted to fill up an old well, a procedure to which his servants objected on the score of not wishing to offend the god that lived there. Application was therefore made to a wise priest, who bade the gentleman go to the well and say in a loud voice: "This is not a well." The god, he said, would hear the remark and would go away, and then the well might be filled up.

FORMATIVE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

LECTURE I.

MANICHAEISM AND KOBO.

LECTURE II.

DARUMA AND THE BUDDHIST CANON.

LECTURE III.

TENDAI AND SHINSHIU.

LECTURE IV.

NICHIREN AND HOKEKYO.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN: GENERAL MEETINGS.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Nov. 13 at 4 p.m. The Vice-President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announc d that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Mr. J. E. De Becker, of Yokohama, and Mr. F. E. Bray, of the Higher Commercial School, Tokyo. He also announced that the date of Prof. Lloyd's fourth lecture in the series on "The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhist" should be changed from Dec. 4 to Dec, 11. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his first lecture of that series, on the special topic of "Manichaeism and Kobo."

At the close of the lecture, Rev. C. F. Sweet inquired of the lecturer whether any of the underlying principles of the Shingon Sect of Buddhism corresponded with the underlying principles of Manichaeism. For instance, the Manichaeans believed that all matter is essentially evil; and when they administered the rite of baptism, refrained from the use of water, because it is a material substance.

Prof. Lloyd replied that Shingon was essentially pessimistic and renounced materialism. The priests carefully abstained from participation in political affairs and scrupulously observed celibacy and abstention from the use of meats. Shingon, however, did have a rite of baptism, which Kobo Daishi is said to have received and in which water was used by effusion.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Nov. 20, at 4 p.m. In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President, Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his second lecture in the course on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism" on the special subject of "Daruma and the Canon."

At the close of the lecture, the Chairman remarked that the Society owed the lecturer a great debt for all the trouble he had taken in preparing this resume of Buddhism. He also announced the next lecture, the third, for Wednesday 27th inst. on "Tendai and Shinshiu."

A General meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, Nov. 27. In the absence of the President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Chairman called the attention of the audience to the fact that the next and final lecture of this series on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism" would be given, not on Dec. 4, as originally advertised, but on Wednesday, Dec. 11, at 4 p.m. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his lecture on "Tendai and Shinshiu."

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Dec. 11, 1907. Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice-President for Tokyo, presided. The Minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. Prof. Arthur Lloyd delivered his lecture on "Nichiren and the Hokekyo."

LECTURE I.

MANICHAEISM AND KŌBŌ.

In trying to make for myself a thoroughgoing investigation of Buddhism as we find it to-day in Japan, I have naturally begun with the Life of the Founder, whose history I have studied mainly in accordance with Japanese writers. It is a very long life, for Sakyamuni's ministerial activity continued for over forty-five years, a space of time in which there was much room for spiritual growth and expansion, not only in the mind of the Founder himself, but still more so in the spiritual capacities of his principal followers, who were in close attendance on him during so long a period of spiritually eventful years.

I have parted company with Japanese authors on the subject of chronology, for I find it impossible to accept B.C. 1027, as the date of Buddha's birth. All modern scholars place his birth about the year 550 B.C. and with these conclusions I agree.[1]

1. I believe that the discrepancy in the dates assigned by Western and Chinese scholars (whom the Japanese have followed) to the Nativity of the Tathāgata is owing to a mistaken computation by which the periods between the half-yearly retreats of Sakyamuni and his successors to monasteries, for rest and refreshment, have been reckoned as full years. There are only two dates in ancient Buddhist history about which we can speak with anything like certainty, viz. Alexander's Invasion, and the Mission from China asking for instruction, in A.D. 67. We know however that a little before the latter date, in the reign of King Kanishka, the greatest of the Scythian rulers of N.W. India, Afghanistan, etc., a great Buddhist Council was held at which among other things the Abhidharma Commentaries were settled. It is possible that the date of Sakyamuni's birth was

Modern research gives the year B.C. 481 as the probable date of Sakyamuni's death, and if we take the duration of his ministry to have been about fifty years, we must place His Enlightenment about the year B.C. 530, or perhaps a few years later. The seventy years of captivity of the Jews in Babylon were just over, and the decree of Cyrus for the return of the Exiles to their own land had just been issued. The prophet Haggai was telling the world through the Jews that God was about to "shake the nations," and bidding them look forward with hope to the coming of the "Desire of all nations."[1]

A few years later, the "shaking of the nations" commenced: the battle of Salamis was fought the year after

settled at that Council, and in that case the error of calculating half-years as years for the earlier periods of Buddhist chronology, say before the coming Alexander, would just about explain the discrepancy between B.C. 1027 and B.C. 550.

1. The following dates, though familiar to most European readers, are here given by way of refreshers to the memory. Should this book be fortunate enough to attract Japanese readers unfamiliar with the History of the Bible, they will be glad to have the data. They have been taken from the chronological tables at the end of the International Teachers' Bible.

B.C. 598. First year of the Captivity. Jehoiachin and 10,000 Jews (Ezekiel amongst them) deported to Babylon.
587. Destruction of Jerusalem.—further deportations.
550. Birth of Sakyamuni.
538. Destruction of Babylon and establishment of Persian Empire.
537. Cyrus issues an edict for the restoration of the Jews. The rebuilding of the Temple commenced, but delayed.
525. (?) Enlightenment of Sakyamuni.
521. Darius Hystaspis confirms and renews the edict of Cyrus, and extends Persian frontiers into India.
520. Prophetic activity of Haggai and Zechariah.
513. Scythian expedition of Darius.
500. Revolt of Ionian Greeks.
490. Battle of Marathon.
481. Death of Sakyamuni.
480. Battle of Salamis.
433. Hebrew Prophets close with Malachi.
431. Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and the so-called Age of Pericles.

The quotation from Haggai will be found in chap. ii. 6.

Sakyamuni died: fifty years later, the long list to Hebrew prophets closed with Malachi; the Age of Pericles witnessed the early triumphs of Greek Culture and Philosophy, and the History of the Buddhist Church, so intensely important to the whole of Asia, had begun. We cannot treat Buddhism as an isolated movement. We must take it in connection with other movements in other parts of the world. It was one of the results of the great "shaking" which was to prepare the way for the coming of the "Desire of all Nations."

Next I turned to the history of the Development of Buddhism in India. Under the great King As'oka,[1] in B.C. 240, it became more than Indian. Buddhist missionaries went abroad after King As'oka's Council to preach their peaceful religion, East and West, as far as Burma and Java, as far as Babylon, Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece. China, consolidated into one Empire under the earlier Hans,[2] was being prepared,

1. *As'oka.*—I take the following from Dr. Murakami's useful little Handbook of Japanese Buddhism:—

Date about one hundred years after the Nirvana. Youngest grandson of Bimbisara, King of Magadha: and afterwards himself King of that country. Being very ill-favoured as an infant, he was sent away from home by his father, and kept at a distance: but chancing to hear of his father's dangerous illness some years later, he returned home suddenly, murdered his elder brother the Crown Prince, and seized upon the throne for himself, making the position secure for himself by the execution of 500 men who had opposed him, and of 500 women who had ridiculed his ugliness. For some time after his accession, his conduct was very bad, and he received from his subjects the opprobrious nickname of *Kala-As'oka*, the bad As'oka: but being converted to Buddhism by the words of a *bhikshu*, who for some crime had been thrown into one of the royal prisons, he became a great patron of religion and earned the more honourable title of *Dharma-As'oka* or the good As'oka. It was in As'oka's reign that the Council of Pataliputra was held, and that Buddhist Missionaries were sent out to preach in all lands.

2. *Han Dynasty* B.C. 206—A.D. 221. divided into (i) *Zen Kan* (Earlier Hans) whose capital was *Chō-an* (Changnan) in the West, B.C. 206 to A.D. 25. and (ii) *Gokan* (Later Hans) whose capital was *Rakuyō* (Loh-yang) in the East. A.D. 25—221. The later name of Changnan was Singanfu

The Han period may be described as the Golden Age of Chinese History. The period of literature, culture, and military glory: a unified Empire and extended borders. China Parthia, and Rome, divided the world among them

as it were, to receive the doctrines of Shaka, and the whole East felt the renovating influence of the early Buddhism.

Alexander's conquests, which I took up next, were of short duration, but North Western India remained from that time forward under foreign domination. Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians, Scythians, each in turn bore rule in Punjaub and the Indus valley. Further East, there remained the native Indian principalities, and no conqueror seems to have gained a permanent hold on the secluded valleys of Kashmir. Foreign conquest seems to have finally effected the division of Buddhism into Hînayâna and Mahâyâna. Wherever Buddhism remained purely Indian, it remained Hînayâna: wherever it came under foreign influences it expanded and developed, sometimes in a philosophical, sometimes in a pietistic, direction, by the absorption of foreign ideas and the adoption of foreign religious conceptions. Thus the two-fold tendency of Buddhism, which seems to have existed from the very earliest days, gradually became accentuated and the way was paved for the ultimate Great Schism of Buddhism.[1]

After As'oka's time, the Hînayâna, divided into many sects, gradually lost its influence, till it faded under the miseries and oppressions of what are sometimes called the "Bad Kings from the North."[2] The last dynasty of foreign con-

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in the 1st Century A.D., though the ambitious Scythian Kingdom was trying hard to wrest the power from Parthia. Indeed, for a short time, it succeeded in doing so.

1. Great Schism, i.e. into Hinayâna and Mahâyâna, each with many divisions.

2. *Bad Kings from the North.* Europe was not the only part of the world that suffered from distress and trouble at this period. Asia had its bad rulers just as Rome had, and to mention but one instance of a calamity rivalling the destruction of Pompeii, I may cite an article in the *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie* (3e Trimestre 1892) in which it is stated that about the beginning of the Christian era, the Oxus river suddenly changed its bed, and made for itself a course which brought its mouth to the South end of the Caspian Sea, thereby changing the whole aspect of the Central Plateau of Asia, and doing away with a large lake which had apparently existed

querors were, however, converted to the Buddhist faith, and their great King Kanishka, whom we may place somewhere in the middle of the 1st Century A.D., may claim to have been the "second Constantine" of Buddhism. With Kanishka's time begins the definite existence of the Mahâyâna which had for some time been forming.

With Kanishka commences the series of great Teachers to whom the Mahâyâna owes so much,—As'vaghosha, of whom I have seen the statement in *a* Japanese Buddhist Book[1] that "Buddha appeared again in the flesh during his life-time" (1st century A.D.) Nâgârjuna Deva, Asangha, Vasubhandhu, and the rest,—all be it noticed, worshippers of Amitâbha. All these men seem to have had the feeling that the "Desire of Nations," of whom the Hebrew prophet had spoken, had now come. The name and special title of honour given to the

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before then, and which received the waters of the Jaxartes and other streams which now lose themselves in the sand. In the sixteenth century, it again violently changed its course and formed what is now the Sea of Aral. These convulsions of nature would abundantly account for the restlessness of the Yuetchi and other tribes of Central Asia. The *Hokekyo* (see Lect 4) is full of allusions to these bad times. I have not deemed it necessary to speak of the calamities which were happening in Europe at the time. They are familiar to any student of Roman History.

1 *Bukkyo Gimon Ha* (Tokyo 1903). The actual words are: "Nyorai wa arakajime kono hito no yo ni idzuru koto wo kenki seraretari to sureba, kore moto yori hiban no kensha naru ni sōi nakaru beki nari. Yo wa kakaru kensha no toki atte, yo ni shutsugenshi tamaeru koto wo shinzu.

"If it can be proved that the Tathāgata appeared a second time in the Life-time of this man, it will show without doubt that he (As'vaghosha) was a very great Saint. But seeing that he actually was such a Saint. I can fully believe that there was such a manifestation of the Tathāgata during his life-time."

I venture to think that this is a most important passage. It points to the conclusion which I have long been coming to that Christianity and Mahâyânism owe their origins to the same "divine life." As'vaghosha's *Buddha Carita* is the earliest of the Biographies of Buddha. If the statement made in the *Gimon Ha* can be sustained, the similarities between the Buddha Carita and the Gospels are partly accounted for. At any rate, the passage will serve to bring into greater prominence the accounts given in the Apocryphal Gospels.

Buddha were both a little changed. Gotama is henceforth known as Sakyamuni[1] (a name unknown to the Hinayâna of the Magadha teachings) and the title *Tathāgata* ("thus *gone*," referring to the Nirvâna of the Master), when translated into Chinese, became *Julai* or *Nyorai* ("*thus come.*") It was an unconscious testimony to the fact that in the meantime an Advent of some kind had taken place.[2]

In the first Century A.D. commences the first Buddhist Evangelization of China. The first mission, undertaken in consequence of the Emperor Mingti's vision, was a comparative failure. Only two men went, and they died within four years after their arrival.

Eighty years later, A.D. 148, we get the true Buddhist propaganda in China, headed by a Prince of Parthia, who had resigned his throne, in order to become a monk. He is said to have been the son of a famous Parthian King who had been the enemy of Trajan and the ally of Hadrian, to whom he owed his restoration, and whose sister, taken prisoner by the former, had been set free by the latter of these two Emperors, after several years of captivity in Rome. Christianity had long ere this taken firm root in Persia, and in Central Asia around Balkh and Merv.[3] It is a noteworthy fact that of the early Buddhist missionaries to China nearly all came, not from India, but from Central Asia, from Parthia,

1. Gotama is the personal name of the historical Buddha. He belonged to the tribe of the Sakyas, and the name Sakyamuni was given him when the Sakyas adopted him as their special religious teacher. Magadha and Kosala form as it were two centres of the Buddha's teaching and it has been held that the use of the names Sakyamuni and Gotama marks the *provenance* of the Sutra

Gotama is said to have prophesied that 500 years after his death, there would come another and greater Buddha. A later tradition makes the period 5000 instead of 500. The point is doubtful and must not be pressed.

3. Christianity in the Persian Dominions. Article by E. Rehatsek, in Trans. R. A. S. Bombay Branch, Vol. XIII.

Afghanistan, Bokhara, Samarcand, and that India proper took no share in the work until much later. The Indian Buddhists at this time were far too busy fighting their religious and political enemies the Brahmans, to have any time to attend to foreign missions, and they were only too glad to avail themselves of any help that came to them from their brethren in Central Asia. It is to these missionaries from Central Asia that China owed the first translations of the books which speak of the Great Vow of Amida.

The history of Chinese Buddhism is mainly one of books and translations. My work here has lain chiefly in analysing the results attained by Dr. Nanjo in his painstaking Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, and in studying the routes leading into China[1] from the west, together with the political changes in the Celestial Empire which necessitated the transference of the capital from one locality to another. I have also tried to gain some idea of the various religions already existing in China —as also of those which, like Buddhism, came into the

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1. The best known route into China from the West was the one described by Pliny: from Balkh, along the *Vallis Comedarum* (mod. Komed.) S. of the Hissar and Alai ranges to *Turris Lapidea*, which has been identified with Irkechtam at the head of the pass between the Alai and Transalai ranges, and then down into the plain, to the *Statio Mercatorum*, not far from the modern Kashgar. Here. as at Balkh, the goods were trans-shipped, and as this transit-trade was most profitable, it was directly to the interest of the Parthians at the one place, and of the Scythians at the other, to prevent China and Rome from having direct tradal relations with each other. On the other hand, the Chinese Sovereigns of the Han dynasty did all in thetr power to get a direct trade with the great Empire of the West. The Romans were equally interested in the matter and the Emperor *Antun*, (Marcus Aurelius) sent an Embassy to China by sea in A.D. 166. I have learned much from Ritter's *Erdkunde*, and also from various scientific journals. There were, of course, other routes for travellers starting from Tashkent, Bokhara, Kabul, or India. Every day adds to our knowledge.

country from the West,—notably Zoroastrianism, l
and Nestorian Christianity.[1]

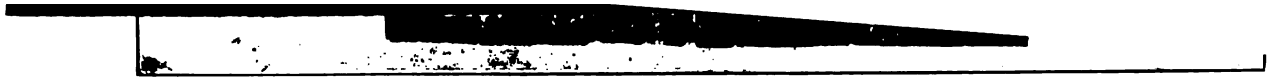
Then I have worked at Chisha Daishi's[2] brave
harmonize the miscellaneous jumble of 6,000 boo
constitute the Northern Buddhist Canon, and thus h
to *Singanfu*, the Capital of China at the beginning of
Century, when Dengyō Daishi [3] and Kōbō [4] were sent
Japan as Government students of religion. They fo

1. (i.)—*Nestorians.* There is a very full account of Nestorianism in
vol. V. (1856) of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. From it we l
the authority of the Singan-fu monument, that *Alopen* or *Alopun*, a Syrian
arrived in that city in A D. 639, and that his books were translated into C
by order of the reigning Emperor, that there were difficulties with Buddh
A.D. 713; that in 746 or thereabouts, there were in the city 14 Buddhist m
teries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taoist monasteries, 6 Taoist nunneri
Persian Temples (probably Manichaean) and 4 Churches of the Heaven wor
pers (Christians). In 781 the celebrated monument was erected by a Pe
Nestorian priest. In 845 the Emper Wutsung, dissolved all Syrian, Persian
Mohammedan religious orders, and sent all foreign missionaries home. I
there was a great massacre at Kan-fu in which 120,000 Mohammedans,
Christians, and Manichaeans were slain. There were further persecutio
961, 984, 1131.

(ii.)—*Manichaeans.* The late Mons. M. G. Deveria, *Musulmans et A*
ehéens Chinois in Journal Asiatique, [Ser. IX. Tome X. p. 445] says
Manichaeans were to be found at Singan-fu, as early as A.D. 500, with p
called *Saba* (Nestorian priests were *Seng*—Jap. *Sō*), and a big Temple kno
Taishinji. Manichaean books were brought there in 694, by a Persian m
Futo-ien. The Manichaeans tried to pass as Buddhists, and had temples at
gan-fu, Honanfu, Taiyuanfu, and later at Ningpo. In 768 they were very stro
Orkhon among the Uighurs. When the Uighurs were worsted by the Khir
845, their congregations were dissolved, as were also those of the Nesto
Mazdeism was found in Shansi and Kansu in the 1st century A.D., and the
a Mazdean (fire-worshipping) temple at Singanfu in A.D. 677. The
chaeans are "said by the Chinese to be the root from which sprang the
lien-kieu" (White Lotus Sect) which has given such trouble to the las
present dynasties by its obstinate adherence to its religion (Richards, *Co*
the Million. Vol. II. p. 120.)

2. *Chisha Daishi.* See Lecture II.

3. *Dengyō Daishi.* Enreki 7th year founded Hieizan. Went to Chi
the order of Kwammu Tennō, and there studied several branches of Bud
lore. i.e.:—



THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT.

(See page 200.)

Illustration kindly loaned for the Transactions by Wm. J. Bishop.

Singanfu, Buddhism supreme, with Confucianism and Taoism, sometimes as enemies, sometimes as friends. The Manichaeans had at least one large Church in the City: the Nestorians had four, and when Kōbō and Dengyo visited the city they must have seen standing at a street corner the celebrated Singanfu monument which proclaimed to all China the great doctrines of the Christian Faith.

This brought me to Manichaeism, the non-Buddhist faith most akin to the system adopted by Kōbō Daishi for use in Japan. Kōbō's faith—the so-called Mantra or Shingon Buddhism—so much resembled Manichaeism that it might be said to be practically the same system. It had many Indian elements in it, but also some that were Egyptian and Gnostic.[1] To Christians, it is interesting, because St. Augustine was for many years a Manichaean before becoming a Christian, and because many of the points which St. Augustine tells us about

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Tendai from Dōsui and Gyōman. *Mitsukyō* from Shōkyō Ajari.
Zenpō from Dosen Zenshi. *Bosatsukai* from Dosui Washō.

All these four were afterwards incorporated into Dengyō's system, which in this respect differs from Chinese Tendai. But the basal Scripture is still the Hokekyō.

On his return he opened classes for students whom he admitted from their 15th year, and to whom he lectured for a long course of years, administering the Unified Mahâyâna Precepts. The graduates of this College were afterwards appointed to important positions, e.g. headships of Kokubunji Temples.

To the above four he afterwards added Nembutsu practices. Important personages are Jigaku Taishi Ennin, and Chishō Daishi Enchin. Imperial Favour was fully bestowed on Hieizan, e.g. by the Emperors Goshirakawa and Uda.

4. *Kōbō Daishi.* Born A.D. 774. His original name was Kūkai. Becoming a priest, he was sent in 804 to China, whence he returned a few years later, bringing with him the *Shingon* teachings. In 816 he founded the monastery of *Kōya San*. where he died, and where his body is said to be awaiting the appearance of the Future Buddha, Maitreya. He was a great benefactor of his country, planned roads, encouraged industries, and is known as the inventor of the Japanese alphabet.

1. To this must be added a strong element of Zoroastrianism I am now now engaged on the study of a Shingon book recently published in Japan, *Jūsan Butsu no Yūrai*, which will, I hope, throw much light on Shingonism. It

the Manichaeans are to be found in the Shingon Buddhism of to-day.[1]

I.—On the 20th April A.D. 242, Sapor I. King of Persia, was crowned at Persepolis. He was the second King of the Sassanian House, and his coronation implied the firm establishment of a national Government for Persia. In the midst of the rejoicings, a young man stepped forward announcing himself a Prophet. "What Zoroaster was to Persia," he said, "what Buddha to India, what Christ in the West, that am I to Babylonia." The faith that he proclaimed was to be a revival of the old faith of Babylon, in which he saw the materials for a world-wide, all-embracing, religion.[2]

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gives, among other things, Japanese translations of great portions of the basal Scriptures of Shingonism.

1. St. Augustine, as is well-known, was for several years before his conversion to Christianity a Manichaean. His treatises against Manichaeism ought, therefore, to be of the greatest value for our researches. But, though Arabian Historians say that "Manes made much of Buddha," we find no traces of Buddhism in St. Augustine. The Manichaeism which he combated was entirely the European variety. Perhaps the most interesting of St. Augustine's anti-Manichaean works is the Reply to Faustus, a Manichaean teacher, whom he also mentions in the fifth book of His Confessions. In this he allows Faustus to speak for himself, there being long passages apparently quoted in full from Faustus' own works. These sections are interesting as showing that the Manichaeans felt many of the difficulties of the Christian revelation much in the same way as the Buddhist of Japan feels them to-day. The books are almost entirely taken up with the "higher criticism" of the Christian Scriptures, but throw no light on the origins of Manichaeism, or on its connection with Eastern religions.

2. Kessler.—*Mani.* I. p. 187, gives the following quotation, taken from Birûni, out of one of Manes' own writings: "Wisdom and good works have been handed down in unbroken succession from age to age by the messengers of God. Thus in one period the true religion was proclaimed in India by the prophets whom men call Buddhas: in another, in Persia, by Zoroaster: in another, by Jesus, in the lands of the West. Then came the present revelation and prophecy in these latter days, in Babylonia, by me, Manes, the Apostle of the true God." Kessler (l.c.) gives, for the sake of comparison, a somewhat similar list:—Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, the Buddhas, Zoroaster, Messiah, Paul. The list should end with Manes, but the Persian author, from whom Kessler quotes, is a Mussulman, and so closes his list with Mahomet. The use of the word *Messiah* is striking. Notice also in the above list the plural form, 'the Buddhas."

II.—Cubricus (the young man's real name) was born of a noble, but poor, family in Babylonia. His father was a very religious man, and a leading light among the Mugtasilahs, a half Christian, half pagan sect, amongst whom the lad learned a great deal both about Christianity and about the old faith of the Babylonians. The Persians, who ruled the country, were Zoroastrian fire worshippers, and there were many Jewish colonies in Babylon. Evidently he was accustomed to a jumble of religious notions.[1]

Adopted by a widow woman, whose wealth was put at his disposal, he found amongst her books some evidently Buddhist works which attracted his attention. Only the names of these books have been preserved,—the *Gospel*—the *Chapters*—the *Mysteries* and the *Treasure*,—but they were evidently Buddhist from the fact that they professed to be written by a man named Scythianus[2] (*Scythian*=*Sakyan*, *c.f.* Sakyamuni) and enlarged or re-edited by his disciple Terebinthus who afterwards assumed the title of Buddha.[3]

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1. See Kessler's, *Mani*, for a full discussion of Manichaeism.

2. See Cyril of Jerusalem. *Cat. Lect.* vi. § 22-23. Likewise Epiphanius *adv. Haer.* Both these writers seem to have derived their information from the Acta Archelai.

3. For a full discussion of these books, see the close of the fourth Lecture. Epiph. adv. Haer. II. ii. (p. 620), in Migne's Patrologie especially mentions that Scythianus was well versed in the magical arts of the Indians and Egyptians. The words of St. Cyril are as follows: (Cat. Lect. vi. 22 23). "There was in Egypt one Scythianus, a Saracen [the Saracens came originally from the same country as the Yuetchi] by birth, with nothing in common either with Judaism or Christianity. This man, who dwelt at Alexandria [Epiphanius adds that he had also lived in a seaport town on the Red-Sea], and imitated the life of Aristotle composed four books "....." But when Scythianus purposed to come into Judaea, and make havoc of the land, the Lord smote him with a deadly disease and stayed the pestilence." The Acta Archelai adds that Scythianus wished to go to Jerusalem "for the purpose of meeting all those who had a reputation there as teachers;" and Epiphanius says that Terebinthus carried out his master's intention came to Jerusalem περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων, and was there rejected by the heads of the Christian Church.

Cubricus then went on his travels, to the confines of India and China, i.e. the country north of Afghanistan, Turkestan, or Bactria. Here he lived in a cave—the whole country is filled with ancient Buddhist rock-monasteries: and acquired fame as a painter—the rock caves are full of mural decorations. When he came back, he had assumed the name of *Mani*, the artist or painter, with an alternative *Manichæus*, which may possibly be connected with the famous Indian Monastery of *Manikyala*.[1]

When Mani appeared at the coronation of Sapor and formulated his doctrine, he was first welcomed, then (possibly for political purposes) banished. Sapor's successor, Hormisdas I., recalled him and showed him much favour:—but the next King was his enemy. He was arrested and put to death. He was flayed while still living, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was hung up *in terrorem* over the gates of Persepolis.

III.—After his death his religion spread with great rapidity, adapting itself, wherever it went, to the religion of the country. We find Manichaeans in Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt (Manes, speaking to Christians calls himself the Apostle

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1. The Persian word *Mani* also means a painter, and there is a tradition that Manes when in exile, supported himself by making mural paintings such as are found in the Buddhist rock-monasteries. The Hokekyō (See Lect iv.) makes special reference to the merit to be acquired by those who paint the walls of rock-monasteries. Epiphanius says that Mani means σκεῦος, a vessel, or vehicle. H. G. Raverty, [" *Tebbat three hundred and sixty five years ago.*" Trans. R. A. S. Bengal. 1895 (p. 122)] mentions that at Lhassa, "some relate that the *tabut* [bier or coffin] of Mani the naqquash is preserved here." This paper is a translation from a Mohammedan writer, and clearly shows that Moh. tradition connects *Mani* with the Buddhism of Thibet. It is quite possible that the *tabut* may have been the ceremonial throne used to signify the "vacant chair of the teacher" at the *Bema* festival held by Manichaeans to commemorate the Martyrdom of their Founder. St. Augustine speaks of the Bema as having been a very impressive rite. Other Manichaean traces are to be found in Ceylon as well as in Thibet.

of Christ, or the Paraclete),[1] in North Africa (St. Augustine), in France and Spain. It is mentioned as a great honour to Ireland that there were no Manichaeans there, and among the tenets and practices for which the Knights Templars were suppressed were some that were Manichaean.

Again, there were Manichaeans in Ceylon, in South India (there was a Manichaean St. Thomas, and the shrine near Madras is said to be Manichaean), in Thibet (relics), and very numerous communities in Turkestan, Balkh, Kashgaria, Samarcand.[2] They were in China in A.D. 500, if not earlier, with large temples at Singanfu and other places, and it is said of them that their priests (Saba) passed themselves off as Buddhists, and adopted Buddhist terminology and discipline.

IV.—In A.D. 805 and 806 there arrived at Singanfu two Japanese priests, sent by Government to study religious conditions and report. The Indian Buddhism till that time in

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1. In *Bukkyō Kakushū Kōyō* (vol. i. Hossō Shu, chap. i.) the authors say that in the ninth century after Buddha's death (Buddhist chronology is notoriously loose) the Bodhisattva Maitreya descended from (the Tushita) Heaven to a Great Preaching Hall (Jap. daikōdō) in Ayasha no Kuni (? Ujjain) where he delivered lectures on the five Abhidharmas. The date is not quite right, when the story is told about Vasubandhu, who lived in the fifth century, A.D., but why should not this have been Manes? In speaking to Christians we know that he called himself the Paraclete. In speaking to Buddhists it would be most natural for him to speak of himself as the Maitreya whom the Buddhist world was expecting. The Chinese Tripitaka contains several books by Maitreya, who is not however the expected Messiah, but a human Bodhisattva of that name.

2. In the list of Manichaean writings given by Kessler (Mani. I. p. 214 f.f.) are the following:—To the Indians, to the inhabitants of Kaskar, to Armenia, to Ktesiphon, to Babylon, to Mesene (in Arabia Felix).

The Arab writer Alberuni (quoted by Kessler I. p. 322) says that in his days, A.D. 1048, there were many Manichaeans in Turkestan, China, Thibet and even in India. The Manichaeans were divided into two classes. (*a*) Those who maintained that miracles had ceased with Christ and that Manes had no miraculous powers, and (*b*) those who held that Manes had been a wonder worker. If I am right in seeing strong traces of Manichaeism in the Shingon and Tendai Sects in Japan, Dengyō Daishi would seem to have belonged to the first, and Kōbō Daishi to the second.

Japan was not altogether satisfactory and the Government wanted something better adapted to existing conditions.

They had an abundant choice of material. Confucianism, Taoism, Nestorian Christianity (the celebrated Singanfu tablet) Manichaeism, and Buddhism of many sorts—Small Vehicle, and Large, Indian and Chinese.

Dengyo Daishi, the first of these young men, adopted the Buddhism lately formulated in China by Chisha Daishi, better known as Tendai Daishi. It was an eclectic system, containing elements taken from many sources, Manichaean among the rest. Some day I hope to give a lecture on Tendai, to-day I shall confine myself to the form of faith brought over to Japan by the other Government student, Kōbō Daishi.

Kōbō Daishi's sect is known in Japan as Shingon, or Mantra, in India, as Yogachara. It does not claim to be based at all on the teachings of Sakyamuni. "Sakyamuni's faith," said a Shingon believer the other day, "is a very imperfect doctrine, good enough for the ignorant and imperfect. We speak wisdom amongst the Perfect [1]—and the wisdom which we have did not come from Sakyamuni, but from a Greater Buddha *Vairoc'ana* (in Jap. Dainichi) who revealed it to men." I hope to be able to show that this Shingon teaching is simply Mani-

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1. The distinction between "hearers" and "perfect," was made in a book called, in Greek, ἡ τῶν κεφαλαίων βίβλος or τὰ κεφάλαια, in Latin, *Epistola Fundamenti*. St. Augustine wrote a treatise against it. It is described by the Manichaean Felix, quoted by St. Aug, as containing *initium*, *medium* et *finem* of the Manichaean faith. It contains, besides rules for the "perfect" and "hearers," a dogmatic statement about the "*Light-pleroma*" which corresponds so nearly to the Jap Buddhist conception of *Vairoc'ana*, "in whom all fulness dwells." Much of this was taken from the doctrines of the Mendaeans amongst whom Manes had spent his youth. (Cf. Kessler. Mani I. p. 200, and Brandt).

There was another book, θησαυρός, (in Kessler "Buch der Lebendigmachung"), a title evidently taken from a similar work by Scythianus. (see note above). Epiphanius also mentions a μικρὸς θησαυρός, and Kessler I. 214., an Epistle, *Aufmunterung zur Frommigkeit*, which suggests As'vaghosha's "Awakening of Faith."

chaeism. I know that it is generally looked upon as being essentially Hindoo,—a mere adaptation of mystic Hinduism to the tenets of Buddhism. But there are some striking differences between the Hindu *yoga* and the Shingon *yogachara*, and those differences are just what we should expect from a Manichaean adapter. Have we not already seen that, in speaking to Christians, Manes spoke of himself as the Comforter, while his disciples in China ranked themselves as Buddhists? We should naturally expect him to the Hindoos to be as a Hindoo that he might gain the Hindoos.

V.—The Shingon believers claim that their doctrines came from South India, where Nagarjuna found their Sacred Books in an Iron Tower, where he received Baptism from an old saint.[1]

As a matter of fact, both Manichaeism and the earlier Zoroastrianism on which it was partly based were firmly established in Southern India, and there is a great deal in common in the terminology and ritual of Hindooism and of Zoroastrianism: e.g. the words *goma*, *akia*, and the fire-sacrifices belonging to them and to the Shingon.

VI.—When a Manichæan became a Christian he was required to make the following abjuration: "I anathematize .....Terebinthus who is called Buddha.....Zoroaster, whom Manes called a god, who had, so he said, appeared in former times to the Indians and Persians (possibly this is the

1. Baptism in the Shingon and Tendai sects (Skt. *Abhisekha*. Jap. *Kwanjo*) is the exact counterpart of what it was in Manichaeism, not a symbol of new life, nor an initiation for all believers, but a sign of admission into the higher grade of believers. Manichaeism had two grades of disciples, the Hearers and the Perfect;—with different rules and discipline for each. Like the Shingon monk, the Manichaean "Perfect" had to abstain from marriage, business, and all connection with the world. These men in each case form the hierarchy, and admission to the higher ranks is by Baptism. I believe this tower to have been the Manichaean Shrine of St. Thomas in S. India, and that the Nagarjuna of the Mantra sects was quite a different personage from the Nagarjuna who composed the S'astra on the *Prajna Paramitā*.

explanation of the Iron Tower) and whom he named the Sun (Jap. Dainichi).....I anathematize all the gods whom Manes has invented.....the four-faced Father of Greatness[1] (the eternal Buddha of Shingonism is 'four-faced,' having four essential qualities).....the so-called Male Virgin of light the shoulder Bearer[2].....the five spiritual Lights, (*τα πέντε φέγγη*[3].....the Five Dhyani Buddhas of Shingon,.....the

1. *Four-faced.* In Shingonism, all the Buddhas, and consequently Mahāvairo-c'ana, (i.e. God) "ont quatre corps spirituels, qui sont, 1°, celui de leur nature originelle, 2° celui qu'ils revêtent selon leur pensée, 3° le transformé, 4° le derivé de celui ou secondaire," Rev. de l'Hist d. Rel. XXVI. 311. Cf. the *Tetractys* in the system of Proclus, the Neoplatonist.

2. *Shoulder-bearer* Cf. the Sutra of the Burden-bearer in J. R. A. S. 1901. 573. "Je vous enseignerai le fardeau, le porteur du fardeau, la prise du fardeau, le depôt du fardeau. Le fardeau ce sont les cinq skandhas: la prise du fardeau, c'est la *trisna*:.....le depôt du fardeau, c'est l'extinction de la *trisna*: le porteur du fardeau c'est le *pudgala* (Jap. *alaya-shiki*), c'est le personnage respectable que vous voyez, qui a un tel nom &c. &c." *Vallée Poussin.* Dogme-Bouddh. J. A. Se. IX. T. XX. 266. In a passage in Epiphanius (adv. Haeres. LXVI. cap XXV). it says that Manes taught that *ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος* consisted of *τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα. εἰσὶ δε ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ καὶ ὕλη.* There was a sixth, *ψυχή*, the soul, of which man had been robbed. In *Tuzoku Bukkyo Gimon Kaito Shû*, Vol. I. p. 504, is a lengthy exposé of Shingon doctrine as to the soul. It lays down the six principles, earth, water, &c., with *shiki* as the sixth. These six, it says, are expressed by the mystic dharani *a-ba-ra-ka-ki-un* and correspond to the six organs, and the six senses of man It was to save the "burden-bearer"—(the pudgala) that the Saviour, according to Manes came into the world. *ὅτε δὲ εἶδε, φήσιν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ζῶν θλιβομένην τὴν ψύχην ἐν τῷ σώματι.....ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτου.* Ep. l.c. cap. XLIX. *Abarakakium* is the *Abrasax* of the Egyptian Gnostics, e.g. Basilides.

3. The Arab Historian, Al Jàkûbî, (Kessler I. 323) says that God is only a name for the Five Concepts—colour, taste, smell, touch hearing. These however constitute personality and so God is a personal being. The same applies to the god of darkness. This is, however, not so in the *Fihrist al ulûm* the greatest of all Persian authorities on Manes. God—the King of the Paradises (pl.) of Light has five elements.—Gentleness, Knowledge, Understanding, Secrecy, Insight:—five spiritual elements—Love, Faith, Truth, Bravery, Wisdom. Earth has the same five elements, to which the spiritual elements corresponding are:—Breath Wind, Light, Water, Fire.

five spiritual emanations from the Manichaean God.....in each case incarnated in great religious teachers.....with Christ as the φέγγος or "light" of the West in the one case, and Amida as the Dhyani Buddha of the West in the other)..... in short, I anathematize all the gods, Aeons, and derivative Aeons (αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων—the Buddhas, Bosatsu, and Manushi Buddhas) whom Manes invented.' It is hard to imagine at first how immense is the Pantheon of Buddhism in its Tendai and Shingon forms.

"I anathematize those that say that Zoroaster, *Buddha, Christ*,[1] Manes, and the Sun, (—the five Dhyani Buddhas ending up with Vairocana=Dainichi=Amaterasu=the Great Sun—) are one and the same. (It is just what Shingon says).....that identify Christ with the Sun and worship the celestial bodies (again Shingon).....that say that the souls of men are identical with God (again Shingon).....that teach that plants, trees, water, and such like things are endowed with souls (Shingon again)."

VII.—One of the strangest identifications that I have found I got from St. Augustine, who was himself at one time a Manichaean. Among other things in his anti Manichaean treaties (*e.g.* the division of believers into Hearers and Perfect,

1. There is a strange passage in Epiph. which I give below in which he speaks of the historical Christ as being in the Small Véhicle, much as the historical Gotama was. Here is the quotation.

Epiph. adv. Haeres. LXVI (p. 647) cap. XXXI.

αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ δωδέκα κυβερνῆται, καὶ ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ τρίτος, ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος .....

Here it is noticeable that Jesus is put in the "Small Vehicle," while the unknown "tertius senex" is described as belonging to the "Great Vehicle." The walls against fire, wind, etc., are to be found among the *signacula* of the *Shido-in-dzu*, p. 158, 76, but esp. pp. 28-32. The *tertius senex* is the Great Sakyamuni of the Hokekyō, the first being the historical Gotama, and the second, the expanded Sakyamuni of the earlier Mahāyāna

which is also found in Shingon) he tells us that the Manichaeans had a threefold system of sacramental or quasi-sacramental worship, based on ethical rules of life, and known as the *signacula* or *seals*. There were three seals, he tells us, of the hand, the mouth, the heart,—*signaculum oris, manus, pectoris*. Strange to say Shingon has the same—a threefold rule of life with conduct for body, mouth, and heart (Jap. *sangui*) and based on that threefold system of worship known as the *san-mitsu*, "the three secrets." When we come to enquire more particularly, we find that these secrets are actually called *seals*, of the hand, the mouth, and the heart, the first consisting of certain ritual signs to be done with the hands during worship, the second, of certain formulae or mantras (*dharani*) to be recited, and the third of certain acts of meditation to be made. The seals of the hands are all explained in the *Shido-indzu* in the Annales du Musée Guimet. The mantras or seals of the mouth are mostly unintelligible formulae, supposed to be Sanskrit, but not always so (*e.g.* akka=water), and there is said to be only one man (81 years old) who now understands them.[1] Of the meditations I could not learn much except that they did not differ materially from the *zazen* of the other sects.

VIII.—As we come to know more of Japanese history we shall probably find some deep reason prompting the Government of that time to send over students of religion to China. All sorts of religious ideas were coming into the country, as they had done a century before into China, Religious confusion, leading to spiritual unrest, was much to be dreaded, and a harmonious and harmonizing system seemed an essential. Dengyo and Kōbō were both harmonists, and the *Ryobu*

1. Many of these spells, or *dharani*, are to be found in Chap. XXI. of the Hokekyo. I have found some, esp. applicable to Kwannon, in a little Catechism entitled *Kwannon no Kudoku*; and there is a (Shingon) book on the "Thirteen Buddhas" which gives the proper Mantra to be used for each of these personages.

Shinto,[1] which they favoured brought quietness, if it did not bring spiritual strength to the country. Consciously or unconsciously Kōbō was a true disciple of Manes, and his system worked for great comprehensiveness as did also that of its rival of Tendai.

We have thus in the Japanese Shingon a complexity of causes working as it were in and out upon each other. Egypt, Babylon, and Persia, influence the Hindoo ritual, which in its turn influences the decadent Buddhism of the last two centuries before Christ.

This Buddhism comes back to Egypt in the person of Scythianus, where it is infected with Alexandrine speculation, and so returns to Babylon and India. Then it influences Manes on the one hand, and Nâgârjuna on the other, and these two streams flowing in totally different channels, at length meet in China, where Kōbō Daishi unites them into one, and out of them forms the Japanese system of the Shingon. The tracing of these interacting influences can only be compared to the following out the pedigree of a family the members of which have for several generations intermarried with each other.

1. *Ryobu Shinto*, sometimes also called *Ryobu Bukkyo*, is an amalgamation of the two religions into one system by treating Shinto gods as Buddhas and vice versa. It was definitely swept away at the Restoration of Meiji.

LECTURE II.

DARUMA AND THE BUDDHIST CANON.

Daruma is in Japan the name given to a peculiar legless doll which is often to be seen in the hands of children. It may be looked upon as the equivalent of our Noah's Arks, for it is in reality the image of a great Buddhist Saint. In China, the Saint's name is Tamo, a personage held in so high esteem that the first missionaries thought that he was no other than the Apostle St. Thomas, whom legend has credited with the evangelization of India and China. His real name is *Bodhidharma.* He was an Indian Buddhist, the son of an Indian *Raja,* who made his appearance in China about the year A.D. 520, where he founded the *Zen* or *Dhyani* sect. This sect, under the name of Busshinshu (Sect of Buddha's mind) was brought into Japan as early as A.D. 654 by the monk Dosho, who failed, however, to gain much popular favour for his teachings. It was re-imported in 1172 and 1194, respectively by Eisai and Dosen, in two sections, the *Rinzai,* which came from the South of China, and the *Sōdō,* which came from North of the Yangtze. The big Monasteries at Kamakura belong to the former, the Sōdō has its chief seat at the Eiheiji in Echizen.

To judge of Daruma's work, it is necessary to speak first of the Canon of Northern Buddhism.

The first official appearance of Buddhism in China was in A.D. 67, when, in answer to the Emperor Ming-ti's invitation,

two priests, Matanga and Dharmaraksha, brought Buddhist books, relics, and images, from N.W. India, and founded a monastery which still exists, under the name of the White Horse. Both these men died in A.D. 70 leaving behind them four books, of which only one now exists, the Sutra of the 42 sections. The next batch of missionaries came to China in A.D. 147, headed by the Parthian Prince, Anshikâo. The interval of seventy years[1] was largely taken up with controversies and persecutions during which the Buddhists claimed to be miraculously assisted.[2] After A.D. 147 the stream of translators began. What the size of that stream was may be inferred from the fact that in A.D. 730, a short time before Dengyo Daishi came over from Japan, the Northern Buddhist Bible consisted of 5.048 distinct works—with power to add to their number. The treatises were very miscellaneous. There are treatises on abstruse metaphysics, there are also treatises on the cure of the tooth-ache, and there are gods and goddesses, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from every land that ever contained a Buddhist,—Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, India. All the

1. It seems also clear that whereas Ming-ti was a pacific ruler, and, as such, naturally inclined to Buddhism, his successors fell under the influence of the military party, the chief exponent of which was Panchao the Viceroy who pushed his conquests as far as the Caspian Sea.

2. During those seventy odd years between A.D. 70 and A.D. 147, the infant Buddhist communities underwent a severe trial of opposition and even of persecution, at the hands of the representatives of the older religions of China. The Confucianists and Taoists were the most vigorous opponents of the foreign religion, and the Buddhist answer seems to have b.... an appeal to the miraculous. In *Bukkyō Gimon Mondōki* Vol. I. chap 2, there is a long discussion on relics and sacred objects, together with an account of the miracles which are believed to have accompanied the first introduction of Buddhism into China. The bones of Buddhist Saints, placed on an anvil, refused to be broken by the blows of a sledge hammer, the Sacred Books of the priests, and the idols which they venerated, passed unscathed through the ordeal of fire. A drama very similar to that of Elijah and the priests of Baal was enacted in the capital city of the Later or Eastern Han Dynasty, and the result—(if we may trust the Buddhist historians, who are not always veracious)—was the triumph of the foreign religion, through the manifest interposition of Providence.

books claimed to have been originally written in Sanskrit. Sanskrit was the ecclesiastical language of Buddhism, just as much as Latin was the ecclesiastical language of Mediaeval Europe.

The obvious results, which were felt less in India, where there was no importation of books, than in China, where missions came in from all sides, and where the stream was augmented by native additions, was a most alarming confusion of religious ideas. For this several remedies suggested themselves.

(1) *Eclecticism.*—Buddhist teachers took some particular Sutra or Commentary which appealed specially to their wants, and made the selected book or books the bases of their sectarian teaching. These are known as the "One Sutra one Commentary" Sects, and are very largely of Indian origin. The early sects in Japan (mostly extinct) which established themselves during the Nara period (Kusha, Hosso, Jojitsu, Ritsu, Sanron, &c.) belonged to this class. They were narrow and sectarian bodies, and both in Japan and China were disposed to quarrel amongst themselves. There is plenty of proof tending to show that about the Nara period (from A.D. 593 to A. D. 793), Buddhism in Japan was distracted by internal conflicts which were very disturbing to the whole country, and that the Emperor Kwammu's thought, in sending Kōbō and Dengyō to China, was mainly to obtain some religious system which should bring peace to the country and obtain the harmonious co-operation within the body politic of Buddhism, Confucianism and the indigenous Shinto. I have already spoken about Kōbō and his work. It remains for me to speak of Dengyō's labours.

II. *The Harmonists.*—Eclecticism having failed, both in China and Japan, to bring forth good fruit, the way remained open for the Harmonists to try their hand. Was it possible to bring the chaos of Mahâyâna scriptures into anything like order or system? The task exercised the ingenuity of many priests, both Indian and Chinese. *Kaigen* and *Chiko,* among the former, *Eshi, Chisha, Genshu,* and others, among the latter, all

tried their hands at it and failed. Emon Zenshi (A.D. 400) gave up the attempt in despair, and yet fluked a success. Despairing of finding which was the principal scripture to which the rest of the books should be subordinated, he shut his eyes, walked into the library and took the first book his fingers touched. It happened to be Nagarjuna's *Madhyamika S'āstra*, and he took it as the basis of his arrangement. "And this," says a Japanese writer, "is the basis of the Tendai sect!"[1]

Dengyō Daishi's system was a little different to that. The founder of the Chinese Tendai had supposed four great periods of development in the teachings of Sakyamuni, and had arranged all the scriptures of the Three Baskets according to those periods, making the Madhyamika Sastra the key to the whole harmony. Dengyō Daishi added a fifth period to his harmony of the Master's life, and thereby made room in the highest place for the Saddharma-pundarika, which had been a favorite in Japan ever since the Prince Imperial Shotoku had himself delivered lectures on it in the precincts of the Palace at Nara. Dengyō's periods are the following:—(i) *Kegon* (Avatamsaka) a very exalted set of teachings delivered before Angels and Bodhisattvas, immediately after his Enlightenment, when the celestial glory was still upon Gotama. (ii) *Agon* (Agama), simple teachings, for sinful men, being the substance of his early preachings at Benares and elsewhere. (iii) *Hōdō* (Vaipulya), the "expanded teachings" of a later period, given to disciples with a certain amount of spiritual experience. (iv) *Hannya* (Prajñā) containing the philosophy of his whole system, and lastly, (v) *Hokke-Nehan* (Saddharma-pundarika, Nirvana), being theological and ecstatic teachings of his last few years. In this way Dengyō Daishi hoped that he had formulated a comprehensive system in which there was room for the

1. Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gimon Mondoki, Vol. III. 507

whole "84,000 articles of the orthodox Mahâyâna Faith," and certainly if the Truth can be obtained by boundless comprehensiveness, Dengyō Daishi was on the way to attaining it. It took a student some twenty years to graduate in theology in the Buddhist University which Dengyō established on Hieizan, and it is extremely doubtful if he could have succeeded in his designs if he had not added to his theological requirements some very practical and beneficial labours of a different sort. It was perhaps too much to expect that so comprehensive a sect as the Tendai should continue for long in a pure and virtuous state. It had in it too much that was incongruous and incompatible, and too much that was worldly and carnal. It was the Court religion, and lent itself to Court intrigues during one of the most intriguing periods of Japanese history. It was torn into factions by the rivalries of ambitious priests, and the conflicting claims of competing monasteries. The Hieizan monks were notorious fighters, and the history of Japanese Buddhism from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1250 is the record of a succession of protests from earnest-minded, spiritual, teachers, against the corruptions of the dominant school of thought.[1]

One of these protests was the protest of the Zen sects in A.D. 1172 and 1194, which I mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Both Eisai and Dōzen based their Protestant teachings on the doctrines formulated by Bodhidharma.

Daruma held with St. Paul, that "the letter killeth." He did not trouble to investigate the Mahâyâna Scriptures, to select this book, or reject that other. He simply put the whole on one side, and said that it was not by the Scriptures that a man could be saved. By clinging to a "One Sutra, One Commentary" system, a man became generally a narrow minded bigot; by trying to follow the Harmonists and adopting all Scriptures, he exposed himself to the danger of always

1. See de Mazelieres *Japan* vols. I and II for a good description of the State of Japan during the period from the 9th to the 13th centuries.

learning and never coming to a knowledge of the Truth. The way of Buddhism was simpler. Its main problem was to arrive at *Busshin*, at the "inmost heart of Buddha," and that was a task which each man must do for himself, by following the path which the Master had trodden first, which the Bodhisattvas and Patriarchs had trodden after him. By his own exertions, by the purification of his own heart, by a deep and constant contemplation of the most abstract kind, and growing deeper and more abstract with every exercise, he must reach out to Truths which Gotama had attained to under the *Bo-Tree*. Daruma's system is the Buddhist counterpart of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, and the Zen faith has always been the faith of soldiers and men of serious affairs. It was the faith of the manly Hōjō Regents at Kamakura; it has always been the popular Buddhism of the samurai.

When once this enlightenment has been reached, the Zenshu believer will turn to his scriptures, and there find comfort. But he need not confine himself to the Buddhist scriptures at all. Confucianism, especially that of the deep reaching Oyomei School, has always been the strength and stay of the Zenshu priests and lay believers. In modern days, they will turn to Epictetus, to Tolstoi, to Emerson, to Goethe, nay, they will try to find "sermons in stones and good in everything." The Essence of Zenshuism is the "Heart of Buddha." But what that heart is cannot exactly be said. There is a carving at Nikko which tells the tale. Three monkeys holding their hands, one over his eyes, one over his ears, and one over his mouth, *mizaru, kikazaru, iwazaru*:—"Eye hath not seen it, ear hath not heard it, tongue hath not spoken it." The truth lies too deep for any but a communication from mind to mind. Oral transmission fails, the written letter fails still more signally. "All wise men," said Lord Beaconsfield, "are of the same religion: no wise man ever says what that religion is."

The Zenshuists claim, and I think with justice, that theirs is the most pure form of Indian Buddhism in Japan. They

are certainly the most free of any of the Japanese sects from admixture of non-Indian elements. They represent, as far as can be at such a distance of place and time, the old Buddhist faith that renovated India in the days of Gotama and As'oka, that fought against Hindoo philosophers and Brahman sages. They are the sturdiest and strongest, though not perhaps the most obtrusively active, of Buddhist sects at the present day.

To-day I have said all I can in their praise. In my last lecture I shall speak of some criticisms which have been directed against them by contemporaries.

LECTURE III.

TENDAI AND SHINSHU.

I have read in a Buddhist book published this summer (*Bukkyo Kakuha Kōyō*) that the different sects ought to be arranged according to their *honzon*, or principal object of worship. This arrangement gives us three classes of Buddhist sects,—those in which Vairoc'ana is the *Honzon*, those in which it is Sakyamuni, and, lastly, those which give the principal seat of honour to Amida.

The Tendai system, true to its characteristic spirit of comprehensiveness, tried to hold all three, but failed. It admitted Sakyamuni, Amida, and Vairoc'ana, but it did not succeed in keeping its monks true even to one of these three. We find Tendai temples like that *e.g.*, of Asakusa, in which Kwannon is the *honzon*, in others it is Yakushi, or Kompira, the Sanskrit Kuvera. The Tendai very soon split into sub-sects,—partly from worldly reasons, and partly owing to dogmatic considerations. There is a sub-sect of Tendai in which Amida is the *honzon*, in contradistinction to the practice of the main body, which principally reveres the glorified Sakyamuni as described in the Hokekyo, and no less than four sects of out and out Amida worshippers have left the Tendai and set up for themselves. It would take me beyond my present limits to go into a detailed account of these sects. Suffice it to say that the first sect,—the one known as Yudzunembutsu, and founded by Ryonen Shōnin in A.D. 1123,—is based on a vision in which Amida himself

appeared to the founder of the sect, and told him to go out from the Hieizan Monastery, as being a den of demons, and to take refuge in a One Being, who summed and stood for all, and a One religious practice which united all in itself. The Vision showed that the Hieizan required both moral reform and a simplification of dogma, but the Yudzunembutsu can scarcely be said to have been a success. It has always been a small sect: its younger sisters, the Jōdo, founded by Genku, or Hōnen, in 1190, and the Shinshu, established by Shinran in 1224, have both been much more successful. They have appealed to Buddhist history and traditions, have boldy claimed to represent the true teaching of Sakyamuni in his later years, and have gathered three quarters of the Japanese Buddhists into their folds. There is one other Amida sect, the Ji, founded about 1275, also as the result of a vision, but to all practical intents and purposes it is the Jōdo and Shinshu that virtually monopolize the world of Amida worshippers.

These sects (they obviously came into existence in Japan from the absolute necessity of presenting the people of this country with something more simple and practical than the extremely elaborate systems of Shingon and Tendai) all find their peculiar tenets in three Sutras—*Muryōjukyō*, *Kwanmuryō-jukyō* and *Amida-kyō*[1]—in which Sakyamuni discourses of the merits of another Buddha, as great as, or greater than, Himself, Who presides over a Western Paradise into which nothing that is undefiled may enter, and admission to which may be gained, quite irrespective of a man's *Karma*, simply by Faith in and Invocation of the Name of Buddha Amitâbha. Like many (I might say all the) Mâhâyana books, these three Sutras are not mentioned for centuries after Gotama's death. In the middle of the 1st century A.D. As'vaghosha mentions both Amida and the Sutra in his Awakening of Faith (*Kishinron*): we are told that Nâgârjuna died with his face set towards the

1. In Sanskrit respectively the Larger Sukhavati Vyuha, the Amitayur dhyani sutra, and the Smaller Sukhavati Vyuha

Western Paradise: the brothers Asangha and Vasubandhu believed on Amida in India of the fifth century A.D. In China, Amida books were brought in very early, Kumarajiva and others were great translators of these Sutras, and the so-called White Lotus Sect, which is still in existence, has been the foster-mother of the Japanese sects which I have already mentioned. Any one who has given the least attention to Mahâyâna Buddhism will know how hard it is to assign a date to any Sutra coming from India. Even supposing that these Sutras represent the genuine teachings of Sakyamuni, there is an interval of silence, from B.C 490 to A.D. 60, during which neither Amida nor Amida Sutras are once mentioned, so far as we know.

I myself believe that the Sutras, as we have them now, are of a late date, much posterior to Shaka's time, and that the writings themselves should be classed as "Vaipulya," or "developed," i.e. containing doctrines given at first in a very simple form, but expanded and developed on some subsequent occasion. But, while believing the books themselves to be late, I think the teaching concerning Amida may have been actually given, *in germ*, by Sakyamuni himself during one of the last years of his Life (say B.C. 485.) I will give the reasons which have led me to this conclusion.

There is a touch of time and place about the Amitayurdhyana Sutra which seems to my mind to bear all the marks of being essentially true. It is known that Gotama had, as one of his most earnest disciples, a local Rajah, Bimbisara by name. Bimbisara had a bad son, Ajatasatru, who, conspiring with Gotama's wicked cousin Devadatta, plotted to dethrone his father, and reign in his stead. The old King was accordingly thrown into prison, and, by his son's orders, kept on very short commons in the hopes that he might die. Queen Vaidehi, however, managed to smuggle food into the prison, and the old King lived and throve. Then the wicked son redoubled the severity of his father's imprisonment, and Vaidehi was no longer permitted access to her husband in

gaol. In her distress, she then sent for the Buddha, to come and give counsel and advice. "What have I and my husband done," she asked, "that we should be tormented with such a wicked son?" And, "where is there a place that is free from sin and defilement? for I can find none in India." She was quite right. There was no such teaching in India at the time, as may be seen from the accounts given in the various biographies of Gotama's discussions with hermits and sages, at the time when he was seeking after Enlightenment. In an ordinary Buddhist book, Gotama ought to have told her a very prosaic *Jataka* story, of how, *e.g.* she had been a butcher in some previous existence, and was now expiating her wickedness by one life of misery for every animal she had killed, and all the comfort he ought to have been able to offer her should have been that, when all these thousands of sins had been expiated in some very remote future, she might possibly look forward to a better existence. Instead of that, with a refreshing inconsistency, Gotama sweeps aside the whole system of *karma* (the only law that India until then knew), explains to her one or two religions,—for I take the expression "a Buddha-field" to mean a religion,—and bids her look for comfort to the West, to a Pure Land in which *karma* is for ever set aside through the merits of the Great Buddha of the western regions. That is the germ of the Amida Cult. The idea is worked out and elaborated in the three Sutras: the elaboration is, I think, of a later date, but the narrative I have related sounds to me like a genuine page from Sakyamuni's life.

The question at once arises, from whence did Sakyamuni obtain his knowledge of this western "Buddha field," (or religion), with its principle of salvation by faith and purity of life, this faith which is outside of India, but which is yet, according to these Sutras, destined to attract to itself converts from all the other Buddha fields in the world, and whose Master is so exalted a personage that Sakyamuni can tell Vaidehi that "Amitâbha is always near to you"?

We might perhaps say that it came to him through prophetic or spiritual insight, and we could not reasonably refuse to grant to Sakyamuni that gift which we grant to a Gentile prophet such as Balaam. But there is no necessity to suppose any prophetic gift at all.

When Sakyamuni came into the world, B.C. 550 or thereabouts, the great Babylonian Empire was at the height of its outward prosperity though inwardly tottering to its fall. The exiled Jews were there, and they were of two kinds,—the pious souls, who mourned for their sins by the waters of Babylon, and the moneygrubbers, who availed themselves of the opportunities of being in a first-class commercial city to amass fortunes by trading with merchants from the East. Babylon was the London of the ancient world: Nebuchadnezzar had built for it a fine sea port, between which and India there was much coming and going. Sakyamuni, the bulk of whose disciples came from the merchant-class, cannot very well have missed hearing of Babylon. He was no cave-dweller, he lived amongst his fellow-men.

When Sakyamuni was a young man, the whole world was astonished by the sudden and awful fall of Babylon, and the rapid rise of the Persian Empire, a rise as phenomenal as that of Japan in our days. Events of this importance do not take place in a corner. There was a stock-exchange in Babylon, which must have been effected by the political crisis, and which would in its turn affect the merchants of India, who traded with that country. Sakyamuni must have heard of these happenings, and he cannot well have missed hearing of the facts connected with the Fall of Babylon. Fulfilled prophecies are apt to be exaggerated rather than minimized, and when the people, from whose prophets had come the swiftly-fulfilled predictions of Babylonia's doom, were restored to their country, it was a tale that would not lose by the telling in the bazaars of India.

About the year 520, the year in which Haggai and Zechariah began their prophetic ministry, Darius came to the throne of

Persia. Darius extended the Persian dominions to India, as far as, and perhaps beyond, the Indus, into Punjaub. Sakyamuni was an itinerating preacher, and his wanderings sometimes took him very near to the Persian frontier. His own people were the Sakyans, and there were members of the same tribe living within the territories of the new Persian Kingdom. In 513, Darius undertook his mighty expedition against the Scythians, and bridged the Dardanelles. Herodotus, who wrote the History of that expedition, gives us an account of the Sakyan troops, who came from India, and marched next to their Indian brothers-in-arms, to chastise their Scythian or Sakyan cousins in Europe. The expedition against the Scythians was followed by the War with the Greeks. Sakyan troops must have fought at Marathon, watched the defeat at Salamis, and again fought at Plataea. It is incredible that Sakyamuni, who died a year before Salamis, should not have heard of the mighty Persian Empire, of its founder Cyrus, whom the Babylonian Isaiah recognized as the Servant of Jehovah, and of the new religious spirit which the Babylonian Captivity put into the hearts of the Jews, and through them, later, into the hearts of the world. The Western Buddha field, presided over by Amida, would seem to be an echo of the spiritual teachings of the Jewish prophets of the Exile.[1]

But this is by no means all, for it refers only to the germ out of which was developed the teaching of Amida, and we have said nothing yet about the written books.

Immediately after the death of Sakyamuni, his elder disciples held a Council in a Cave-Monastery at Rajagriha, where they drew up a body of Scriptures, copied down from the memories of the Master's chief co-workers and apostles. Five hundred priests partook in this Council; but it did not

1. I may add that the *Bukkyo Seiten*, in a systematized Life of Shaka, says that the *Kammuryoju kyō* (Amitayur-dhyana-sutra) was preached in the 38th year of Buddha's Ministry. This would place it in the year B.C. 487, three years after the battle of Marathon.

command universal sympathy, for an opposition meeting was held outside the Cave, at which an independent set of teachings was made.

The opposition probably came from the men of Vaisali and the neighbourhood, from subjects of Bimbisara, who had listened to the Master's later teachings, and who did not want to go back to the elements on which the older men insisted. Subsequently (some say 100 years, but this is doubtful) a second Council was held, on the question of relaxations of discipline. The remonstrants could not get their way, and "trekked" across the frontier into non-Indian lands. They are called Vrijiputrakas: they were probably Sakyans from Vaisali, and it would seem that they went to seek a home amongst their Sakyan kinsfolk.

Herodotus (Bk. i) tells of a Sakyan army that traversed Palestine and penetrated into Egypt.

Later, Sakyans (Buddhists possibly by this time) fought in the Persian armies against Alexander, and after Alexander's death, in the numerous armies which his successors raised for their frequent wars with one another. When their wars were over, the Greek Sovereigns of Antioch and the East did what the Romans after them did with such striking success: they formed colonies of veterans whom they placed in cities in different parts of the Empire, and whom they thus bound to themselves by free grants of lands and houses. There were many such colonies of veteran Scythians: let me mention one—the town of Bethshan, on the confines of Samaria and Galilee. Its Greek name was Scythopolis, the city of the Sakyans. There was also the district of Decapolis: and Galilee is known as "Galilee of the Gentiles." [1]

1. The early connection of Buddhism with foreign countries may be gathered from the following facts which I take from Kern's *Buddhismus*. (vol. II. p. 279). Yas'as, who in the Northern succession succeeds Ananda as third patriarch, was a merchant-sailor ("See händler") during Gotama's lifetime, and entered the monastic order soon after the Nirvâna. It is said of another Patriarch, Dhitika, (Kern. l c 273) that he made many conversions in Tocharis-

When, under As'oka, B.C. 263—245, Buddhism became the dominant faith of India, a wave of missionary zeal came over the country, and Buddhist missions went East and West, reaching as far as Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece. These would naturally go to their brethren of the Buddhist and Sakyan Dispersion. The Persian Empire, let me add, was famous for its good roads and communications. These roads were kept up by their Greek successors: and in India there is at least one ancient high-road, marked with monasteries, that runs from Central India, across the Punjaub into Afghanistan.

A hundred years later, during the wars of the Maccabees. about A.D. 150, we get the first mention made of the sect of the *Essenes*, a mysterious people living, both geographically and spiritually, on the confines between Jewry and the outside world. Much has been said about this strange people. It has been said that they were a sect of unorthodox Jews: that they were the extreme Persianizers among the Jews, who carried the strict tendencies of the Pharisees to their logical conclusions: that they were very good heathen of the Pythagorean type: that they were Buddhists pure and simple. It has been claimed for John the Baptist that he was an Essene: the same thing has been alleged of Christ. It is pretty certain that neither was an Essene: it is equally certain that there were certain spiritual affinities between the teachings of the Essenes and of Christ, which made many of the former welcome the teachings of the Son of Man. Christ, as far as we know, never mentioned the Essenes, he certainly never spoke badly of them, and many of his sayings were just such as the Essenes themselves would have been likely to formulate. The Essenes were very probably, in their origin, descendants of the mixed families

tan. Di·itika is connected with a King of the name of Minara, who may or may not be identical with the Greek King Menander, who reigned in Buctria, and is a well known personage in the history of Northern Buddhism. Among the Apostles sent out after the third Council under Tishya-Maudgaliputra is Dharmarakshita "the Greek" who is said to have worked with considerable success among the nations of Western Asia.

who had been excluded from the Temple by Ezra: with them were mixed Buddhist Sakyans, and others, and their communities were increased, it is said, by additions from time to time from those somewhat Puritanical Jews, who called themselves "the meek of the earth," and who wanted something more restful than the political and worldly religion of the Maccabean and Herodian priesthoods, of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes.

We get most of our knowledge of the Essenes from Josephus and Philo the Alexandrian. They lived a strict, semi-monastic, life, some as monks, others, in the world but not of it; they abstained from meat, and from the animal sacrifices in the Temple, to which however they sent offerings from time to time. They reverenced the old Testament, but they had also books of their own which they kept secret, and certain spiritual Beings or Angels whose names they were sworn not to reveal. They worshipped the Rising Sun, as symbol of their Messianie hopes, a practice to which the prophet Malachi seems to refer when he talks of the "Sun of Righteousness arising with healing in his wings;" and, what is most to our present purpose, they looked forward at death to entering into a Western Paradise.

The Jewish writer, Philo of Alexandria, speaks of the Essenes in the highest terms, as persons from whom he had learned a very great deal. It is to Philo that Christian theology owes the first indications of its highest mystery—the mystery of the Trinity;—for it is in his books that we get the first formulated belief in the Divine Logos or Word, and the first hints of the co-operation of Three Persons in the Divine Godhead. Is it chance, or is it the result of a sequence of cause and effect, that we find in the three Buddhist Sutras of the Amida Sects an indication of a Triad of Divine Persons, all interested in the Salvation of Mankind?

In each of the Sutras in question, Amida appears: in each case he is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas who aid him in his work of mercy Their names in Sanskrit are Avalokites'vara

and Mahâsthâmaprâpta—"Infinite Mercy" and "Divine Strength"—in Japanese, Kwannon and Seishi. *Kwannon* in the Pure Land books is male, not female: stripped of the wild and fanciful legends with which the misguided devotion of a miracle-mongering Mahâyâna has covered him, he symbolizes God becoming incarnate in many forms and on many occasions in order that He may save, not only all mankind, but all Nature; for Buddhism agrees with St. Paul that by reason of sin "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain." *Seishi*, who, I am told, must not be identified with the Bodhisattva of the same name worshipped by the Shingon, is the symbol of Divine Force, Energy, Spirit,—the Force of God. These, and these three only, are proposed to the Pure Land believer as objects of adoration, in the Buddhist Scriptures which extol the Greatness of Amida, which set before man, even in this world, the hope of the Western Paradise, and proclaim the abolition of Karma through a Divine Person who has obtained for them what a Christian would call the forgiveness of all their sins.[1]

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1. I may perhaps be allowed to give in a note, here, a few thought on the relations between Buddhist *Karma* and Christian Forgiveness. To the Christian, *Karma* seems unnecessarily hard and inexorable, to the Buddhist, the doctrine of Forgiveness seems unjust, because it often is taken to imply that the bad action goes unpunished. But it may be that Karma and Forgiveness go hand in hand, a thought suggested to my mind by a sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Tokyo, by the Rev. A F. King, on Jan. 28. 1908, on a theme connected with the Conversion of St. Paul. Stephen, dying, commends his cause to His Master and God who had said "Vengeance is mine: I will repay." The Vengeance and the Repayment (in Buddhist language, the *Karma* of the bad act) are both to be seen, literally exemplified in the life of St. Paul. The Vision on the Road to Damascus is practically the same as that which was before the eyes of St. Stephen as he confronted his enemies: the stoning at Lystra is the literal expiation of the Martyrdom of St. Stephem. The full tale of punishment is exacted, not in vengeance but in love, not to destroy but to give new life. Saul openly preaches Christ in Damascus, and St. Paul, bruised and crushed though he was, stands up, returns to Lystra, and the next day starts on a long and difficult journey. Karma sometimes becomes what the preacher called the "Vengeance of Divine Love."

It must not, however, be concluded that the relations of Amida and his attendant Bodhisattvas in the Pure Land Sutras are precisely the same as those existing between the Three Persons of the Christian Trinity. There are indeed many and most important points of difference, but into these I have no time to enter, nor is this the place to do so.

I would add, in conclusion, that there is a plainly marked difference between the three Sutras. The Larger Sukhâvati Vyûha refers to the past: it tells of how Amida made His Vow, and how he raised Himself to His Place. The Amitâyur Dhyâna Sutra speaks of the present: it points Vaidehi to the Western Paradise as an actually accomplished fact, and shows how Amida's Mercy suits the needs of all men and draws all men to itself. The Lesser Sukhâvati Vyuha speaks of the Western Paradise of the Future as the place of the Soul after death, (and thereby again overthrows the current Buddhism which knows no proper life after death, and no continued personal identity). The three principal Pure Land Sects (*i. e.* Yudzunembutsu, Jōdo, and Shinshu) do not agree, I am told, in the value they attach to these Sutras, each of them laying especially stress on one or the other book, according as they lay more or less emphasis on present, past, or future.[1]

1. In a recent number of a popular Japanese magazine, Mr. Saeki publishes an article which I hope may soon be published in English, on the discovery of an ancient colony of Jews in Japan. In the light of this discovery, I should be glad to see some scholar take up the study of an old Japanese book, *Fushi-Sōgō* (the "Reconciliation of Father and Children") which is highly esteemed amongst Shinshu believers. The very title of the book suggests the last verse of the prophecy of Malachi, in whose writing there is much that would appeal to an Amidaist. Mr. Saeki's discovery strengthens the conjecture made in this lecture that the idea of Amida came into Buddhism from the Exilic and post Exilic prophets of Judaism.

IV. NICHIREN AND HOKEKYŌ

If we were wishing to pick holes in Japanese Buddhism, it would be the Japanese Buddhists themselves that would provide us with the pick to do it with. We have already seen, in a previous lecture, how vigorously Bodhidharma and his followers handled the Sacred Canon of the Mahāyāna Scriptures, and swept aside all the labours of the painstaking translator, the unscrupulous forger, and the ingenious harmonist, in one impartial condemnation. To-day, we shall see Nichiren, the greatest and most striking personality in the whole of Japanese Buddhist literature, passing the most scathing of condemnations on all his Buddhist brethren and predecessors, and proclaiming himself the Apostle of a Buddhist Belief, so different to all that had gone before as practically to amount to a new religion.

Nichiren, born in 1222, began to propagate his new faith in 1253. The shadow of the Mongol was lying, black and gloomy, over a great part of Asia. At any moment, the dreaded conqueror might, as in fact he did a few years later, stretch forth a greedy hand towards the East, and send an Armada against Japan. The Empire, torn asunder by factions, her born leaders puppets in the hands of designing courtiers, lay at the mercy of any invader with faith to venture on the enterprise, when, in 1260, Nichiren published his patriotic essay, the *Ankokuron*, or Essay on the Tranquilization of the Country, which he dedicated to the Hojo Regent Tokiyori. Nichiren was banished to Izu for his audacity, but his words took effect. When the dreaded Mongols came they found Japan prepared.

Nichiren had begun his monastic life as a student in a Shingon Temple. He had then spent many years in study and wandering, sometimes at Kyoto, or Hieizan, sometimes at Nara, sometimes at Kamakura. He had read all the

Sutras, and sat at the feet of many teachers, of all sects and denominations. He found himself in the end profoundly disappointed. Not only did he find that the results of Buddhism, as seen in the actual conditions of the country, were bad; but he came slowly also to the further conclusion that the true meaning of Buddhism had not yet been set before the world. The two discoveries went together in his mind. The country was in a bad state because its religious system was defective: if the religion could be made perfect, the condition of the country would improve: the time had now come to proclaim the perfect Law of the Tathāgata, and he was the man to establish the perfect Religion, neither the Small Vehicle, nor the Large, but the One, True Vehicle.*

As soon therefore as he was recalled from his banishment to Izu, he at once commenced an onslaught on the other sects who had brought about the trouble by their worldliness and heresies. The Nara sects, of the One Sutra and One Commentary, had signed their surrender, as it were, and lost their influence. They had allowed the identification of Vairoçana Buddha with Amaterasu the Shinto goddess of the Sun, they had made a compact with the Emperor Kwammu, which led to the despatch of Kōbō and Dengyō, as commissioners to form a new State Buddhism, they had lost their independence and consequently could not be expected to do much for their country's good. The followers of Kōbō had weakened their influence by placing mantras and incantations above the weightier matters of the Law: the monks of the Tendai had given in to the world, and had encouraged the constant resignations of men in authority, which made all stable government impossible: the monks of the Jōdo and Shinshu sects had followed suit and become as worldly as the Tendai, from which they came out: and the Zen, with their claims to a direct personal revelation to each believer who seeks after the Truth by the way of meditation,

* I believe I have been able to trace this One Vehicle in the Naassenes described in Book V. of the Philosophumena.

could only be described as possessed of a Devil, so proud and self-conceited were they.

None, said Nichiren, had understood the true nature of Buddhism, for none really understood the Person and Nature of its Founder. The Shingon placed Vairoçana on their Altars, and the Shinshu, Amida : the one an alien deity, foreign to Buddhism, the other, an Imperfect Buddha imperfectly apprehended by Faith alone, instead of by Faith and a changed heart,—a teaching so dangerous in Nichiren's eyes that he proclaimed that each several invocation of Amida's name would give the misguided worshipper a re-birth, not in the Pure Land, but in the lowest and hottest of the hells.

Nichiren's scathing denunciations of contemporary Buddhism brought him into trouble with the Regent. He was even condemned to death, so relentless were his enemies, and Japanese artists have often depicted the scene of his marvellous deliverance on the sands between Kamakura and Enoshima, when the raised sword of the executioner was stayed by a thunderbolt. But danger could not turn him from his purpose, and having, by his criticisms, cleared the foundations of religion, he proceeded to construct a new superstructure.

Five things are necessary, said Nichiren, for the promulgation of the true religion. There must be (i) a knowledge of the exact personal teachings of the man who founded it, (ii) a knowledge of the nature of man and mankind, (iii) the right time, (iv) the right place and (v) a knowledge of the past religious experience of the nations, as well as a clear foresight of the future. All these he found united in his own time and person. It had been made clear to him, and he felt himself commissioned to proclaim it to the world, that the whole of Shaka's personal teachings were to be found in the Hokekyo, the scripture which taught with unfailing certainty the true Nature of man : the Age of Mappō, of the destruction of the Law, of the decay of Faith, demanded a teacher to put life into the the dying embers, and Japan, where the Mahāyāna had been taught in its fullness, was the country in which the

advance could best made from the Great Vehicle to the One True Vehicle, and that advance could best be made in accordance with past experiences and future hopes, the medicines to heal the sicknesses of the age being administered only after a most careful diagnosis of the religious and moral symptoms.

In the *Hokekyō*, said Nichiren, is to be found the true Sakyamuni as revealed by himself before his death. He is not, as the small Vehicle teaches in the *Agama* Sutras, a mere man born in Central India, who went about doing good, and teaching the simple elements of a simple faith to men and women entangled in mundane affairs. Neither is he the superhuman Buddha, sixteen feet in bodily stature, whose footprints may be seen, *e.g.* on the great stone in front of the Zojoji Temple in Shiba Park. Sakyamuni, according to Nichiren, is more than this. He is the Great Self of the Universe—the Immanent God, if we may adopt the language of modern speculation. He is "above all, through all:" man in Him is partaker of the Divine Nature, and not man alone—every rock, every sea, every planet, the Sun, the Moon, and the most distant of constellations, all are manifestations of the Buddha Nature, all are parts and parcels of Sakyamuni. There have been many Buddhas and many Buddha-fields, but these are but partial Buddhas, each exhibiting but a portion of the whole Truth. In Sakyamuni, unbounded, uncreated, self-enlightened from all eternity, and in Him alone, dwells the whole "fullness" of the Buddha Nature.

The Christian Theologian will gaze with astonishment when he first realizes the main thought underlying the teachings of Nichiren. "These," he will exclaim, "are the speculations of the Alexandrian Gnostics, of Basilides and his crew. These are the problems which exercised the mind of St. Paul when he wrote to the Colossians and Ephesians, and which prompted the Author of the Fourth Gospel to pen (may we not say, under Divine Guidance?) his great Prologue about the "Word which is from the beginning and which is God." The surprised exclamation of the theologian would not be so

very far from the Truth. I hope to be able to show that there is a good deal of connection, historical as well as logical, between the speculations of Alexandrian Divines and the doctrines enunciated by Nichiren.

The earliest known translation into Chinese of the Hokekyō, belongs to the period of the Western Tsin dynasty, A. D. 265-316, though the best version, that of Jnànagupta and Dharmagupta dates from as late as A. D. 601. Kumarajiva's translation dates from between 384-417. All these versions, it will be seen, are posterior even to the age of Manes: the original book must, however, have existed in Manes' time, and must have been a very well known book to have so many versions made of it. The earliest translator, Dharmaraksha, was a Chinaman, descended from a *Yuetchi*, a branch of the Scythian family: its great translator, Kumarajiva, though born in India (at Kharacar) was educated at Kubha (Kabul). The book is therefore in all probability, not of Indian origin, but Sakyan or Scythian, and I hope in this lecture to be able of throw some real light on its origin.

The book itself consists of two parts of unequal value. These are described by the late Abbot Kobayashi of the Nichiren College, Takanawa, Tokyo, as the "Original" and the "Subordinate" Sections, and Professor Kern of Leiden, in this Preface to the English Translation of the Sutra (Vol. XXI of S.B.E.) says that the "Original" portion comprises chapter I-XX, with the epilogue; the "Subordinate," or later sections, being chapters XXI-XXVI of the book as it now stands. Thus the Original book consisted of XXI chapters, of which one is in some versions divided into two, a fact which it is well to bear in mind. We shall come back to it presently.

The "Subordinate" portions give the impression of consisting of a number of independent tracts loosely connected with and appended to the main volume. Some chapters, are mere rubbish, as for instance, that on *Spells*, which gives a number of magical formulæ intended to protect the preachers from

the dangers of their mission. The chapter on the Many Sided One (the so-called Fumonbon) gives the fullest account we have of the doctrine of Avalokitesvara, the male Kwannon (1) and there is a chapter which possibly brings us very near to the New Testament. It will be remembered that St. Paul had but little use for the man who "gave his body to be burned" and had no charity. An instance had occurred at Athens of a "Samanæan" (i. e. sramana) who actually did thus give his body to the flames, and it is supposed that St. Paul had this instance in his mind when he wrote. (2 . In chap. XXII of the Hokekyo (S.B.E. vol. XXI, p. 370) an instance is given of a Bodhisattva who did this, and his self-immolation is praised as "real heroism," as "the real worship of the Tathâgata, the real worship of the Law." And, significantly enough, there

(1) *The Male Kwannon.* The deity Kwannon, or Avalokitesvara, is always male in India, and nearly always female in China and Japan. The Taoists tell a story, which I only mention to condemn, that the female Kwan-yin is really a deified prostitute whom a Chinese Prince raised to the rank of a deity. Kwannon really represents the Mercy of God, which assumes many shapes and appears in many incarnate forms. I have a little catechism, entitled *Kwannon no kudoku* which says that Kwannon has been incarnate many times in many different forms, sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman, sometimes even as an animal, and that the so-called *Roku-Kwannon*, or six-shaped Kwannon, represents the Mercy of Buddha in the six spheres of existence. The same Catechism states that Socrates, Christ, Mahomet, Kant are all to be looked upon as Incarnations of Kwannon, a statement which would agree with Mrs. Besant's theory that at the Baptism "Jesus walked out of his Body and Buddha walked in." The theory was not unknown to the early Christian Fathers. Irenæus (e.g. adv. Haer. i. chap. 21) discusses the question of the bisexual nature of God as taught by some of the Gnostic heretics, who looked upon Christ as only one in a series of successive incarnations. It seems to me that the chapter on the "many-sided one" in the Hokekyo, and the discussions on heresies in Irenaeus are calculated to throw a very great deal of light on one another.

(2) The man's name was *Zarmanochegas.* He was a member of an Indian Mission sent to Rome in B.C. 37 by *Porus*, who represented (so he said) a coalition of native Kings annious for the Support and friendship of Augustus. This man voluntarily burned himself to death at Athens, where a monument was erected to his memory, which Strabo the geographer describes, and which St. Paul must have seen. Edmunds and Anezaki, in their *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, think that the man cannot have been a Buddhist, because Buddhism forbids suicide. But the Hokekyō is against them on this point, for the religious self immolation is (l.c) very highly commended. It seems possible that this Indian Mission to Augustus may be of great value in fixing the date of the Mahāyāna. Porus evidently appealed for help to Augustus, and we know that a few years later Kanishka's armies advanced as far as Benares, the King of which was forced to give hostages, of whom Asvaghosha was one.

are no traces in the whole narration of what St. Paul has taught us to consider as "charity" in the true sense of the word.

The Original Portion is a strangely composite work, a collection of documents, not very skilfully strung together into a sort of Buddhist Apocalypse.

Part of it is prose and part verse, prose and verse repeating each other, so that the whole contents of the book are duplicated. It is impossible to decide which is the earlier, the prose or the verse, but the fact of there being both versions points to a late date of composition, a point emphasized by the allusion (on p. 45) to "Sutras and Stanzas, legends, birth-stories, prodigies and parables" as part of the Preacher's stock-in-trade. Other indications of a late date are to be found in the frequent allusions to the writing and copying of this Sutra (the Ceylon books were not reduced to writing much before the middle of the first Century B. C.), as well as in the commendation given (50) in those who made statues of the Tathàgata and honoured them with worship. It was apparently after Alexander's invasion, and from the Greeks, that the Indians learned the arts of sculpture and building in stone.

The book is ushered in, as it were, with apologies. It is a Dharmapariyaya (Gospel) which will meet with opposition in the world (17), it has been rejected during the life-time of the Tathàgata (219), five thousand monks went away from Sakyamuni's lecture when first they heard it preached (38): the heretical monks of the Small Vehicle accused the writer of forgery and plagiarism (260), and the rejection will assuredly be greater after the Tathàgata has gone to his rest (219).

The book falls roughly into four parts.

1. Introductory. A statement of the Gospel to be announced. Sakyamuni is the Self-born Buddha, begotten before all worlds, and what he offers to man is not Nirvana, not extinction, but the endless life which consists in Perfect Enlightenment. The doctrine may seem a new one to the reader, it is defended by a series of parables. The potter

makes many vessels, each has different uses, though all are of the same clay; the rain comes down upon a garden, the water is all the same, yet each plant takes the special nourishment it requires. An anxious father sees his children in danger of conflagration: he coaxes them out of the burning house by offers of toys, suited to their individual tastes. When they come to claim his promise they find that they have all received the same. Another father finds his long-lost son among beggars and thieves. He does not, however, make himself known at once. He engages him as a hired servant, promotes him step by step as he shows himself fit, and in the end proclaims him as the Crown Prince of his kingdom. So, to put the thing into Christian parlance, the potter has power to fashion the clay as he pleases, souls saved are as "brands plucked from the burning," God's rain comes on the just and the unjust, and each derives from it the blessing he needs: the labourers in the vineyard each get their penny, the Prodigal is restored when he has come to himself.

2. The Promises. The doctrine laid down in the Introductory Chapters is given a personal application. To each one of the principal hearers is the promise made of future Enlightenment and Perfection. Next comes a wonderful section which I call,

3. The Presence. Whilst Sakyamuni is speaking, there descends from heaven a *Stupa* (3), a shrine, not unlike the Tabernacle which may be seen over the Altar in Roman Catholic Churches, and from the Shrine a voice, expressive of satisfaction and happiness. "This is my body," says the Tathàgata, pointing to it, "and whenever this Gospel of mine is preached, my Body will be present" (pp. 227-228). The stupa emits a seven-fold light of seven precious substances: it contains the remains of the Buddha Prabbutaratna (Jap. Tahō), who is "dead yet speaketh," and who is identified with Sakyamuni. Strange to say, in another part of the book, there is

(3) Clement of Alexandria mentions *Buddha* and also *Stupa*. This is a small point yet it shows that these things were known in Alexandria.

another Buddha (p. 173) also identified with Sakyamuni. This Buddha preached what Gotama preached, Prabhutaratna had preached the higher Buddhism of the Mahāyāna doctors, those truths which were contemporary with and not far different from the teachings of Him whose words are recorded for us in the Synoptic Gospels, and now, the self-born, Eternal Buddha, preaching the One Vehicle, promises his Presence to his followers, and the Eternal Life which is the same thing as Perfect Enlightenment.

4. The Concluding Vision. Preachers full of zeal, and armed with divine protection go forth to preach the new Gospel. They dwell in the "abode of the Tathàgata" which is "charity," wear his "robe", which is "sublime forbearance," and occupy his "pulpit,"—indifference to all things human or transient (p. 222). As a result of their labours a multitude "which no man can number" gathers around the Tathāgata, headed by four Bodhisativa Maha-satva, four "living creatures", who are the latter day attendants of the Eternal and Everlasting Buddha. Presently the curtain drops, and the Apocalypse is ended.

The imagery of this extraordinary book is all Indian, absolutely fantastical, and tediously prolix; but the underlying thought is all Christian and Alexandrian. The thoughts are common to all the Alexandrian writers, to Basilides, to Clement, to Origen. At every turn we are reminded of the New Testament, not in word coincidences, but in ideas and underlying thoughts. I believe that I have reason for identifying it as a book that was known to some at least of the Greek fathers of the second and third centuries A. D. and that it was the work of an Indian Buddhist residing at Alexandria some time during the first century A.D., or at least written by one that was acquainted with Alexandrian thought and by him brought to Alexandria.

I have already in my first lecture noted the existence in the 3rd century of our era of four Buddhist books which lay at the basis of the teachings of Manichaeus. These books

hailed from Alexandria, at any rate they were found in Alexandria by Terebinthus who was afterwards called Buddha. Alexandria, we know, swarmed with Indian merchants, especially after the reign of Tiberius when the Romans first learned the art of navigating the Red Sea by observing the prevalent winds. We have found traces of the doctrines of Basilides in the peculiar God of the secret Shingon—*Abara-ka kusu*—and we know that there must have been a good deal of interchange of thought between India and Egypt. Scythianus, the original author, may well have been *Sakyamuni*, the supposed speaker of the Hokekyō, or some Sakyan Buddhist: the term Dharmapariyaya, which so constantly appears, might very well be translated by "*Gospel*", which is one of the names of the Scythianus books. (4) It is a Gospel with nothing in it of the Gospel, as Cyril of Jerusalem says, and yet pregnant with Christian ideas turned aside to Buddhist uses: it is as Epiphanius notes, Aristotelian and Pythagorean, a statement which is true, in spite of the fact that India also held the view here enumerated; for Aristotle taught the immanence of God, and Pythagoras, the doctrine of constant re-births according to *Karma;* all internal evidence goes for its having been composed during the early years of the Christian era, that period of decay and confusion, which witnessed (5) the birth agonies of Christianity on the one hand, of Mahāyāna Buddhism on the other. We

(4) The Scythianus books are mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Epiphanius. The first two were residents in Palestine, and possibly had good authority for what they said. In the July-April numbers of the Journal A. S. Gt. Britain for 1907 there are articles by Mr. Kennedy which show the close connection, tradal and intellectual, that existed between Alexandria and India at this period. Alexandria was the home of Neo-Pythagoreanism, and the spurious "Theology" of Aristotle exercised a great influence upon neo-Platonist and Neo-Pythagorean philosophers.

(5) The middle of the first century A. D., was a period of great natural calamities and troubles in Europe, a subject on which Farrar has a very excellent chapter in his "Early days of Christianity." The same was the case in Asia. For instance, the Oxus river violently changed its course during the century and desolated an immense area of country in so doing. This was but one instance out of many. The period was also marked by conflicts of Scythian invaders of India with Hindu patriots, between whom the Buddhist monks fared badly.

can see that it is an attempt to bring about harmony between conflicting schools of Buddhism by proclaiming the perfect Buddha and his perfect Vehicle, as against the lower teachings of the Smaller and Greater Vehicles, by means of elements borrowed from Christianity. We can understand that its missionary Terebinthus may well have wished to enlarge its scope from pagan-Gnosticism to Christian-Gnosticism by incorporating into it more of Christian elements, and have gone to Jerusalem to confer about it. We can understand that the Rulers of the Church rejected with scorn a Gospel which left out the Cross, and taught an immanent God and a series of reincarnations of the Saviour. And so we may well suppose that the Saddharmapundarika lay fallow in the library of Terebinthus until the boy Cubricus found it and made thereof the basis of the Manichaean heresy.* The book that Cubricus used was probably not written in Sanskrit; the Sanskrit text, as I have pointed out, is a very composite work, probably of later origin; but it is a significant fact that like our present Hokekyō, it consisted of 22 books. The subsidiary chapters in the former may possibly be portions of the other books which Manes found, and which have been tagged on to the main volume.

The disciples of Nichiren Daibosatsu, believe him to have been a re-incarnation of Jōgyōbosatsu, the first of the four Great Ones whom we saw standing at the head of the multitude which no man can number before the throne of Sakyamuni the Eternal.

This brings me to the end of my lectures on the Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism. I fear I have led you very far a-field in my meanderings but that could not be helped with the subject I have chosen. I have spoken little about the Indian side of Buddhism,—there are many workers in that field—nor (for similar reasons) have I said much about

* Possibly it lay at the basis of the Gnostic heresy which, the author of the Philosophumena says, was originated at Serae Parthorum in A.D. 101. Anshikao, the Buddhist pioneer in China (A.D. 147) does not mention the book, but he translates another book which is based on it.

China. I have gone to other fields, untouched as yet, and have tried to show how the Buddhism which we see to-day in this country has its points of contact with Central Asia and Persia, with Babylon, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. I may be fanciful—that is the privilege of the Welshman,—but at least I have the comfort of knowing that scholars in England Germany, America, are working at the same problems and coming to almost identical conclusions. I have not attempted to conceal my own personal predilections and beliefs—why should I?—they are not unworthy of a scientific scholar. In presenting my thoughts to you, I hope I have not been unmindful in the respect due to this Society as one that exists for impartial study and research, and I trust that I may have given a new and fruitful direction to Buddhist studies in this country, without giving unnecessary offence by the boldness of my speculations.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN: GENERAL MEETING.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Dec. 11, 1907. In the absence of the President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice-President for Tokyo, presided. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

New Members.

The Recording Secretary reported that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Thos. Harrington, Esq., British Consulate, Yokohama; Julius Iavdinsky, St. Petersburg, Russia; P. H. Dodge, Esq., Mikado Club, Kanda-ku, Tokyo; Rev. H. B. Benninghoff, 30 Tsukiji, Tokyo; Rev. J. A. Welbourn, 3 Yayoi-cho, Hongo-ku, Tokyo; Rev. R. H. Walke, 53 Tsukiji, Tokyo; Dr. R. B. Teusler, 27 Tsukiji, Tokyo; P. A. Jay, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo; Miss Nutter, 16 Goban-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo; P. K. Condict, Esq., Nippon Electric Co., Tokyo; and Capt. Oswald T. Tuck, Esq., 5 Tamura-cho, Shiba-ku.

The Recording Secretary also read a letter from the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, expressing his regret at being unable to attend the meeting and cordially inviting the Society to meet at any time at the British Embassy.

Annual Reports.

As the General Meeting in December is the regular time for the Annual Meeting, the usual business of such an occasion was taken up. First the Corresponding Secretary read the following:

Report of the Council of the Asiatic Society for the Year 1907.

During the past year the Council has met eleven times and the Society has held ten general meetings on the dates, and with papers read, as follows:—

Jan. 23—"Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures," by Prof. M. Anesaki;

Feb. 20th—"Japanese Patent Medicines," by W. M. Royds, Esq., and "Japanese Medical Folk-lore," by Prof. E. W. Clement, M.A.;

March 20th—"The Second Buddhistic Virtue, Non-stealing," by Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D.;

May 22nd—"Notes on the Japanese Drama," by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, M.A.;

June 26th—"Dazai on Food and Wealth," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.;

Oct. 16th—"Dazai on Food and Wealth," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.;

Nov. 13th—"Manichaeism and Kobo;"

Nov. 20th—"Daruma and the Canon;"

Nov. 27th—"Tendai and Shinshiu;"

Dec. 11th—"Nichiren and the Hokekyo," the last four by Prof. A. Lloyd, M.A., his general subject for all being, "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism."

Of these several papers, those by Mr. Royds, Prof. Clement and Dr. Atkinson have already appeared in the Transactions of the Society, together forming Part 1 of Vol. XXXV. It is arranged that Dr. Anesaki's

paper shall appear as part 2 of this same volume, under the title, "The Four Agamas in Chinese of Japanese Buddhism," and part 3 is to consist of a paper, now in press, which was received from F. V. Dickins, Esq., of Sneed, Wilts, England, on the subject of The Makura-kotoba of Primitive Japanese Verse." Mr. Dickins' contribution was not read before the Society, being of such nature as to make its presentation at a general meeting impracticable. Its great value as a work of reference, however, and as a basis of further research, was recognized and the thanks of the Society were extended to the author for his material addition to the Transactions of the current year.

The appearance of this paper by Mr. Dickins will be somewhat delayed, owing to the author's wish that the proofs be sent to him in England for a final reading. Meanwhile Part 2 will be brought out; and, following it, the paper by Prof. Lloyd on the Japanese Drama and those by Mr. Kirby on Dazai will be issued as Part 4. Prof. Lloyd's lectures on "Formative Elements in Japanese Buddhism" will he printed together in the form of a supplement. The Council is happy in having this valuable series of papers to report for the year 1907, as constituting its 35th volume. Special mention may properly be made of the contribution by Prof. Lloyd on Formative Elements, in view of the fact that the author was, on June 26, appointed to represent the Society at the Fifteen Session of the *Congres International des Orientalistes*, to open at Copenhagen in August 1908, and that the lectures will serve as a means of bringing the society and Prof. Lloyd prominently before students of oriental matters on that occasion.

The Council has further to report that certain numbers of the Transactions have had to be reprinted, as authorized prior to the date of the last annual meeting of the Society, viz. Vol. VIII., Part 3 and Vol. X., Part 1; and that Vol. XIV. Part 1, and Vol. II, have also been reprinted.

In addition to the above invitation to send delegates to the International Congress of Orientalists, representation from the Society was invited for the Jubilee meeting of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held at Shanghai on Oct. 16th. It was not possible to respond otherwise than by cordial acknowledgment of the courtesy extended. The Society had the good fortune, however, to be represented, and by Prof. Clay McCauley, in the Seventh International Congress of Zoologists, meeting in Bostou, U.S.A. in July.

The Council has had occasion to extend the thanks of the Society to three gentlemen, Messrs. J. B. Sleman Jr., and S. W. Woodward of Washington, D.C. and John Hyde, Esq., of Tokyo, for a contribution of ten *yen* each, to go towards purchasing for the library books and mss. relative to the history of Buddhism.

The membership roll of the Society has been considerably extended during the year. Four members only have resigned, Major Cheyne, Capt. North, Rev. C. T. Warren and Rev. H. S. Jeffreys, and two have died, V. W. Helm Esq. and H. C. Pigott Esq.; but the following additions have been made:

(Residents) Rev. H. B. Benninghoff, Geo. Bulkeley, Esq., F. E. Bray, Esq., J. K. Caldwell, Esq., H. Carew, Esq., Chas. L. Chandler, Esq., Rev. H. E. Coleman, P. K. Condict, Esq., Chas. P. Cushman, Esq., J. E. de Becker, Esq., P. H. Dodge, Esq., Geo. Haley, Esq., Thos. Harrington, Esq., Rev. F. W. Heckelman, P. H. Jay, Esq., Rev. W. D. L. Kingsbury, Miss Nutter, John Babbitt, Esq., H. T. Rice, Esq., C. V. Sale, Esq., R. B. Teusler, M.D., Rev. D. Thompson, D.D., Capt. O. T. Tuck, Rev. R. A. Walke, Rev. J. A. Welbourn, and A. A. Williamson, Esq.; and (Non-Residents) E. J. Allen, Esq., Prof. H. P. Beach, E. A. Filene, Esq., Mrs. John Flournoy, Sampatrar Gaikward, Mrs. R. C. Harrison, George I. Hein, Esq., Hon. John Hyde, Julius Javdinsky, Esq., R. J. Johnston, Esq., J. T. Lincoln, Esq., G. R. Lukens, Esq., Mrs. D. R. Noyes (Life), J. B. Sleman, Esq., J. Struthers, Esq., Rev. E. W. Thwing, Rev. G. B. Smyth, D.D. and S. W. Woodward, Esq.

The Treasurer read the following report :—

CASH STATEMENT FROM JAN. 1ST TO NOV. 23, 1907.

CASH DR.

To Balance from 1906 ...	2,853.20
„ Subscriptions ...	672.26
„ Entrance Fees ...	150.00
„ Life Subscriptions ...	90.00
„ Transactions ...	1,196.61
„ Bank interest ...	62.46
„ Donations ...	30.00
„ Librarian ...	37
Total ...	5,054.90

CASH DR.

By Treasurer, Postage, etc. ...	13 28
„ Corrs. Secretary... ...	9.00
„ Donation, Bud. Books ...	30.00
„ Librarian ...	361.60
„ Library... ...	40.79
„ Insurance ...	35.00
„ Printing, binding, etc. ...	1,708.97
„ Mr. Khine ...	100.00
„ Rent ...	315.00
„ Secretary, Mr. Clement ...	23.00
„ Secretary, Mr. Vickers ...	7.05
„ Balance ...	2,411.21
Total ...	5,054.90

E. and O. E.
R. J. KIRBY,
Hon. Treas.

The Librarian read the following reports :—

As Librarian, I beg to report that during the financial year now closing the sales of Transactions have amounted to *yen* 1,384.54 as against *yen* 988 last year, and that there seems to be an increasing interest in our Transactions.

I have reported at each meeting of the Society as to the Books and Exchanges which have reached the Library, so that at the present meeting I have only to report on the books which have come in since our meeting in October last. These will be found in a list annexed.

A catalogue of the books on our shelves has been made and can be consulted by the members, new locks have been placed on the cupboards, the books have been arranged on their shelves, and many sets of Transactions from other Societies have been bound. One consignment of books on a subject outside of the Society's interests have been sent, in accordance with previous practice, to the Library of the Keiogijiku University, and another is ready to be despatched shortly.

Three parts of Vol. XXXIV. of our Transactions have been sent out during the year and the first part of Vol. XXXV.

I append a list of Transactions in Stock, from which it will be seen that the following parts will have to be reprinted shortly if we are to continue supplying our members and the public with complete sets of Transactions, viz X part 2, XI parts 1 and 2, and XIII part I.

Transactions in Stock, December 11, 1907.

Vol.		Vol.	
I.	38	XVIII. 1	86
II.	390	XVIII. 2	161
III.	74	XIX. 1	158
III. Supp.	273	XIX. 2	135
IV.	120	XIX. 3	160
V. 1	120	XX. 1	39
V. 2	133	XX. 2	160
VI. 1	116	XX. Supp. 1	150
VI. 2	154	XX. 2	200
VI. 3	173	XX. 3	185
VII. 1	163	XX. 5	210
VII. 2	150	XXI.	165
VII. 3	182	XXII. 1	175
VII. 4	150	XXII. 2	143
VIII. 1	63	XXII. 3	160
VIII. 2	280	XXIII.	209
VIII. 3	285	XXIII. Supp	200
VIII. 4	282	XXIV.	85
IX. 1	267	XXIV. Supp.	164
IX. 2	275	XXV.	207
IX. 3	270	XXVI.	215
X. 1	300	XXVII. 1	215
X. 2	8	XXVII. 2	215
X. Supp. with Index	412	XXVII. 3	524
X. Supp. Index only	486	XXVII. 4	245
XI. 1	15	XXVII. Supp.	260
XI. 2	4	XXVIII.	213
XII. 1	189	XXIX. 1	120
XII. 2	44	XXIX. 2	266
XII. 3	33	XXX. 1	261
XII. 4	179	XXX. 2	247
XIII. 1	3	XXX. 3	185
XIII. 2	40	XXXI.	106
XIV. 1	293	XXXII.	185
XIV. 2	26	XXXIII. 1	186
XV. 1	30	XXXIII. 2	183
XV. 2	21	XXXIV. 1	173
XVI. 1	75	XXXIV. 2	186
XVI. 2	30	XXXIV. 3	146
XVI. 3	102	XXXIV. 4	186
XVII. 1	90	XXXV. 1	175
XVII. 2	470	General Index	1200

BOOKS ETC., RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR.

Nightless City, Saved by the Judge, Mongol Invasion, Feudal Kamakura; presented by J. E. de Becker Esq.
Balzer: Architektur der Kulturbauten Japans.
Proceedings Royal Society, Edinburgh XXVI. 6.
Proceedings Royal Society, London, A 79, No. A 527.
Bulletin, Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, L. 6, 7.
Bulletin, Amer. Geographical Society. Feb., March, April, 1907.
Bulletin, de l'Ecole Française de l'Extreme Orient. Vol. VI. 1, 2.
Bulletin, Anthropologische Gessellschaft in Wien, XXXVII, 1.
Bulletin, U. S. Nat. Museum XXXI. 1907.
Bulletin, U. S. Nat. Herbarium, X. 3, (with maps.)
Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, XXXII.

Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, (oversigt) XLVII.
Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, (bijdrag) 53.
Washington Academy of Science, VIII. 4.407-486. (Contents and Index.)
Geological Survey of India, XXXIV. pt. 4.
Geological Survey of Canada (maps.)
Journal: Royal Geographical Society, March, April, 1907.
Journal: Royal Geographical (Lisbon) Nov., Dec., 1906.
Journal: American Oriental Society, XXII. (2) XII.
Journal: Asiatique Serie X. Vol. VIII. 1 and 2.
Journal: Société Anthropol. Paris V., VIII. 3.
Journal: Japan Society Vol. VI. pt. 2.
Journal: Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Vols. XVIII, XIX.
Rijks Ethnographisch Museum to Leiden, Report 1906.
Smithsonian Institute. Reports 1905, 1906.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. Notulen, XILV. 2, 3, 4.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. Verhandelingen, LVI. 5.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. De Compagnie's Kamer.
Bodyoul. by Milouć (Musee Guimet.)
Instituto Geologico de Mexico. No. XXII.
Annotationes Zoological Japon. VI. pt. 2.
University of Colorado Studies. VI. 2.
XXXII Annual Report of the Minister of the State for Education.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift. Feb., March, April, 1907.
Science of Man. Feb., 1907.
Chinese Recorder. March, April, May, 1907.
Revue des Religions LIII. 2, 3, LIV. 1.
Indian Engineer. April 1907.
Jinjo Shogakko Tokuhon (Jap. Text, Russian Transcription, Vocabulary. etc.), presented by Prof. Posdnieff.
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. December, 1906.
American Geographical Society. November, 1906.
Chinese Recorder. January, 1907.
Washington Academy of Sciences. December, 1906.
Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. XXVI. pt. 5.
Royal Society of London Biological Sciences. December, 1906.
Royal Dublin Society Economic Proceedings. Vol. 1 pt. 8. Scientific Proceedings. Vol. XI. 10 pt. 62.
Vesterreichische Monatschift fur den Orient. November, 1906.
Al. Moktabas. (Cairo) Zeitscheif der deutschen Morgen landischen Gesellscheft. Vol. LX. pt. 3., 1906.
Meteorological Observations of Scientific Society of Finland. Hels. 1907.
Records of Geol, Survey of India, XXXV. pt. 1.
Royal Society, Biological Section, B. 79, B. 531.
Bataviaasch Genootschap, Tijdschrift, XLIX. 3. 4.
Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, LXI. i.
Chinese Recorder, June.
Unis. of Colorado Studies, IV. 3.
Nova Scotian Institute of Science, xi. 2.
Lisbon Geogr. Soc. January, February, 1907.
Japon et Belgique, April, 1907.
Science of Mam, March, April, 1907.
Bulletin of Imp. Russian Ac. of Sciences, 1907, Nos. 1—9.
" " " Geog. Socy., vol. viii.
" " " " " China and Cham.
"Japan Mail."
Ethnographic Survey of India, 2 vols.
American Chemical Journal, May, 1907.

Royal Society's Transactions A. 79, A. 528, 529.
" " B. 79, B. 530.
Oesterreichische Monatsschift, April, 1907.
U. S. Museum Bulletin 56.
Journal Am. Georgr. Society, May, 1907.
" Royal Geogr. Soc, May, 1907.
Société Geogr. de Neuchatel, xvii., 1906.
Journal Anthropological Institute vol. XXXVII.
Royal Asiatic Society, Journal, April, 1907.
" Sublin Society, Economic, vol. i. 9.
" " Scientific, vol. ix. series 11. Nos. 4. 5.
" " " vol. N. S, 13, 14, 15.
" Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXVII. part 1.

Prof. Lloyd, as Librarian of the Society, read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised Edition of Keene's *History of India*, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be to trace the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries. Japanese Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of *Nippon* by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and criticism, an extract from the *Transactions* of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences, containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book *Rajawam*, or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguen, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get as Vol. XLIX., parts 1 and 2, of the *Transactions* of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition with romanized Text and Dutch Translation and notes of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago, when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded them. The Romance was written in a loose unrhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, Bulletin V. XXII-XXIV.
" " " " " Report 1906-1907.
" " " " " Studies 1907, Nos. 10.11.
American Geogr. Journal, June, July, August, September, 1907.
American Asiatic Association June, 1907.
Harvard Mus. Com. Zoo. LI. 2.3.4.
U. S. Commissioner of Education Report, 1905, vols 1.2.
U. S. Herbarium, X. 4.
U. S. Department of Agriculture 1904.
Washington Academy of Sciences Vol IX. pp. 1-274.
Geographical Journal (London) May, 1898. November 1900, June, July, August, September, 1907.
Royal Society, B. 79, B. 532.3. A. 79. A. 530-1-2.
Royal Society, Edinburgh, XXVII. pt. 2.
Royal Asiatic Society Vols for 1889-1906, and July, 1907.
R.A.S., Straits Branch, June, 1907.
Royal Society S., Australia, Index, 1896-1906.
Cambridge Antig. Society Vol. 4.
Geological Survey of India Vol. XXXV. 2.
Chinese Recorder July, August, 1907.
Ecole Francaise D. l'Extrême Orient, Tome VI. Vols. 3.4.
Musée Gium, Trans XXII. XXIII.
Journal Asiatique VIII. 3. IX. 1.2.
Historie des Religions LIV. 2 3.
Société d'Anthropologie, S. V. Tome VII, 4.5.6.
Japon et Belgique, June 1907.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift, May—Aug., 1907.
Wiener Anthrop. Ges. Mittle, XXVII. 2.3.
Z. d D. M Ges. LXI. 2.
Städtisch, Mus. Leipzig, No. 1906.
Lisbon Geog. Socy. March-April, 1907.
Mexico, Inst. Geol. 1906.
J. V. Oordt. Origin of the Bantu, presented by Cape Government.
Univ. Col. Studies IV. 4.
Russian Ac. of Sciences, Bulletin 1907, Nos, 12, 13. Do. Bibliotheca Buddhica, IV.
Geol. Survey of India, XXXV. 6.
Museo Nacional Montevideo, III 2.
Lisbon Geogr. Society May, June, 1907.
International Polar Congress, 1906 (Report).
Oesterreichische Monakschrift, Sept., Oct., 1907.
American Oriental Soc. Journal, No. 28.
Royal Society..... A. 79. A. 534.
As. Society of Bengal.
Index to vol. I N. 5) 1905.
vol. II, 1906. No. 4—9.
Memoirs vol. I, 10—19, Supplement.
Washington Ac. Sc. vol. IX. pp. 275—522.
Royal Dublin Society.
Scientific Trans. IX, II, 6.
Scientific Proc. XI, II, 16—20.
Economic Proc. I, 10—II.
Deutsche Morgenlandische Gessellschaft, LXI 3.
Statistik der Stadt Stlassburg, 6.
Ancient Khotan by M. A. Stein. 2 vols. (presented by the Indian Government).

A. LLOYD.
Hon. Lib.

These reports were all accepted.

Royal Society's Transactions A. 79, A. 528, 529.
" " B. 79, B. 530.
Oesterreichische Monatsschift, April, 1907.
U. S. Museum Bulletin 56.
Journal Am. Georgr. Society, May, 1907.
" Royal Geogr. Soc., May, 1907.
Société Geogr. de Neuchatel, xvii., 1906.
Journal Anthropological Institute vol. XXXVII.
Royal Asiatic Society, Journal, April, 1907.
" Sublin Society, Economic, vol. i. 9.
" " Scientific, vol. ix. series 11. Nos. 4. 5.
" " " vol. N. S, 13, 14, 15.
" Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXVII. part 1.

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2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of *Nippon* by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and criticism, an extract from the *Transactions* of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences, containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book *Rajawan*, or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguen, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get as Vol. XLIX., parts 1 and 2, of the *Transactions* of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition with romanized Text and Dutch Translation and notes of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago, when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded them. The Romance was written in a loose unrhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

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" " " " " Report 1905-1907.
" " " " " Studies 1907, Nos. 10-11.
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U.S. Herbarium, X. 4.
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Washington Academy of Sciences Vol. IX. pp. 1-274.
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July, August, September, 1907.
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Chinese Recorder July, August, 1907.
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Z. d D. M Ges. LXI. 2.
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Index to vol. I N. 5) 1905.
vol. II, 1906. No. 4—9.
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Statistik der Stadt Stiassburg, 6.
Ancient Khotan by M. A. Stein. 2 vols. (presented by the Indian Government).

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These reports were all accepted.

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The Society then proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, with the following result :—

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Prof. Arthur Lloyd then delivered his lecture on "Nichiren and the Hokkekyo."

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

AS

VOL. XXXV: PART 3.

CONTENTS:

THE FOUR BUDDHIST ĀGAMAS IN CHINESE.

By PROF. M. ANESAKI.

YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, L'D.
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LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUBNER & CO., L'D.
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THE

FOUR BUDDHIST ĀGAMAS

IN CHINESE,

A CONCORDANCE OF THEIR PARTS AND OF THE CORRESPONDING COUNTERPARTS IN THE PĀLI NIKĀYAS.

BY

Prof. M. ANESAKI.

1908.

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FOUR BUDDHIST ĀGAMAS IN CHINESE.

I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The present paper is intended to be an addition to, and a rearrangement of, Nanjio's Catalogue (Oxford, 1883), as regards the texts of the so-called "Four Āgamas." As their titles show, and as it has been supposed, these four collections of Buddhist canonical books correspond to the first four Nikāyas in the Pāli canon; but a detailed examination shows that the two traditions differ so considerably that we can say with certainty that the Chinese Āgamas are not translations of the Pāli Nikāyas. This is quite natural. The analogy of different versions of the Vinaya text in Chinese leads to the belief that each of the different schools of Buddhism has had a tradition of its own. Though they agree in telling us that the Sutta-piṭaka was divided into four (or five) divisions with similar titles, the contents and arrangement of these collections seem not to have been the same (see Chap. V below). It can hardly be said that the present Pāli canon was the only version of Buddha's discourses and that the others are mere deviations from it. For instance, in a Chinese Middle text (No. 185) Kaccāna plays the rôle of one who is versed in analysis of the doctrines, and Moggallāna that of one who possesses supernatural attainments. On the other hand the Pāli text (No. 32 of Majjhima), which is otherwise in agreement with it, does not mention Kaccāna at all, and it is Moggallāna who analyses

and explains the doctrines, i. e. he plays the rôle of Kaccāna. Here we find the Chinese tradition is more in accordance with the statement of the Numerical Collection (Pāli I, 14). In some cases the Chinese text differs from its Pāli counterpart, and that very difference has a corresponding reading in another Pāli version (see my paper on the Sagātha-vagga, *Muséon*, 1905, p. 15). To take another instance, the Chinese Saṃyutta reads always 正受滅 (i. e. *saṃmā-vedanā-nirodha*), instead of *saññā-vedanā-nirodha* of the Pāli Saṃyutta. In this case we cannot say which of these is right and which wrong. Naturally the Chinese versions have more obscurities than the Pāli, but, taken as a whole, neither of the two versions can claim a unique authority. They must have descended from one and the same source and have come to differ from each other in course of time according to the tradition of the schools to which they respectively belonged.

These statements may seem like conclusions too hastily drawn, but the comparisons of the two versions, as shown in outline in this paper, will be found to support these conclusions.

At any rate we have before us two different versions of the Scriptures, agreeing with each other in essential contents and very similar in arrangement and style. Comparisons between them as branches of the same traditions are important for the historical study of the Buddhist Scriptures and of Buddhist religion. And the interest of the comparisons will be increased, if we consider that the differences between the two are not mere differences of readings, but deviations of arrangement. If these deviations are not of the kind that we find in the four synoptic Gospels, or of such a degree as those between the Gospels and the Apocrypha, they are nevertheless more than the various readings of Shakespeare in the Quarto and the Folio present. The two traditions must have been founded upon one and the same source and have been handed down differently in different schools. This statement is further con-

firmed by the the quotations made by later literature from the Āgamas or the Nikāyas. We have many passages of these texts quoted in a work ascribed to Nāgārjuna. They agree sometimes with the Chinese and differ from the Pāli version, and *vice versa*. Nāgārjuna must have had before him a third tradition which differed both from the Pāli and the Chinese.

We have four Āgamas in Chinese as follows:

1. 中阿含 Madhyama-āgama (Middle Collection), one version of which was translated by Dharmanandi in 384-391, now lost, and another by Saṅghadeva in 397-398 (Nanjio, No. 542).
2. 增一阿含 Ekottara-āgama (Numerical Collection), one translated by Dharmanandi in 384-385 (Nanjio, No. 543); and another by Prajñāruci in 397, now lost.
3. 雜阿含 (or more correctly 相應阿含) Saṃyukta-āgama, (Classified Collection), with an incomplete rendering by an unknown translator, about 350-430 (Nanjio, No. 546); and another that is complete by Guṇabhadra, dated 435-443 (Nanjio, No. 544).
4. 長阿含 Dīrgha-āgama (Long Collection), translated by Buddhayaśas in 412-413 (Nanjio, No. 545).*

---

* The various traditions deviate considerably in the order of succession in enumerating the four collections. Although we do not know what significance these deviations may possess, they will be noticed here. The plan followed is that of the Ming edition, a catalogue of which is given in Mr. Nanjio's work. The Japanese edition has the order as given below. In Pāli: 1. Dīgha, 2. Majjhima, 3. Saṃyutta and 4. Anguttara; in the Dharmagupta tradition: 1 Dīrgha, 2. Madhyama, 3. Ekottara and 4. Saṃyukta; the Mahāsaṅghika and Mahiśāsaka traditions are the same as the Pāli; the Sarvāstivāda tradition: 1. Saṃyukta, 2. Dīrgha, 3. Madhyama and 4. Ekottara; according to Nāgārjuna: 1. Ekottara, 2. Madhyama 3. Dīrgha and 4. Saṃyukta; according to Asaṅgha: 1. Saṃyukta, 2. Madhyama, 3. Dīrgha and 4. Ekottara. When the fifth, Khuddaka, is mentioned, it always occupies the last place.

Beside these we have over 150 translations, agreeing more or less with parts of these four collections, dating from 148 to 1058. This number will be doubled, if we take into account those lost texts which are mentioned in old catalogues, and which, by their titles, seem to have been parts of these. We do not know whether these all belonged to one school or to various schools, and if the latter which belonged to which. But certainly they come down to us from a school, or schools, different from the Theravāda, which has been the preserver of the present Pāli canon. Fortunately they seem not to deviate from the Theravāda in their essential doctrines.

As to the language, or languages, in which the originals of these texts were written, we cannot draw any definite or certain conclusion. In some cases the transliterations suggest a Sanskrit original, in others a Pāli. For instance, 質多羅 is evidently meant for *citra* and not *citta*; 勒叉那 for *lakṣaṇa* and not *lakkhaṇa*. But, on the other hand, there are many transliterations which decidedly point to Pāli forms. They are such as 娑比室 for *sāvicci*, 波斯匿 for *Pasenadi*, 支提 for *ceti*, 優竭 for *ugga* etc. Besides these transliterations we have in different readings suggestions as to the language in which the originals were written. There is, for instance, the rendering of the same word into 貪欲, avarice, in one text, and into 銅, copper, in another. This must have occured from the confusion of *ha* with *bha* (*loha* and *lobha*). Or, to take another instance, the name *subha* in Pāli, is read *suka* (or *śuka ?*) or *suva*, i. e. parrot (鸚鵡). I hope to collect more of these instances and thus to get a better idea of the originals. In this paper, however, I shall give the words in their Pāli forms, except in the case of transliterations that are decidedly Sanskritic, and I shall give the names of translators in the Sanskritic forms in which they appear in Nanjio's Catalogue.

My treatise is divided into the following six parts:

1. Translations of the single parts of the Āgama texts into Chinese.

2. Two earlier Collections of the Āgama texts.
3. The Dīrgha texts.
4. The Madhyama texts.
5. The Saṃyukta texts.
6. The Ekottara texts.

In the present paper references to the chinese texts are made from the Japanese edition of 1881-1885, published in Tōkyō. Though we have now another and newer edition, published in Kyōto in 1903-1905, the former is better in its arrangement. The Tōkyō edition (cf. Nanjio's Catalogue p. xxvi) is divided into 40 cases, each case containing 10, or sometimes a few more, volumes; and it is closely printed with 20 lines to the page, each line consisting of 45 Chinese characters. Herewith I give one line, as a specimen, parallel with the Pāli text which exactly agrees with it.

彼 如是 知 如是 見 欲漏
Tassa evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato kāmāsavā
心 解脫 有漏
pi cittaṃ vimuccati, bhavāsavā pi cittaṃ
無明漏 心 解脫
vimuccati, avijjāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati,
解脫已 解脫(3) 便(1) 知(2)
vimuttasmiṃ vimuttaṃ iti ñānaṃ hoti:
已盡(2) 生(1) 已立(2) 梵行(1)
khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ,
所作 已辦 不更 受有
kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyā
如眞(2) 知(1)
ti pajānāti.

Thus we see that nearly four lines of the Pāli text (P. T. S.) make one line of Chinese when they agree exactly with each other.

In verse one pada of eight syllables is generally given in five (or four) ideographs, or divided into two padas, as for example:

Vesāliyaṃ vane viharantaṃ	住毘舍離國(2)	在於毘舍離 住於大林中 (3)
aggam sattassa sambuddhaṃ	大師正等覺(1)	世尊婆伽婆 無上等正覺 (1)
Kokanadā-h-asmi abhivande	拘迦那朱廬	求迦尼婆天 并及於拙羅
Kokanadā Pajunnassa dhitā	稽首恭敬禮	波純提女等 稽首尊足下

In this case the agreement is not quite exact, the shorter version omitting *vane*, "in the forest," and the longer supplying *Bhagavā*. But there are many cases of exact agreement, pada for pada, or word for word. For example:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya,	憤莫念過去
nappaṭikaṃkhe anāgataṃ;	亦勿願未來
yad-atītaṃ pahīnantaṃ	過去事已滅
appattañ-ca anāgataṃ.	未來復未生

Or,

Ārabbhatha nikkhamatha	汝當求出離
yuñjatha buddha-sāsane,	於佛教勤修
dhunātha maccuno senaṃ,	降伏生死軍
naḷāgāram va kuñjaro.	如象摧草舍
Yo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye	於此法律中
appamatto vihassati,	常修不放逸
pahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ,	能竭煩惱海
dukkhass' antam karissati.	當盡苦邊際

Or, in some cases, the rendering is too faithful to the original, even sacrificing the intelligibleness of the Chinese.

Pāpaṃ na kariyā vacasā manasā	其心不爲惡
kāyena va kiñcana sabbaloke,	及身口世間
kāme pahāya,	五欲悉虛空
satimā sampajāno,	正智正繫念
dukkhaṃ na sevitha,	不習近衆苦
anattha-saṃhitam.	非義和合者

Many other cases of such parallelisms will be found in my work, 現身佛と法身佛, i.e. *Rūpakāyaç-ca Dharma-*

kāyaç-ca Buddhasya Tathāgatasya, copies of which I have sent to some European and American libraries.

In the Japanese Tripiṭaka, already referred to in this paper, the Āgama texts fill two cases (numbers 辰 and 昃, i. e. XII and XIII). Excluding the text descriptive of the *lokadhātus* and some apocrypha, we have 15 volumes of Āgama texts. And in addition to these we have some minor texts in case 宿, i. e. XIV. In these the extents of the collections and of the parts translated separately from them appear as follows:

1.	增一 Ekottara (昃 I-III),	3 vols.,	241 × 2	pages.
2.	Single parts, (昃 IV),	1 vol.,	44 × 2	„
3.	中 Madhyama (昃 V-VII),	3 vols.,	318 × 2	„
4.	Single parts (昃 VIII),	1 vol.,	89 × 2	„
5.	長 Dīrgha (昃 IX),*	1 vol.,	92 × 2	„
6.	Single parts (昃 X),	1 vol.,	99 × 2	„
7.	雜 Saṃyukta (辰 II-IV),	3 vols.,	315 × 2	„
8.	Single parts (辰 V-VI),†	2 vols.,	124 × 2	„
		15 vols.	1322 × 2	„

Thus we have nearly 1000 × 2 pages of the four principal collections, corresponding approximately to 4000 pages of the Pāli Text Society's editions.

Finally, I shall say something about the traditions of the various schools as regards the compilation and arrangement of their respective canons. These traditions are found in the Vinaya texts of those four schools. Beside these we have two different traditions of a similar kind in later Mahāyānist works, one ascribed to Nāgārjuna and another to Asaṅga. They are found in the following passages:

1. N. 1117. 四分律 of the Dharmagupta school, fasciculus 54 (列六 51).
2. N. 1119. 摩訶僧祇律 of the Mahāsaṅghika school, fasciculus 32 (列十 34).

---

* Last part, Lokadhātu, excluded.

† *Last part, Itivṛttika, excluded.*

3. N. 1122. 五分律 of the Mahiśāsaka school, fasciculus 30 (張二 68b).
4. N. 1121. 有部毘奈耶雜事 of the Sarvāstivāda school, fasciculus 40 (寒二 9a).
5. N. 1169. 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna, fasciculus 2. (往一 17b).
6. N. 1170. 瑜伽師地論 ascribed to Asaṅga, fasciculus 85 (來五 18b).

The first three of these agree in including the fifth, i. e. Khuddaka, collection in the Sutta-piṭaka, of which, however, the last three make no mention. Another point of deviation is that the Mahāsaṅghika tradition mentions 100 divisions of the Numerical Collection, against 11 in the others. The most important deviations consist in the details of the Classified Collections. I shall refer to these two points under each head of these Collections. As to the fifth collection, the third, the Mahiśāsaka tradition mentions only its name, while the other two give some details regarding it. The Dharmagupta tradition divides the collection into the following parts:

1. 生, Jātaka.
2. 本, Itivṛttika.
3. 善因緣, Nidāna (?).
4. 方等, Vaipulya.
5. 未曾有, Adbhuta.
6. 譬喻, Apadāna (?).
7. 優波提娑, Upadeśa.
8. 句義, Udāna (?).
9. 法句, Dharmapada.
10. 波羅延, Pārāyana.
11. 雜難, Kathā-vastu (?).
12. 聖偈, Āryagāthā (i. e. Thera and Theri-gāthā ?)

The Mahāsaṅghika tradition mentions only two divisions into 本行因緣 (Itivṛttika-nidāna ?) of Buddhas and Arhats and 諸偈頌 (Gāthās) of Bhikṣus. It is interesting to notice that here Pārāyana, not Sutta-nipāta, is mentioned, and that in

many quotations we find it referred to in that title both in the Pāli Aṅguttara and the Chinese Saṃyukta.

The Khuddaka collection as a whole is wanting in Chinese, but we have some texts of it incorporated or quoted, in other texts. Among the Khuddaka texts there are found in Chinese the following:

(TABLE I.)

1. Dhammapada, in four translations (Nanjio, Nos. 1321, 1353, 1365 and 1439,) and with additions at the beginning and end.
2. Itivuttak, N. 714. 本事 (Itivṛttika), translated by Hhuen-Cwan. (Cf. Edmunds and Anesaki, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, Tōkyō. 1905, p.80.)
3. Sutta-nipāta.
   I. Uraga-vagga.
      1. Uraga-sutta: verses 3, 9, 14, 16, 17 etc. in the Dhammapada version, N. No. 1321 (藏 VI. 55), No. 1365 (藏 VI. 95a and 105b), No. 1439 (藏 VI. 115 and 122);
         verse 2 in the Mahā vibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 II. 12a, 收 IV. 72a), No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 4b and 秋 X. 42b), No. 1273 (秋 VI. 6b).
      2. Dhaniya, vv. 16-17 in the Saṃyukta, N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 86), No. 546 (辰 V. 49)=Saṃyutta, 4. 1. 8. Cf. Mahāvastu, vol. III. p. 417.
      3. Khaggavisāṇa, v. 2. in Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 VI. 4a); vv. 46-47 in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (藏 VI. 103b), No. 1439 (藏 VI. 113b)= Dhammapada, vv. 328-329.
      4. Kasi-Bhāradvāja, in the Saṃyukta, (VII. 5. sūtra 25), N. No. 544 (辰 II. 22), No. 546 (辰 V. 85)= Saṃyutta, 7. 2. 1.
      5. Cunda, in the Dīrgha (*àpropos*, in the Mahā-parinibbāna) N. No. 545 (辰 IX. 15b); in the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1121 (宝 II. 78a). For

the Dīrgha passage, cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 189.

6. Parābhava, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 9. sūtra 69) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 81-82), No. 546 (辰 V 89).

7. Vasala, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 29), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 23b) No. 546 (辰 V. 86b).

9. Hemavata, in the Samyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 11), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 95-97), No. 546 (辰 V. 103-104); in the Arthapada, N. No. 674 (宿 V. 63-64); in the Lokasthiti-abhidharma, N. No. 1297 (秋 I. 4-6).

10. Aḷavaka, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 8), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 94), No. 546 (辰 V. 102)=Saṃyutta, 10. 12; in the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1118 (張 IX. 101-102).

12. Muni, v. 5 in the Saṃyukta (VII. 1. sūtra 10), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 18b), No. 546 (宿 V. 4a)= Saṃyutta, 21. 10; v. 7 in the Dharmagupta-vinaya, N. No. 1117 (列 IV. 3a); v. 15 in the Saṃyukta (VII. 1. sūtra 2), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 2a), No. 546. (辰 IV. 2a), and in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 28b)=Saṃyutta, 21. 6.

II. Cūḷa-vagga.

16. Maṅgala, in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (藏 VI 107); cf. Beal, *Chinese Dharmapada.*

17. Sūciloma, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 10. sūtra 6). N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 94) No. 546 (辰 V. 101a)=Saṃyutta, 10. 3.

19. Brāhmaṇa-dhammika, in the Madhyama, N. No. 542 (No. 156), Dharmapārāyana (昃 VI. 96f).

21. Kiṃ-sila, in the Chinese Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 67b).

22. Uṭṭhāna, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 2) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 98a), No. 546 (辰 V. 108); in the Prajña-pāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 108).

24. Vaṅgīsa, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 8. sūtra 14) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 65b), No. 546 (辰 V. 82).

26. Dhammika, vv. 19-29 in the Śāriputra-abhidharma, N. No. 1268 (秋 II. 44).

III. Mahā-vagga.

27. Pabbajjā, in the Dharmagupta-vinay, N. No. 1117 117 (列 V. 1b); the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1123 (塞 III. 17b).

28. Padhāna, in the Chinese Lalita-vistara, N. No. 159 (宙 IV. 35)=Lalita-vistara (ed. Lefmann, pp. 261-263); the Chinese Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 17-18)=Mahāvastu (ed. Sénart, vol. II. pp. 238-240); vv. 12-21, in the Prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 40 and 96a).

29. Subhāsita, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 8. sūtra 11), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 64-65), No. 546 (辰 V. 82)= Saṃyutta, 8. 5; in the Dharmagupta vinaya, N. No. 1117 (列 VI. 38b.)

30. Sundarika, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 36), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 54-55), No. 546 (辰 V. 33)= Saṃyutta, 7. 1. 9.

31. Māgha, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 9), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 45), No. 546 (辰 V. 27).

32. Sabhiya, in the Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 71) =Mahāvastu, ed. Sénart, vol. III. pp. 394f.

34. Salla, vv. 3-6, in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1439 (藏 VI. 108b) vv. 3 and 12 in No. 1365 (藏 VI. 94a, 106a).

35. Vāseṭṭha, vv. 27-54 in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (藏 VI. 105). No. 1439 (藏 VI. 122-123)=Dhammapada, vv. 396-423.

36. Kokāliya, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 9. sūtra 8), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 81), No. 546 (辰 V. 89); cf. Saṃyutta, 6. 1. 9-10. Quoted also in various Abhidharma texts.

37. Nālaka, see *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, pp. 61-67.

IV. Aṭṭhaka-vagga=Arthapada (義足經), N. No. 674 (with some additions).

39. Kāma, Arthapada, section 1. (宿 V. 57); in the Yogācārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 89); v. 1 in the Mahāvibhaṣā, N. No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 2a), No. 1263 (收 II. 36b); and v. 2 in No. 1263 (ditto), the Nyāyāhusāra, No. 1265 (冬 III. 12b).

40. Guhaṭṭhaka, Arthapada, section 2 (宿 V. 57b).

41. Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 3 (宿 V. 58b).

42. Suddhaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 4 (宿 V. 59a).

43. Paramaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 5 (宿 V. 59b).

44. Jarā, ditto, sect. 6 (宿 V. 59-60); v. 1 in the Dharmapada, 1365 (歲 IV. 94b); v. 4 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 II. 50b), No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 31a).

45. Tissa-metteya, Arthapada, sect. 7 (宿 V. 60a).

46. Pasūra, ditto, sect. 8 (宿 V. 60b); vv. 1-2, 10-11 in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 115b).

47. Māgandiya, Arthapada, sect. 9 (宿 V. 61a); Prajñapāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 13a); v. 10 in the Saṃyukta (VI. 4. sūtra 6) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 15b)=Saṃyutta, 22. 3; Sarvāstivā-vinaya, N. No 1118 (張 IX. 103-104).

48. Purābheda, Arthapada, sect. 15 (宿 V. 67a).

49. Kalahavivāda, ditto, eect. 10 (宿 V. 62a); v. 13, in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 19b, 收 VI. 40b), No. 1264 (秋 VII. 11b).

50. Cūḷa-viyūha, ditto, sect. 11 (宿 V. 62b); vv. 1-4 in the Prajñapārāmitā, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 10b).

51. Mahā-viyūha, ditto, sect. 12 (宿 V. 63).

52. Tuvaṭaka, ditto, sect. 13 (宿 V. 64).

[illegible], ditto, sect. 16 (宿 V. 68).

54. Sāriputta, ditto, sect. 14 (宿 V. 66a).

V. Pārāyana.

56. Ajita-māṇava-pucchā, in the Yogacārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 88b); vv. 3-4, in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 III. 94), No. 1264 (秋 IX. 63b), No. 1279 (收 IX. 35a); v. 7 in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 27).

57. Tissametteya-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 2-3 in the Saṃyukta (II. 5. sūtra 1) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 46b)=Aṅgut, tara, VI. 61.

58. Puṇṇaka-māṇava-pucchā, in the Saṃyukta (VI. 1 sūtra 3) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 109b)=Aṅguttara, III. 32.

59. Mettagū-māṇava-pucchā, v. 10. in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 27a), v. 2 ditto, No. 1263 (收 VI. 45b).

60. Dhotaka-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 3-4 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 IV. 9a), No. 1264 (秋 IX. 75b), No. 1279 (收 IX. 50b).

61. Upasīva-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 7-8 in the Prajñapārā-mita-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 29).

68. Udaya-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 2-3 in the Saṃyukta (VI. 1. sūtra 4) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 109b)=Aṅg-uttara, III. 32; vv. 6-7 in the Yogācārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 88b).

69. Posāla-māṇava-pucchā, v. 2 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 19, 收 VI. 40b).

4. Udāna.

I. 1-3, in the Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 43b).

I. 4, ditto (辰 VIII. 48a).

I. 7, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 2). N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 92), No. 546 (辰 V. 100).

I. 8, ditto (VII. 1. sūtra 11), No. 544 (辰 IV. 18b), No. 546 (辰 V. 4a).

II. *1, in the Mahāvastu,* N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 44a).

III. 13, ditto (辰 VIII. 48a).

IV. 4, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 12), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 97b), No. 546 (辰 V. 104b).

VIII. 10, ditto (VII. 1. sūtra 15), No. 544 (辰 IV. 20b), No. 546 (辰 V. 5b).

It was in the Summer of 1901 that I first discovered an unmistakable agreement between the Majjhima text of the Ariyapariyesana and the Chinese Madhyama of Rammaka (No. 204). During the following five years comparisons of the Āgama texts with their corresponding Pāli texts formed the main part of my work, and my labours are now nearly finished, at least in outline. What I wish to undertake further by the help of these general views is as follows:

1. Indexing all the texts and passages in the two versions which are found in one version only.
2. Indexing the Chinese verses, according to their corresponding Pāli Gāthās.
3. Indexing proper names and making a tabulation of the places where Buddha and his disciples mostly resided, and of those places where the lay-disciples and heretics lived.
4. Tabulating technical terms, capital passages and similes in Chinese and the Pāli words corresponding to them.

In publishing this paper I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Nanjio, the pioneer in this branch of study, for many useful pieces of information; to A. J. Edmunds, my friend beyond the Pacific, for the constant stimuli he has given me; and to B. Shiwo, my friend and pupil, for his assistance and suggestions.

II.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE ĀGAMA TEXTS INTO CHINESE.

Students of Chinese Buddhism usually divide the history of the translation of Buddhist texts into two periods, the first or older, before Hhüen-cwan and the second or later, after him. But as to the translations of the so-called Hīnayāna, or Āgama, texts, we have three very well marked periods; the first dating from about 150 to 450 A. D., during which time nearly all the translations of the texts were made; the second dating from about 450 to 970, in which very few Āgama texts were translated. and the third coming within the reign of the Sung dynasty (960-1127), which produced a good many retranslations.

In the first period we have such eminent translators as Shi-kāo of Parthia (安世高, 148-170), Chien of Yue-ci (支謙, 223-253), Dharmarakṣa of India (竺法護, 266-317), Fā-cü (法炬, 290-305), another Dharmarakṣa of India (竺曇無蘭, 381-395), Dharmanandi of Tukhāra (曇摩難提, 384-391), Gotama Saṅghadeva of Kubhā (僧伽提婆, 397-398), Buddhayaśas of Kubhā (佛陀耶舍, 412-413), Guṇabhadra of India (求那跋陀羅, 435-443). By these men and some others the Āgama texts were translated, in some cases even three or four versions being produced. Thus we have splendid collections of the four Āgamas, in whole or in part, translated into Chinese and handed down to us quite independently of the Pāli Nikāya's. It is to be noticed that these translators, working side by side with the translators of the Mahāyānist texts, acted mainly as translators of the Hīnayānist texts. A man like Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什), who was *eminent for the great literary* merit of his translations, had very

little to do with these Āgama texts, devoting himself chiefly to the transmission of the texts of the Mahāyāna; whereas, on the contrary, some of the above-named were exclusively translators of the Āgama texts. This shows that the Hīnayāna schools prospered in India in this period.

When we come to the second period the state of affairs changes suddenly and completely. The products of this period are almost all Mahāyānist. With the exception of a few translations, probably left over from the preceeding period, we have from first to last only four (or three) Āgama texts produced.

The third period is chiefly the age of mantric Buddhism; nevertheless a number of the Āgama texts were translated anew. They are the following (in Nanjio's Catalogue):

Nos. 848, 860, 850, 851, 949, 897, 870, 900, 904, 929, 924, 901, 922, 911, 596, 923, and two others by Fāthien (法天), or Fāhien (法賢).

Nos. 937, 990, 989, 933, 930, 945, 993, 952, 951, 938, 932, 986 by Sh'hu (施護).

No. 783 by Thien-si-tsāi (天息災).

Though a great many of the older translations are mentioned in some of the catalogues, we have not all of them before us. In the table given below I have restricted the references to those existing works which I have been able to verify and to identify with parts of the four principal collections or of the Pāli Nikāyas. Most of these agreements of independent and single translations with parts of the principal collections are pointed out by the authors of catalogues and supplemented by C'-sü (智旭, cf. Nanjio, p. xxvi). In the Japanese Tripiṭaka these are arranged in accordance with the directions of this authority, and put together after their respective chief Āgamas. They fill up the two cases referred to in the preceeding chapter. Besides them, some other Hīnayānist texts are brought together in the following, i. e. XIII. 宿, case. Among these *latter I* was able to find some which agree with parts of the

Āgamas, and some which are found in the Pāli Nikāyas but not in the Chinese Āgamas.

The following table shows the existing works of the several translators who worked in the first period. They are grouped together under the translators' names, and arranged otherwise according to their respective dates.

(TABLE II.) *

安世高 Shi-kâo of Parthia (N. Ap. II. 4), 148-170.

(1)	N. 617, 婆羅門避死,†	N. 543. 增阿 (31.4) 無常.
(2)	N. 649, 阿那邠邸化七子,	N. 543. 增阿 (51.7).
(3)	N. 559, 一切流攝守因,	N. 542. 中阿 10. 漏盡. M. 2. Sabbāsava.
(4)	N. 598, 四諦,	N. 542. 中阿 31. 分別聖諦. M. 141 Saccavibhaṅga.
(5)	N. 601, 本相猗致,	N. 542. 中阿 51. 本際.
(6)	N. 565, 是法非法,	N. 542. 中阿 85. 眞人. M. 113. Sappurisa.
(7)	N. 567, 漏分布,	N. 542. 中阿 111. 達梵行. A. VI. 63. Nibbedhika.
(8)	N. 582, 婆羅門子命終愛念不離,	N. 542. 中阿 216. 愛生. M. 87. Piyajātika.
(9)	N. 583, 十支居士八城人,	N. 542. 中阿 217, 八城 M. 52. Aṭṭhakanāgara.
(10)	N. 548, 十報法,	N. 545 長阿 10. 十上. D. 34. Dasuttara.
(11)	N. 553. 人本欲生,	N. 545. 長阿 13. 大緣方便. D. 15. Mahānidāna.
(12)	N. 555, 尸迦羅越六方禮,	N. 545. 長阿 16. 善生. D. 31. Siṅgālaka.

* N. means the numbers in Nanjio's catalogue. M. the Pāli Majjhima, A Aṅguttara, S. Saṃyutta, D. Dīgha.

† With the verse: *Na antalikkhe* &c.

(13)	N. 648, 七處三觀,	N. 544. 雜阿, I. 1. 8. sūtra 6. (辰 II. 8b). S. 22. 57. &c. (See table IV).
(14)	N. 653, 五陰譬喻,	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 6. sūtra 3. (辰 II. 56). S. 22 95. Pheṇa.
(15)	N. 657, 轉法輪,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 2. sūtra 1. (辰 II. 84). S. 56. 11-12. Dhammacakkappavattana.
(16)	N. 659, 八正道,	N. 544. 雜阿 V. 5. sūtra 75. (辰 III. 66). S. 45. (?).
(17)	N. 675, 鬼問目連,	N. 544. 雜阿 V. 2. (辰 III. 9-11). S. 19. Lakkhaṇa (vagga).
(18)	N. 724, 禪行三十七品,	?
(19)	N. 633, 阿難同學,	N. 543. 增阿 (?)
(20)	N. 762, 父母恩難報,	?
(21)	N. 705, 阿支羅迦葉自化作苦,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 1. sūtra 20. (辰 II. 69b). S. 12. 17. Acela.

支曜, Yâo of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 7.) 185.

(22)	N. 563, 阿那律八念,	N. 542. 中阿 74. 八念. A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha.
(23)	N. 661, 馬有三態,	N. 544. 雜阿 VIII. 3. sūtra 4. (辰 III. 91b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 51a). A. III. 94. Tayo.
(24)	N. 662, 馬有八態,	N. 544. 雜阿 VIII. 3 sūtra 8. (辰 III. 92b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 III. 51b). A. VIII. 14. Khalunka.

慕孟詳, Man-siān of Tibet (N. Ap. II. 10), 194-199.

(25)	N. 625, 舍利弗摩訶目連遊四衢,	N. 453. 增阿 (45.2). M. 67. Cātumā.

Translators' names lost, acribed to the Later Hān Dynasty 後漢 (25-220).

(26)	N. 578, 苦陰,	N. 542. 中阿 99. 苦陰. M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.
(27)	N. 573, 魔繞乱,	N. 542, 中阿 131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.

Translator's name lost, ascribed to the Wei Dynasty, 魏 (220-265).

(28)	N. 626, 七佛父母姓字,	N. 543. 增阿 (48. 4). N. 545. 長阿 1. 七佛. D. 14. Mahāpadāna.

支謙 Chien of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 18), 223-253.

(29)	N. 615, 須摩提女, (Sumati),	N. 543. 增阿 (30. 3). ?
(30)	N. 557, 七知,	N. 542. 中阿 1. 善法. A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū.
(31)	N. 580, 釋摩男本四子, (Mahānāma),	N. 542. 中阿 100. 苦陰. M. 14. Dukkhakkhanda (Cūḷa).
(32)	N. 590, 諸法本,	N. 542. 中阿 113. 諸法本. A. X. 58. Mūlā (=A. VIII. 83).
(33)	N. 574, 降魔試目連,	N. 542. 中阿 131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.
(34)	N. 594, 賴吒和羅,	N. 542. 中阿 132. 賴吒和羅. M. 82. Raṭṭhapāla.
(35)	N. 608, 梵摩渝,	N. 542. 中阿 161. 梵摩. M. 91. Brahmāyu.

(36)	N. 577, 齋,(Uposatha),	N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. / A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.
(37)	N. 592, 佛開解梵志阿颰,	N. 545. 長阿 20. 阿盡扠 / D. 3. Ambaṭṭha.
(38)	N. 554, 梵網六十二見,	N. 545. 長阿 21. 梵動. / D. 1. Brahmajāla.
(39)	N. 655, 不自守意,	N. 544. 雜阿 II. 3. sū (長 11. 61b). / S. ?
(40)	N. 674, 義足, (Arthapada),	S. Nip. Aṭṭhaka-vagga stories).

竺律炎 Lüh-yen of India (N. Ap. II. 20) 230.

(41)	N. 616, 三摩竭, (?),	N. 543. 增阿 (30. 3). / ?

Translator's name lost, ascribed to the Wu dynasty 吳 222-280.

(42)	N. 547, 雜阿含,	See Table IV.

竺法護, Dharmarakṣa of India (N. Ap. II. 23.), 266-317 (or 313).

(43)	N. 621, 鴦堀摩,	N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6). / M. 86. Aṅgulimāla.
(44)	N. 623, 力士移山,	N. 543. 增阿 (42. 3 (parts). / A. VIII. 70 Bhūmicāla (p
(45)	N. 624, 四未曾有,	
(46)	N. 564, 離睡,	N. 542. 中阿 83. 長老睡 / A. VII. 58 Pacala (first pa
(47)	N. 570, 受歲,	N. 542. 中阿 89 比丘請. / M. 15. Anumāna.
(48)	N. 566. 樂想,	N. 542. 中阿 106. 想. / M. 1. Mūlapariyāya.

(49)	N. 609, 尊上,	N. 542. 中阿 166. 釋中羃室尊. M. 134. Lomasakaṅgiya-bh.
(50)	N. 612, 意,	N. 542. 中阿 172. 心. A. IV. 186. Ummagga.
(51)	N. 614, 應法,	N. 542. 中阿 175. 受法. M. 46. Dhammasamādāna.
(52)	N. 652, 聖法印, (Ariyadhammalakkhaṇa),	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 14. sūtra 12. (辰 II. 16b). S. ?
(53)	N. 468, 當來變,*	A. V. 79. Anāgata-bhayāni.
(54)	N. 745, 大迦葉本,	N. 542. 中阿 63. 韓婆陵耆 M. 81. Ghatikāra
(55)	N. 671, 琉璃王,	N 543. 增阿 (34. 2) (戾 II. 30-32),
(56)	N. 712, 所欲致患,	?
(57)	N. 697, 分別,	?

白法祖 Po Fā-tsu (N. Ap. II. 28), 290-306.

(58)	N. 650, 大愛道般泥洹,	N. 543. 增阿 (52. 1). ?
(59)	N. 552, 佛般泥洹,	N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行 D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

法炬 Fā-cü (N. Ap. II. 30) circ. 290-306.

(60)	N. 614, 波斯匿王太后崩塵土坌身,	N. 543. 增阿 (26. 7). 老耆 N. 644. 雜阿 VII. 4. sūtra 2, (辰 IV. 67). N. 646. 別雜 (ditto). (辰 V. 18). S. 3. 3. 2.
(61)	N. 619, 頻毘婆羅王詣佛供養,	N. 543. 增阿 (34. 5). ?

* Cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 174.

(62)	N. 622, 鴦崛髻,*	N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6). M. 86. Angulimāla.
(63)	N. 599. 恒水.	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.
(64)	N. 603. 頂生王故事,	N. 542. 中阿, 60. 四洲. Divyāvadāna (p. 210 f.)
(65)	N. 569, 求欲,	N. 542. 中阿 87. 穢品. M. 5. Anaṅgana.
(66)	N. 579, 苦陰因事,	N. 542. 中阿 100. 苦陰. M. 14. Dukkhakkhandha.
(67)	N. 600, 瞻波比丘,	N. 542. 中阿 122. 瞻波. A. VIII. 10. Kāraṇḍava.
(68)	N. 572, 伏婬.	N. 542. 中阿 126. 行欲. A. X. 91. Kāmabhogī.
(69)	N. 596, 數,	N. 542. 中阿 144. 算數目揵 M. 107. Gaṇakamoggallāna.
(70)	N. 660, 難提釋,	N. 544. 雜阿, V. 8 sūtra (辰 III. 78b.) A. XI. 14 Nandiya.
(71)	N. 663, 相應相可,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 3. sūtras 6- (辰 II. 94.) S. 14. 17-24. Asaddha.
(72)	N. 713. 阿闍世王問五逆,	?
(73)	N. 673, 法海,	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.
(74)	N. 725, 比丘避女惡名欲自殺,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 12 sūtra (辰 IV. 100a). N. 546 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 110). S. 9. 8. Ogaḷha.
(75)	N. 764. 譬牛喻,	?

* Nanjio's statement that the translator of this text is Dharmarakṣa i mistake.

6) N. 748. 佛爲年少比丘說正事, ?

7) N. 383, 諸偷福田, (Theragāthā, another version?)

支法度 Fā-tu of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 33), 301.

N. 595, 善生子, { N. 542. 中阿 135. 善生, N. 545. 長阿 16. 善生. D. 31. Siṅgālaka.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Former Tsin Dynasty, 西晉 (265-316).

N, 641, 玉耶女, { N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

N. 631, 舍衛國王夢見十事 (Ten Dreams of the king of Sāvatthi), { N. 543. 增阿 (52. 9). cf. below (86). ?

N. 558. 鹹水喻, { N. 542. 中阿 4. 水喻. A. VII. 15 Udakūpama.

N. 562. 古來世時, { N. 542. 中阿 66. 說本. ?

N. 611. 兜調 (Toddeya). { N. 542. 中阿 170 鸚鵡. M. 135. Kammavibhaṅga.

竺曇無蘭 Dharmarakṣa of India, (N. Ap. II. 38), 381-395.

N. 630. 四泥黎 (the Four Hells). { N. 543. 增阿 (50. 5). ?

N. 640, 玉耶, { N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

N. 632, 國王不梨先泥十夢 (Ten Dreams of Prasenajit), { N. 543. 增阿 (52. 9). cf. above (80). ?

(87)	N. 561, 鐵城泥黎,	N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.
(88)	N. 568, 阿耨風,	N. 542. 中阿 112. 阿奴波. A. VI. 62. Udaka.
(89)	N. 597, 梵志頻娑羅延問種尊,	N. 542 中阿 151, 阿摩恕. M. 93. Assalāyana.
(90)	N. 575, 泥黎,	N. 542. 中阿 199. 癡慧地. M. 129. Bālapaṇḍita.
(91)	N. 593, 寂志果,	N. 545. 長阿 27. 沙門果. D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
(92)	N. 654, 水沫所漂,	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 6. sūtra 3. (辰 II 56). S. 22. 95. Pheṇa.
(93)	N. 588, 戒德香,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 2. sūtra 12. (辰 IV. 19a). N. 543. 增阿 (23. 5.) 逆順香 (辰 I 55b). A. III. 79. Gandha.
(94)	N. 719, 阿鬚阿那含,	?
(95)	N. 751, 自愛 (Attapiya),	N. 543. 增阿 (52. 7). Another version of S. 3. 1. 4. (?)
(96)	N. 763, 新歲,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 8. sūtra 5 (辰 IV. 63). N. 543. 增阿 (32. 5.) 歲. S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
(97)	N. 736, 比丘聽施,	?

瞿曇僧伽提婆 Gautama Saṅghadeva (N. Ap. II. 39. and 56.), 397-398.

(98)	N. 542. 中阿含,	Majjhima Nikāya (See Table VII).

法顯 Fahien (N. App. II. 45) 414.

(99) N. 120, 大般涅槃經, {N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行. D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Later Tsin Dynasty, 東晉 (317-420).

(100) N. 618, 食施獲五福報, {N. 543. 增阿 (32. 11) 五施. A. V. 37. Bhojana.

(101) N. 602, 緣本致, {N. 542. 中阿 51. 本際. ?

(102) N. 571, 梵志計水淨, {N. 542. 中阿 93, 水淨梵志. M. 7. Vatthūpama.

(103) N. 605, 三歸五戒慈心厭離功德, {N. 542. 中阿 155. 須達多. A. IX. 20. Velāma.

(104) N. 584, 邪見 (Diṭṭhi), {N. 542. 中阿 220, 見. A. VII. 51. Avyākata.

(105) N. 585, 箭喻, {N. 542. 中阿 221. 箭喻. M. 63. Māluṅkya (Cūḷa).

(106) N. 119, 般泥洹, {N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行. D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

(107) N. 656, 滿願子, {N. 544. 雜阿 II. 5. sūtra 8 (辰 II 72). S. 35. 88. Puṇṇa.

鳩摩羅佛陀 Kumārabuddha (N. Ap. II. 53), 369-371.

(108) N. 1381, 四阿鋡暮抄解 (An epitome of the doctrines stated in the Four Āgamas).

曇摩難提 Dharmanandin (N. Ap. II. 57), 384-385.

(109) N. 543, 增一阿含, Aṅguttara (See Table X).

鳩摩羅什 Kumārajīva (N. Ap. II. 59) 402-412.

(110)	N. 627. 放牛,	N. 543. 增阿 (49. 1). N. 544. 雜阿 VI. 2. sūtra (長 IV 73b). M. 33. Gopālaka.
(111)	N. 672, 海八德,	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.

佛陀耶舍 Buddhayaśas (N. Ap. II. 61) 412-413.

(112)	N. 545, 長阿含,	Dīgha. (See Table V.)

曇無讖 Dharmarakṣa (N. Ap. II. 67), 414-421.

(113)	N. 604. 文陀竭王 (Muṇḍaka),	N. 542. 中阿 60. 四洲. Divyāvadāna, pp. 210-226.

求那跋陀羅 Guṇabhadra (N. Ap. II. 81), 435-443.

(114)	N. 544, 雜阿含,	Saṃyutta (See Table IX.)
(115)	N. 589, 四人出現世間,	N. 543. 增阿 (26. 5) 四闇. A. IV. 85. and S. 3. 3. 1.
(116)	N. 629, 十一想思念如來,	N. 543. 增阿 (49. 10). A. XI. 15. (?)
(117)	N. 610, 鸚鵡,	N. 542. 中阿 170. 鸚鵡 M. 135. Kamma-vibhaṅga.
(118)	N. 581, 鞞摩肅,	N. 542. 中阿 209. 鞞摩那[illegible] M. 80. Vekhanasa.
(119)	N. 740, 十二品生死,	?
(120)	N. 642, 阿遮達 (Anātha).	N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Sung Dynasty, 宋 (420.—479).

(121)	N. 607. 黃竹園老婆羅門說學,	N. 542. 中阿, 157. 黃蘆園. A. VIII. 11. Verañja.

(122) N. 576. 優陂夷墮(頻)舍法, { N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.

(123) N. 470, 法滅盡, A. V. 79. Anāgatabhayāni.

智嚴 C'yen (N. Ap. II. 76.) 427.

(124) N. 722, 四天王, { N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.

惠簡 Hwui-kien (N. Ap. II. 84), 457.

(125) N. 620, 長者子六過出家, { N. 543. 增阿 (35. 10). ?

(126) N. 651, 佛母般泥洹, { N. 543. 增阿 (52. 1), ?

(127) N. 560, 閻羅王五天使, { N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.

(128) N. 591, 瞿曇彌記果, { N. 542. 中阿 116 瞿曇彌. A. VIII. 51. Dhammika.

沮渠京聲 Tsü-chü Cin-shan (N. Ap. II. 68 and 83), 455-464.

(129) N. 701, 八關齋, { N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.

(130) N. 771, 耶祇, (Yogi). ?

(131) N. 690, 進學, (Sekha?) ?

求那毘地 Guṇavṛddhi (N. Ap. II. 97), 495.

(132) N. 606, 須達, { N. 542. 中阿 155. 須達多. A. IX. 20. Velāma.

瞿曇法智 Gautama Dharmajñāna (N. Ap. II. 126), 582.

(133) N. 739, 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別, { N. 542. 中阿 170. 鸚鵡. M. 135. Kammavibhaṅga.

III.

TWO MINOR COLLECTIONS OF THE ĀGAMA TEXTS.

In the catalogue of 520 A. D. (出三藏記集, N. 1476) we find under Ān-shi-kao's works the following titles, among others:

(1) 七處三觀經, Seven Positions and Three meditations.

(2) 九橫, Nine kinds of untimely death.

(3) 雜經四十四篇 Forty-four pieces of miscellaneous sūtras.

The first two are said to be found in the Saṃyukta and the last in the Ekottara. Again in the Khāi-yuen Catalogue of 730 (開元錄, N. 1485) these three are mentioned, but the last is counted among the lost texts. In the former catalogue the first of these three texts is said to consist of two fasciculi, with no mention of sections or of sūtras; on the other hand, in the latter catalogue it is mentioned as containing 30 sūtras in one fasciculum. In the present edition we have a text of the name 七處三觀 (N. 648). It begins with a sūtra agreeing with the Sattaṭṭhāna (S. 22. 57) and ends with another agreeing with the Puggala (S. 15. 10) which, alone among the thirty sūtras, has a separate title. There is no doubt but that this is the 七處三觀 of the Khai-yuen catalogue. Next to this there is another with the title 九橫, which contains 17 sūtras. This must have been the 九橫 of the two catalogues, as above mentioned, but the title is only applicable to the first sūtra, and, moreover, the Sung and the Yuen editions have at the end seven signs which mean "the first (of the two) part of the 七處三觀". Thus we confront a confused situation. By examination of the text I have been led to conclude as follows:

i. There was originally a collection of 44 sūtras which has not really been lost, as the author of the Khai-yuen catalogue believed, but has been handed down with the title 七處三觀.

ii. With it the three, 七處三觀 (S. 22. 57), 積骨 (S. 15. 10) and 九橫 ("the nine untimely") have been incorporated, and the present collection accordingly contains 47 suttas.

iii. In the course of time this collection was divided into two parts, one beginning with the 七處三觀 and bearing that title, and the other beginning with the 九橫 and bearing that title, the former containing 30 sūtras and ending with 積骨 (S. 15. 10) and the latter consisting of 17 sūtras.

iv. This is the reason why the Khai-yuen catalogue states that the former (七處三觀) consists of 30 sūtras in one volume, whereas it is mentioned in the older catalogue as consisting of two volumes.

Here, therefore, we have a little Ekottara collection of 44 sūtras, which has been handed down as the 七處三觀 (N. 648) with the addition of the three suttas. The following analysis of the collection will tell what kind of a collection it is.

TABLE III.*—A SMALL EKOTTARA COLLECTION.

DUKA-NIPĀTA.

1-8	(32-39) [二人] (Dve puggalā).	A. II. 11. (1-5).
9	(40) [白淨]	A. II. 1. 9. Sukka.

TIKA-NIPĀTA.

10	(41) [無眼]	A. III. 29. Andha.
11	(42) [有行]	A. III. 76-77. Bhavacetana.

* In the table I have arranged and numbered the sūtras so as to make an Ekottara collection and put the numbers in the present edition in brackets. The *division into the Nipātas is my own.*

12	(43) [行]	A. III. 42. Ṭhāna.
13	(44) [安善樂]	?
14	(45) [病] *	?
15	(46) [惡本]	A. III. 69. Akusalamūla.
16	(47) [賢]	A. III. 45. Paṇḍita.
17	(1) [七處三觀]	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.
18	(2) [家]	A. III. 105. Kūṭā.
19	(3) [無眼]	A. III. 29. Andha.

CATUKKA-NIPĀTA.

20	(4) [欲著]	A. IV. 10. Taṇhayoga. ‡
21	(5) [顚倒]	A. IV. 49. Vipallāsa. ‡
22	(6) [同心]	A. IV. 32 and 153. Saṅgaha. ‡
23	(7) [輪]	A. IV. 31. Cakka. ‡
24-25	(8-9) [自護]	A. IV. 98. Attahita.
26	(10) [雲] †	A. IV. 102. Valāhaka.
27	(11) [舍]	A. IV. 14. Padhāna.
28	(12) [不自侵要]	A. IV. 37. Abhabbo parihāyāna. ‡
29	(13) [賢者]	A. V. 42. Sappurisa. ‡

PAÑCAKA-NIPĀTA

30	(14) [少色] (Appavaṇṇa) ?	
31	(15) [時施]	A. V. 36. Kāladāna. ‖
32	(16) [賢者]	A. V. 148. Sappurisa.
33	(17) [法教得道]	A. V. 153. Saddhammaṅiyāma.
34	(18) [行見]	?
35	(19) [因緣] (Hetu?)	?
36	(20) [步行]	A. V. 29. Caṅkama.
37	(21) [山上澤中]	A. V. 181-183. Araññaka.
38	(22) [惡行]	A. V. 241-244. Duccarita.
39	(23) [人々相作]	A. V. 250. Puggalappasāda.

* No. 543. 增阿 (21. 7) (沃 I. 48).
† Ditto (25. 10) 沃 I. 72b).
‡ Except verse.
‖ Except verse. N. 543, 雜阿 (32. 12). (沃 II. 23a).

40	(24) [不忍辱]	A. V. 215. Akantiya.
41	(25) [惡]	A. V. 211. Akkosa.
42	(26) [聞受]	A. V. 140. Sotara.
43	(27) [不依他]	?

ATṬHAKA-NIPĀTA.

44	(28) [諸畏]	A. VIII. 56. Bhayā.

NAVAKA-NIPĀTA.

45	(29) [九孔] (Navadvāra) ?	
46	(30) [積骨]	S. 15. 10. Puggala.
47	(31) [九橫]	?

Next to this old Ekottara Collection we have a small collection of the Saṃyukta texts, known as 雜阿含經 (N. 547).† The name of its translator is lost, but it is counted among the productions of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A. D. It contains 27 sūtras, but the collection as a whole and its title are unknown in the older catalogues, being mentioned for the first time in the Khai-yuen catalogue. The catalogue of 520, however, mentions a group of 25 Saṃyukta sūtras. Their titles seem not to have been original, but to have been supplied from the texts, and they agree in the main with the texts of the collection now under consideration. The exceptions to these agreements are the 9th, 10th and 27th of the present collection, which are not in the catalogue, and a text with the title 署杜乘披羅門 (Brāhmaṇa——?), which is in the catalogue but not in the collection. On Examination it appears that the 9th text, on the *kāyānupassi*, agrees exactly sign for sign with a translation by Dharmarakṣa (N. 726), and the 27th with the 七處三觀 (Sattaṭṭhāna) of Ān-shī-kao above mentioned. Although we do not know how to settle the 10th sūtra, we can say almost with certainty that out of the original 25 sūtras, which have come down from a certain translator,

* N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 5. sūtra 11 (辰 III. 98b), N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 106b); cf. Itivuttaka, 24 = N. 644. 本事 (辰 VI. 21b). † Table II. 42.

one was lost and three were interpolated. There is another possibility, that the 9th and 10th have been supplied. In this case the 27th sūtra, i.e. the 七處三觀, must have been in the collection from the beginning, and then the collection m[illegible] be ascribed to Ān-shi-kao. But the style of translation is n[illegible] his, and it is not found in the older catalogue among this grou[illegible]

TABLE IV.—A SMALL SAṂYUTTA COLLECTION.

Number in the text.	Separate titles given in the catalogue of 520 (N. 1476).	
1.	佛在拘薩國 (Buddha at Kosala),	S. 7. 2. 1. Kasi. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 25 (辰 II. 22a). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 85b).
2.	生聞婆羅門, (Jānussoṇi),	A. V. 179. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 22. (辰 II. 21b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 84b).
3.	有隡竭 (Saṅgāra ?)	? N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 21 (辰 II. 21b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 84b).
4.	佛在優隨(頻)國, (Buddha at Uruvelā),	S. 47. 18. Brahmā. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. sūtra 6. 2. (辰 IV. 56). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 34).
5.	是時梵自守, (At that time the Brāhmaṇa asserted himself),	S. 6. 1. 7-9 Kokālika. N. 544 雜阿 VII. 6. sūtra 6. (辰 IV. 57). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 IV. 57b).
6.	有三方便, (There are three means),	?
7.	婆羅門不信重, (Brāhmaṇa named "Neither believing nor paying respects"),	?

佛告舍(利)曰, (Buddha told to Sāriputta),	?
?	? N. 726. 身觀 (八宿 24b).
?	?
說人自說人骨不知腐, (The sermon that every one does not know his own bones),	S. 15. 10. (See Table III. No. 46).
色比丘念本起, (Bhikkhu's thoughts on the causes of the rūpa),	?
佛說善惡意, (On good and bad thoughts),	?
四意止, (Satipaṭhāna),	?
一法相,	S. 54. 1. Ekadhamma. N. 544. 雜阿, V. 6. sūtras 2-3 (辰 III. 68).
有二力本,	A. II. 2. 1. Bala. N. 544, 雜阿 V. 3. sūtra 1. (辰 III. 50).
有三力, (Three balas),	?
有四力, (Four balas),	A. IV. 5. (last part abridged).
人有五力, (Man has five balas),	? N. 543. 增阿 (35. 4) (戾 II. 37).
不聞者類相聚, (Group of those who do not obey Buddha's teaching),	S. 14. 17-24. Asaddha &c. N. 544. 雜阿 III. 3. sūtras 6-22. (辰 II. 94). N. 663. 相應相可 (辰 VI. 206).
天上釋爲故世在人中, (Sakka was once among men),	S. 11. 2. 3. Devā. N. 544. 雜阿 VI 3. sūtra 2. (辰 IV. 29b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 11b).

22.	爪頭土,	S. 20. 2. Nakhasikha. N. 544. 雜阿 VI. 2. sūtra II. (辰 IV. 75).
23.	身爲無有反復, (Repetition of bodily existence),	?
24.	師子畜生王, (Lion, is the king of the beasts),	?
25.	阿須(遮)倫子婆羅門,	S. 7. 1. 3. Asurindika. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5, sūtra (辰 IV. 43). N. 547. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 25)
26.	婆羅門子名不侵,	S. 7. 1. 5. Ahiṃsaka. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra (辰 IV. 44). N. 547. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 26a).
27.	(七處三觀),	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna. N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 8. sūtra (辰 II. 8b).

IV.

THE LONG COLLECTION.

Our present collection contains the longest discourses of the Buddha, as its title signifies, and as is stated in all traditions concerning the compilation of the Buddhist Scriptures. It has only one Chinese version, which dates from the beginning of the fifth century. Nothing particular needs to be stated here, except something regarding the last chapter of the Chinese version. That is entitled the "Descriptions of the Worlds," or *Loka-dhātu*. Its contents may be seen in outline in Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 545 (30); and its materials may partly be found in the Pali books. Most of the verses the compiler has introduced in support of his descriptions of the various resorts of transmigration may be traced to the Nikāyas and the Āgamas. We shall not dwell much on this point. It is to be noticed here that the chapter has different versions in some separate texts. They are Nos. 549-551 in Nanjio, and these texts are expanded again in another text, Nanjio, No. 679. These texts seem to have some relation to an Abhidharma text, of similar contents (Nanjio, No. 1297), and they may have been one of the products of the period in which many manuals of Buddhist philosophy and tradition were compiled.

Besides this the sūtras which are found in Chinese and are wanting in Pāli are 11 and 12, but No. 11 is nearly a duplicate of No. 10 which agrees with the Pāli, No. 34, Dasuttara. Those Pāli sections which are wanting in Chinese are No. 6. Mahāli, No. 7. Jaliya, No. 10. Subha, and No. 32. Aṭānatiya. These are nowhere found in the Chinese Canon.

The comparisons will be seen from the following tables, of the Pāli Dīgha and the Chinese Dīrgha.

(TABLE V.)—THE CHINESE DĪRGHA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

1. 大本, D. 14. Mahāpadāna.
   N. 860. 七佛 (厌 X. 1).
   N. 543. 增阿 (厌 III. 35b).
   (28) N. 626. 七佛父母姓字 (厌 IV. 30).
2. 遊行 (Carika). { D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna (大入滅). (*a*). / D. 17. Mahāsudassana (大善見). (*b*).
   (*a*) { (59) N. 552. 佛般泥洹 (厌 X. 9b). / (99) N. 118. 大般涅槃 (厌 X. 22). / (106) N. 119. 般泥洹 (厌 X. 35b).
   (*b*) { N. 542. 中阿 (68) 大善見王 (厌 V 80b). / N. 904. 大正句王 (厌 VIII. 17b).
3. 典尊, D. 19. Mahāgovinda.
   N. 993. 大堅固婆羅門緣起 (厌 X. 47b).
4. 闍尼沙, D. 18. Janavasabha.
   N. 901. (人仙) (厌 X. 53).
5. 小緣, D. 27. Aggañña.
   N. 542. 中阿 (154) 婆羅婆堂 (厌 VI. 92).
   N. 952. 白衣金幢二婆羅門緣起 (厌 X. 56).
6. 轉輪聖王修行, D. 26. Cakkavatti.
   N. 542. 中阿 (70) 轉輪王 (厌 V. 85).
7. 弊宿, D. 23. Pāyāsi.
   N. 542. 中阿 (71) 蛸肆 (厌 V. 88b).
8. 散陀那 (Sandhāna), D. 25. Udumbarika (烏暫婆).
   N. 542. 中阿 (104) 優曇婆羅 (厌 VI. 26).
   N. 951. 尼拘陀梵志 (厌 X. 60b).
9. 衆集, D. 33. Saṅgīti.
   N. 938. 大集法門 (厌 X. 646).
10. 十上, D. 34. Dasuttara.
    (10) N. 548. 十報法 (厌 X. 69b).
11. 增一 (Ekottara), ?

12. 三聚, ?
13. 大緣方便, D. 15. Mahānidāna.
(11) N. 553. 人本欲生 (厌 X. 75b).
14. 釋帝桓因問, D. 21. Sakkapañha.
N. 542. 中阿 (134) 釋問 (厌 VI. 59).
N. 924. 帝釋所問 (厌 VIII. 50).
N. 1329. 雜寶藏經六卷初 (宿 X. 25b).
15. 阿兜夷 (Anuppiya). D. 24. Pāṭika (波梨子).
16. 善生 (Sujāta). D. 31. Siṅgālaka.
N. 542. 中阿 (135) 善生 (厌 VI. 64).
(12) N. 555. 尸伽羅越六方禮拜 (厌 X. 82).
(78) N. 595. 善生子 (厌 VIII. 53b).
17. 清淨, D. 29 Pāsādika.
18. 自歡喜, D. 28. Sampadānīya.
N. 922. 信佛功德 (厌 X 83).
19. 大會, D. 20. Mahāsamaya
(Cf. S. 1. 4. 8. Samaya).
N. 851. 大三摩惹 (厌 X. 85).
N. 544. 雜阿. VII. 6. sūtra 5. (辰 IV. 56b).
N. 546. 別雜. ditto (辰 V. 35a).
20. 阿摩晝. D. 3. Ambaṭṭha.
(37) N. 592. 開解梵志毗 (厌 X. 86b).
21. 梵動 (Brahmacāla ?) D. 1. Brahmajāla.
(38) N. 554. 梵網六十二見 (厌 X. 90).
22. 種德, D. 4. Sonadaṇḍa.
23. 究羅檀頭, D. 5. Kūṭadanta.
24. 堅固, D. 11. Kevaddha.
25. 裸形梵志, D. 8. Kassapa-sīhanāda.
26. 三明, D. 13. Tevijjā.
27. 沙門果, D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
N. 543. 增阿 (43.7) 無根信 (厌 III. 13).
(91) N. 593. 寂志果 (厌 X. 95b).
28. 布吒婆樓. D. 9. Poṭṭhapāda.
29. 露遮. D. 12. Lohiccha.
30. *世記, (Lokadhātu).* ?

(Table VI.)—THE PĀLI DĪGHA TEXTS AND THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS.

1.	Brahmajāla,	21.	梵動.
2.	Sāmaññaphala,	27.	沙門果.
3.	Ambaṭṭha,	20.	阿摩晝.
4.	Soṇadaṇḍa,	22.	種德.
5.	Kūṭadanta,	23.	究羅檀頭.
6.	Mahāli,		?
7.	Jāliya,		?
8.	Kassappa-sīhanāda,	25.	裸形梵志.
9.	Poṭṭhapāda,	28.	布檀婆樓,
10.	Subha,		?
11.	Kevaddha,	24.	堅固.
12.	Lohiccha,	29.	露遮.
13.	Tevijjā,	26.	三明.
14.	Mahāpadāna,	1.	大本.
15.	Mahānidāna,	13.	大緣方便.
16.	Mahāparinibbāna,	2.	遊行.
17.	Mahāsudassana,		
18.	Janavasabha,	4.	闍尼娑.
19.	Mahāgovinda,	3.	典尊.
20.	Mahāsamaya,	19.	大會.
21.	Sakkapañha,	14.	釋帝桓因問.
22.	Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna,	N. 542. 中阿 (98) 念處 (沃 11b).	
23.	Pāyāsi,	7.	弊宿.
24.	Pāṭika,	15.	阿耆夷.
25.	Udumbarika,	8.	散陀那.
26.	Cakkavatti,	6.	轉輪聖王修行.
27.	Aggañña,	5.	小緣.
28.	Saṃpadāniya,	18.	自歡喜.
29.	Pāsādika,	17.	清淨.
30.	Lakkhaṇa,	N. 542. 中阿 (59) 三十二 (Up to the verses).	

31.	Siṅgālaka,	16.	善生.
32.	Āṭānatiya,	?	
33.	Saṅgīti,	9.	衆集.
34.	Dasuttara,	10.	十上.

V.

THE MIDDLE COLLECTION.

The title shows that this collection is made up of the discourses of middle length, but it does not imply that they are all shorter than any of the Dīgha discourses. We have little to say further about this collection. The following tables will show how the two traditions, Pāli and Chinese, differ from or agree with each other. The deviations are greater in this collection than in the Long, and I suspect either the Pāli Majjhima has transferred some of the suttas to the Numerical Collection, or the original of the Chinese version has taken many Numerical texts to itself.

[In table VII various versions of the single parts are given under each sūtra with the numbers in Table II].

(Table VII).—THE CHINESE MADHYAMA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

1. 善法 (Saddhamma) A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū (知法)
   (30) N. 557. 七知經 (戾 VIII. 1).
   N. 543. 增阿 (39.1) 等法 (戾 II. 61).
2. 晝度樹, A. VII. 65. Pārichattaka.
   N. 990 園生樹經 (戾 VIII. 1b).
   N. 543, 增阿 (39. 2) 晝度 (戾 II. 61b).
3. 城喻* A. VII. 63. Nagara.
   N. 543, 增阿 (39. 4) 城郭喻 (戾 II. 62b).
4. 水喻† A VII. 15. Udakūpama.
   (81) N. 558 鹹水喻經 (戾 VIII. 2).
   N. 543 增阿 (39. 3) 水喻 (戾 II. 62).

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* With additions describing each of the seven qualities, i.e. the seven Bojjhaṅgas.

† With some repetitions which are not found in the other versions.

5. 木積喻 (Rukkhakkhandhūpama).* } A. VII. 68. Aggi (火).
N. 543, 增阿 (34.10) 枯樹 (沃 II. 29).
6. 善人往 (Sappurisagati).† A VII. 52. Purisagati.
7. 世間福 (Lokapuñña).‡ ?
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 7) (沃 II. 71).
8. 七日 (Sattasuriyā).§ A. VII. 62. Suriya.
N. 870, 薩鉢多酥哩踰捺野經 (沃 VIII. 2b).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 1) 七日 (沃 II. 66b).
9. 七車 (Sattarathā). M. 24 Rathavinīta.
N. 543, 增阿, (39. 10) 七車 (沃 II. 65).
10. 漏盡 (Āsavakkhaya).‖ M. 2. Sabbāsava (諸漏).
(3) N. 559, 一切流攝守因經 (沃 VIII. 3b).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 6) (沃 II. 70).
11. 鹽喻 (Loṇūpama)./ A. III. 99. Loṇaphala.
12. 怨破. A. IV. 195 Vappa.
13. 度.¶ A. III. 61. Tittha.
14. 羅云 (Rāhula).ℏ M. 61. Rāhulovada.

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* 木, probably 火? Place: Kosalā in Pāli and N. 544 中 阿, but Magadhā (摩竭國光明池側) in N. 543. N. 544 中 阿 with answers of the bhikkhus in each section.

† Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 occur at Jetavana, the place not being given in Pāli.

‡ Buddha, residing at Ghositārama in Kosambī, are asked by Mahācunda (周那) the question, Which are the *lokapuññas*.

§ 中 阿 contains all the narrations, as in Pāli, about Sunetta (善眼), except the verse at the end. On the other hand N. 543. has narrations about the primitive human society, as related in the latter half of D. 27 Aggañña. N. 870 omits this part altogether.

‖ Place: Jetavana in Pāli, Kurusu Kammāssaddamma (拘樓瘦劫磨瑟曇 or 拘留國案會法) in Chinese.

/ At Jetavana Buddha tells his disciples the unavoidable consequence of every act of conduct. Just as a certain quantity of salt makes the water of the Ganges undrinkable, bad works bring to the person performing them their full measure of consequences.

¶ Place: Jetavana, not given in Pāli.

ℏ In the beginning prohibition of idle talk is added to that of falsehood. Four gāthās, the first two of which are similar to Dhammapada 306 and 308, are found after the simile of the royal elephant and five gāthās at the end.

15.	思 (Sañcetika).*	A. X. 207-208.
16.	伽藍 (Kālāmā).	A. III. 65. Kesaputtiyā (驕舍子).
17.	伽彌尼.†	?
18.	師子.‡	A. VIII. 12. Sīha. (Cf. Vinaya, Mahā-v. VI. 31. 10-11).
19.	尼乾 (Niggantha).	M. 101. Devadaha (天邑).
20.	波羅牢.	S. 42. 13. Pāṭali.§
21.	等心 (Samacitta).	A. II. 4. (5-6).
22.	成就戒 (Sīlasampanna).	A. V. 166. Nirodha (滅).
23.	智 (Janatā).	S. 12. 32. Kaḷārakhattiya (黑齒).
24.	獅子吼 (Sīhanāda).‖	A. IX. 11. Vuttha (坐訖).
25.	水喻 (Udakūpama)./	A. V. 162. Āghātavinaya (除惱法).
26.	瞿尼師.¶	M. 69. Gulissāni.
27.	梵志陀然.	M. 97. Dhanañjani.
28.	教化病 (Ābādhikovada).ĥ	M. 143. Anāthapiṇḍika (給孤獨).
29.	大拘絺羅(Mahākoṭṭhita).@	A. IX. 13., A. IV. 174. &c.

* Place: Jetavana, not given in Pāli.

† Discourse on the ten kinds of good and bad conduct and their consequences, given by Buddha to Asita Devaputta Gāmini (? 阿私羅天子伽彌尼) in the Nanda garden (? 那離陀園墻村捺林).

‡ Minute descriptions of *tapas*, as found in D. 8 Kassappa Sīhanāda, are inserted to illustrate *tapassitāya dhammam deseti*. The closing part of the Pāli from the middle of ¶ 8 to the end of ¶ 11, is omitted.

§ In the Chinese Saṃyukta this sutta is given in *uddāna* as 波多羅十問, but the text is not found.

‖ Ānanda instead of Moggallāna, who announces the *sīhanāda* of Sāriputta. Order of the similes different.

/ Or "pokkharaṇūpama"?

¶ 瞿尼師 should be 瞿(利)尼師. Descriptions of conduct more minute. Two gāthās at the end: 敬重無調笑 &c.

ĥ Agreement not throughout. Compare Edmunds and Anesaki, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* p. 203, note 1.

@ A conversation between Sāriputta and Mahākoṭṭhita. First part, on *āhāra* and *dukkha*, the second on *vedanā* (A. IX. 13) and the last on *nirodha* (A. IV. 174).

30. 象跡喻.* M. 28. Hatthipadopama (mahā).

31. 分別聖諦.† M. 141. Saccavibhaṅga.

(4) N. 598. 四諦 (厌 VIII. 4b).

N. 543. 增阿 (27. 1) (厌 I. 79).

32. 未曾有法.‡ M. 123. Acchariyabbhutadhamma.

33. 侍者 (Upaṭṭhāka).§ ?

34. 薄拘羅. M. 124. Bakkula.

35. 阿修羅 (王) (Asurinda).‖ A. VIII. 19. Pahārāda (波(訶)羅遲).

N. 543, 增阿 (42. 4) 須倫天 (厌 III. 5b).

36. 地動./ A. VIII. 70. Bhūmicāla.

N. 543, 增阿 (42. 5) 地動 (厌 III. 6).

37. 瞻波 (Campā).¶ A. VIII. 20. Uposatha (月十五日). Cf. Vinaya Culla-v. IX. 1. 4., 五分律 (弘 II. 60).

(63) N. 599, 恒水 (厌 VIII. 7).

(111) N. 672, 海八德 (宿 VII. 36a).

(73) N. 673, 法海 (宿 VII. 36b).

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* The simile of the saw &c. repeated under each of the heads, water, fire, wind, as under that of earth.

† Descriptions more minute than in Pāli and those of illness added. Cf. Takakusu, *Pāli Chresthomathy*, p, xxxi.

‡ Cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, pp. 54-61.

§ Ānanda, the beloved disciple of, Buddha, is appointed the upaṭṭhāka just before Buddha's death. A conversation between Ānanda and Vajjiputta after the master's death and Vajjiputta utters the verse of the Theragāthā 119.

‖ The order of the qualities enumerated is different in each of the three versions.

/ This version contains only three of the eight causes of earthquake, viz., the first, the second and the eighth. The sermon occurs at 金剛國城名地 (the town called Bhūmi in the country of Vajira?). Both Chinese versions omit the first part, ¶ 1-9, of Pāli, and 中阿 adds at the end interesting prophecies by Buddha as to what will occur after his death. They contain some hints as to the Buddhological questions whether Buddha is man or god.

¶ Place: Sāvatthi Pubbārāma in Pāli, Campā in N. 542 中阿 and N. 673, and a river bank of 無勝國 (?), in N. 672.

38.	郁伽長者.*	A. VIII. 21. Ugga.
39.	郁伽長者.†	?
40.	手長者.‡	A. VIII. 24. Hatthaka.
41.	手長者.	A. VIII. 23. Hatthaka.
42.	何義.	A. X. 1. Kimatthiya.
43.	不思 (Na cetanāya).	A. X. 2. Cetanā.
44.	念 (Vitakka).	?
45-46.	慚愧 (Hirottapa).§	A. VIII. 81. Sati (思惟).
47.	戒.	A. X. 3. Sīla.
48.	戒 (Sīla).	A. X. 4. Upanisā.
49-50.	恭敬.	A. V. 21-22. Gārava.
51.	本際 (Ito pubbe).‖	?
	(5) N. 601, 本相倚致	(厌 VIII. 7b).
	(101) N. 602, 緣本致	(厌 VIII. 8b).
52-53.	食.	A. X. 61-62. Āhāra.
54.	盡智 (Khayapaññā ?)/.	?
55.	涅槃 (Nibbāna).¶	?
56.	彌醯.	A. IX. 3. Meghiya.
57.	卽爲比丘說 (Upanisā ?).ⅱb	A. IX. 1. Sambodhi.

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* An account of Ugga's conversion is given at the beginning.

† Ugga's charity and his conversation with Ānanda. Place: Vesali Mahāvana After Buddha's death.

‡ Hatthaka goes to his house and delights his kinsmen by repeating the sermon he had heard from Buddha. Kuvera appears and praises him.

§ Agreement not exact.

‖ Exactly the same as the following two suttas, except for the substitution of the word 習 (samudaya ?) for 食 (āhāra) and the absence of the simile of the stream.

/ Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamma. The sermon traces the cause (習) of the *khayapaññā* (wisdom leading to the extinction of depravities) to *mokkha* (解脫), the cause of it to *arāga* (無欲) &c.

¶ Place: Jetavana. Exactly the same as the above text, only substituting *nibbāna* for *khayapaññā*.

ⅱb Buddha, residing at Jetavana, preaches to his disciples the five *dhammā paripakkāya* and also the four succeeding *dhammā*. The text agrees with the latter part of the former sutta, corresponding to pp. 357-358 of the Pāli texts and ot pp. 352-353, the latter of which make up the substance of A. IX. 1.

58. 七寶 (Sattaratana).* S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti (轉輪王).
N. 543, 增阿 (39. 7) (厌 II. 63).
N. 544, 雜阿 V. 4. 19. (辰 III. 58).
N. 989, 輪王七寶 (厌 VIII. 9).

59. 三十二相 (Dvātiṃsa-lakkhaṇa).† } D. 30. Lakkhaṇa.

60. 四洲 (Catudīpa).‡ Divyāvadāna (pp. 210-226).
(64) N. 603, 頂生王故事 (厌 VIII. 10).
(113) N. 604, 文陀竭 (厌 VIII. 11b).

61. 牛糞喻. S. 22. 96. Gomaya.
N. 544, 雜阿, I. 1. 6. sūtra 2 (辰 II. 55b).

62. 頻鞞娑羅王迎佛. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, v. I. 22.
N. 900, 頻婆婆羅王 (厌 VIII. 12b).

63. 鞞婆陵耆 (Vebhalitiga).§ M. 81. Ghaṭīkāra (? 難提波羅).
(54) N. 745 大迦葉本.

64. 天使.‖ M. 130, Devadūta.
(124) N. 722, 四天王 (宿 VIII. 4).
(87) N. 561, 鐵城泥黎 (厌 VIII. 14).
(127) N. 560, 閻羅王五天使 (厌 VIII. 15).
N. 543, 增阿 (32. 4) 天使 (厌 II. 17).

65. 烏烏喻 (Kākūpama ?)/ ?

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* A short account of the seven *ratanas* belonging to a Cakkavatti and of the seven *bojjhangas*.

† First part of D. 30, as far as the verse.

‡ An account of a Cakkavatti Māndhātā or Mūrdhātā.

§ The Chinese version has more minute descriptions than the Pāli. One whose name is Jotipāla in Pāli is called in Chinese 優多羅 (Uttara), and his father's name is given as 無恚 (without anger). Jotipāla's friend, Ghatīkāra (cr Chatīkāra), is named 難提波羅 (Nandipāla). The King of Benares is not Kīki, as in Pāli, but 頻鞞 or 頻鞞 (Bimbi or Kobi ?).

‖ Descriptions more minute and four gāthās inserted at the beginning of the accounts of the tortures in hell.

/ A Brahmin sits under a tree near a pool. Several beasts and birds come to him and complain of their miseries. Buddha explains these conversations between the Brahmin and the beasts or birds, admonishing his disciples to avoid *the worldly evils and miseries. Place :* Rājagaha Bamboo-grove.

66. 說本 (Apadāna ?)* Cf. Theragāthā 910-919.
(82) N. 562, 古來世時 (沃. VIII. 16).

67. 大天梌林 (Mahādeva-ambāvana).† } M. 83. Makhadeva.
N. 543, 增阿 (50. 4) 大天 (沃 III. 49).

68. 大善見王. D. 17. Mahāsudassana.
N. 545, (2) 長阿 (沃 IX. 17).‡
N. 904, 大正句王 (沃 VIII. 17b).

69. 三十喻.§ ?

70. 轉輪王. D. 26. Cakkavatti.
N. 545, 長阿 (6) 轉輪聖王修行 (沃 IX. 33).

71. 蜱肆. D. 23. Pāyāsi.
N. 545, 長阿 (7) 弊宿 (沃 IX. 33b).

72. 長壽王本起 (Dīghāyu-nidāna).|| M. 128. Upakkilesiya (疑惑) (*à propo* Jātaka 428).
N. 543, 增阿 (24. 8) 長壽 (沃 I. 66).

73. 天 (Devatā)./ A. VIII. 64. Gayā.

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* This sutta is composed of three parts. The first part contains Anuruddha's recollections of his former birth. Here we have the text of Theragāthā vv. 910-919. The second part is the prophecy about Śaṅka (螺 in 中阿 and 雪阿 (?) in N. 562), a Cakravartin. The last part gives an account of Maitreya, the future Buddha. After having prophesied the appearance of Maitreya the Master delivers a golden cloth to Ānanda to be transmitted to Maitreya. Māra comes in to oppose the act. A conversation, in verse, between Buddha and Māra closes the narrative.

† Descriptions of the Cakkavatti's jewels are inserted at the beginning. In both Chinese versions the name of the king is Mahādeva (大天). At the close, N. 543 lets Buddha say that he is the King of Truth and that Ānanda is his crown prince. Cf. Jātaka, No. 9.

‡ In the Chinese Dīrgha this text is taken *à propos* into the sutta corresponding to the Pāli Mahāparinibbāna.

§ The title means "thirty similes." Buddha resides at the Rājagaha Bamboo-grove on a certain Uposatha day. He asks Sāriputta why the bhikkhus are quite silent and whether or not they are self-indulgent (pamāda). Then he teaches Sāriputta these similes, which compare the jewels of kings and nobles with *sīla*, and their guards with *paññā* &c.

|| At the beginning of the sutta the story of the outrageous Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, and the patient Dīghati, king of Kosala, is inserted to illustrate the necessity of patience. This story is taken from Jātaka No. 428. A story of quiet elephants is inserted to describe the silent meditation of Bhagu and of Buddha in the forest Pācīnavaṃsadāya. Cf. M. 48.

/ Place: 技提瘦在水渚林中 (Cetisu Pācīnavaṃsādāye).

74.	八念 (Aṭṭhavitakka).	A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha (阿那律陀).
	(22) N. 563, 阿那律八念 (沃 VIII. 21).	
	N. 543. 增阿 (41. 6) 大人八念 (沃 III. 6b).*	
75.	淨不動道.	M. 106. Āneñjasappāya.
76.	郁伽支羅 (Ukkacelā).†	?
77.	娑鷄帝三族姓子.‡	M. 68. Naḷakapāna (青林).
78.	梵天請佛.§	M. 49. Brahmanimantanika.
79.	有勝天 (Parittābhā devatā).	M. 127. Anuruddha (阿那律陀).
80.	迦絺那 (Kaṭhina).‖	?
81.	念身./	M. 119. Kāyagatāsati.
82.	支離彌黎 (Ciriḷikā).¶	A. VI. 60. Citta (質多羅).
83.	長老上尊睡眠.ƀ	A. VII. 58. Pacala (first part).
	(46) N. 564, 離睡經 (沃 VIII. 22).	
84.	無刺 (Akaṇṭhaka).	A. X. 72. Kaṇṭhaka (刺).
85.	眞人.@	M. 113. Sappurisa.
	(6) N. 565, 是法非法 (沃 VIII. 23).	
86.	說處 (Desanā?).°	M. 148. Chachakka (六六).

* A very different version of the above.

† Very similar to S. 47.3. and longer in descriptions.

‡ "The three kulaputtas of Sāketa."

§ The gāthās, except the last one, failing.

‖ Anuruddha resides at Salaḷāgāra, in Sāvatthi. Bhikkhus there, admonished by Ānanda and helped by Buddha, make the three robes for Anuruddha. Then Anuruddha tells the brethren of his conversion and attainment of the six *iddhis*.

/ Place: in the land of Aṅga (鴦 伽), at the village of Āpaṇa (阿 想 那). Descriptions minuter.

¶ Order of the similes different from Pāli.

ƀ "The venerable elder sleeping," i.e. *thero āyasmā pacalayamāno*. For the last part of A. VII. 58, see No. 138.

@ Pride of one's own features is added. For *vinayadhara* it reads 誦 經 持 律 學 阿 毘 曇 暗 阿 含 摹 多 經 者.

° The whole sermon is delivered to Ānanda in order to be preached by him to novices. To the six six's are added the four *satipaṭṭhāns*, the four *padhāna*, the four *iddhipada* &c., and at the end is placed an uddāna of the whole sermon. *These parts may be an interpolation* taken from the Saṃyutta texts.

87. 穢品 (Aṅgana).* M. 5. Anaṅgana (無穢).
(65) N. 569, 求欲 (厌 VIII. 24).
N. 545, 增阿 (25. 6) 結 (厌 I. 70b).

88. 求法.† M. 3. Dhammadāyāda.
N. 543, 增阿 (18. 3) (厌 I. 34b).

89. 比丘請.‡ M. 15. Anumāna.
(47) N. 570, 受歲 (厌 VIII. 26b).

90. 知法 (Dhammaṃ-jānāmi).§ } A. X. 24. Cunda (周那).

91. 周那問見 (Cundapucchā ?).|| } M. 8. Sallekha (漸損).

92. 青白蓮華喻./ ?

93. 水淨梵志 (Sundarika).¶ M. 7. Vatthūpama (染衣喻).
(102) N. 571, 梵志計水淨 (厌 VIII. 27b).
N. 543, 增阿 (13. 5) 孫陀利 (厌 I. 23).
N. 544, 雜阿, VII. 5. Sūtra 36 (辰 IV. 55).

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* Place: Bhaggesu Suṃsumāragire Bhesakaḷāvane Migadāye (婆奇瘦在鬘山怖林鹿野園) in 中阿 and N. 569, and Rājagahe Veṇuvane in N. 545. "A Bhikkhu" instead of Mahāmoggallāna in the former two. Descriptions of the *aṅgamas* much longer in 中阿 than in other versions.

† The place is at Pañcasāla village, in Kosalā, and beside Sāriputta there reside Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākaccāna, Anuruddha, Revata and Ānanda. The text is much longer than the Pāli on account of some repetitions.

‡ In both Chinese versions the place is at Veḷuvana of Rājagaha. Repetitions in the Pāli text are abridged.

§ Place: Ghosiṭārāma in Kosambi. The text is a little abridged and has the simile of a man who pretends to be wealthy without being really so.

|| Place: Ghositārāma. The four *jhānas* and the four *vimuttis* are stated in a concise form.

/ "The simile of *uppasiniyam vā paduminiyam vā puḍṇarikaṃ*," as related in M. 119. Kāyānupassi. This is a sermon on good and bad conduct, the purity of a good man's mind being compared with lotus.

¶ 中阿 and N. 571 ascribe this discourse to Sundarika soon after Buddha's attainment of enlightenment at Uruvelā, and make no mention of the place where he told this story to his disciples. N. 571, omits certain verses. N. 543 enumerates the faiths in the three jewels and *iddhis* among virtues of an ariyasāvaka, in addition to the four *vimuttis*.

94.	黑比丘 (Kalaka).	A. X. 87. Adhikaraṇa (鬪諍).
95.	住法 (Dhammanā-thakaraṇa).	A. X. 17. Nātha (增?).
95.	無 (Natthi?).*	?
97.	大因.	D. 15. Mahānidāna.
	N. 933, 大生義 (沃 VIII. 28b).	
	N. 545, 長阿 (13) 大緣方便 (沃 IX. 50).	
	(11) N. 553 人本欲生 (沃 X. 75b).	
98.	念處.†	M. 10. Satipaṭṭhāna.
	N. 543, 增阿 (12. 1) (沃 I. 18b).	
99.	苦陰.	M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.
	(26) N. 578, 苦陰 (沃 VIII. 30b).	
	N. 543, 增阿, (21. 9) 苦陰 (沃 I. 48b).	
100.	苦陰.	M. 14. Dukkhakkhandha.
	(66) N. 579, 苦陰因事 (沃 VIII. 31b).	
	(31) N. 580, 釋摩訶南四子 (沃 VIII. 31b).	
101.	增上心 (Adhicitta).	M. 20. Vitakkasanthāna (一意得定).
102.	念 (Vitakka).	M. 19. Dvedhāvitakka.

* Sāriputta admonishes the brethren to faithfulness to the law and absence (*natthi?*) of vices.

† Numbering the sections according to the Dīgha text of Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna, we have the following sections in Chinese:

1.	Introduction,	Pāli 1.
2.	Going, sitting &c.,	„ 3.
3.	Bodily behaviors,	„ 4.
4.	Cessation of bad thoughts.	
5.	Contact of teeth.	
6.	Respiration,	Pāli 2.
7-12.	Joy, meditation &c.	M. 119. Kāyānupassī.
13-14.	Bodily structure,	Pāli 5-6.
15.	Dead body,	„ 7.
16-20.	Dissolution of body.	
21-22.	Sensations and will,	Pāli 8-9.
23.	Six senses,	„ 12.
24.	Five obstacles,	„ 10.
25.	Seven divisions of bodhi,	„ 13.
26.	*Conclusion,*	„ 15.

103. 師子吼.* M. 11. Sihanāda (Cūḷa).

104. 優曇婆羅.† D. 25. Udumbarika.

N. 455, 長阿 (8) 散陀那 (沃 IX. 39b).

N. 951, 尼拘陀梵志 (沃 X. 60b).

105. 願. M. 6. Ākaṅkheya.

106. 想.‡ M. 1. Mūlapariyāya.

(48) N. 566, 樂想 (沃 VIII. 34).

107-108. 林.§ M. 17. Vanapatha.

109-110. 自觀心. A. X. 51 and 54. Sacitta.

111. 達梵行 (Nibbedhika-pariyāya).|| } A. VI. 63. Nibbedhika.

(7) N. 567, 漏分布 (沃 VIII. 34b).

112. 阿奴波 (Anuppa ?)./ A. VI. 62. Udaka (水).

(88) N. 568, 阿耨風 (沃 VIII. 36).

113. 諸法本 (Dhammamūlā). { A. VIII. 83. A. X. 58. } Mūlā.

(32) N. 590, 諸法本 (沃 VIII. 37b).

114. 優陀羅 (Udra).¶ S. 35. 103. Uddaka.

115. 蜜丸喻. M. 18. Madhupiṇḍika.

N. 545, 增阿 (40. 9) (沃 II. 72b).

116. 瞿曇彌 (Gotami). { A. VIII. 51. Dhammika. Vinaya, Culla-v. X. 1. Gotami.

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* Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamme.

† Place: Gijjhakūṭa in Pāli, Veḷuvāna in 中阿 and Sattapaṇṇa-cave on the Vihāra hill in N. 455. Nigrodha is rendered in 中阿 "without anger" (無患, Nikodha ?).

‡ Place: Jetavana, instead of Ukkaṭṭha in Pāli.

§ No. 107, agrees with M. 17, the last part being abridged. No. 108 is a duplicate of No. 107, substituting "the extinction of depravities" (漏盡) for "the aim of ascetic life" (沙門義).

|| A sermon delivered at Kammāssaddamma on the three āsavas (漏), the three vedanās (覺) the five kāmas (欲) &c. Order of enumeration different.

/ Place: Anuppe (?) Vajjīnaṃ nigame Vajjīsu, instead of Kosalā in Pāli. Order of similes different.

¶ Verses dissolved into prose. At the close the six senses and the three kinds of them (vedanā) are explained as *gaṇḍamūla*.

(128) N. 591, 瞿曇彌記果 (厌 VIII. 38).
柔輭 A. III. 38-39. Sukhumāla.
龍象.† A. VI. 43. Nāga.
說處. A. III. 67. Kathāvatthu.
無常 (Anicca). S. 22. 76. Arahanta (無着).
請請. S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā (請請時).
N. 544, 雜阿, VII. 8. Sūtra 5 (辰 IV. 63).
N. 546, 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 76).
N. 923, 解夏 (宿 VIII. 6).
N. 543, 增阿 (32. 5) 歲 (厌 II. 18b).
瞻波 (Campā). A. VIII. 10. Kāraṇḍava (穢麥).
(67) N. 600, 瞻婆比丘 (厌 VIII. 39b).
沙門二十億耳 (Soṇa Kolivisa). A. VI. 55. Soṇa.
N. 543, 增阿 (23. 3) 耳 (厌 I. 54b).
N. 544, 雜阿, II. 2. sūtra 72 (辰 II. 51).
八難. A. VIII. 29. Akkhaṇā vuṭṭhā.
N. 543, 增阿 (42. 1) 非時 (厌 III. 1).
貧窮. A. VI. 45. Dālidya.
行欲.‡ A. X. 91. Kāmabhogī.
(68) N. 572, 伏婓 (厌 VIII. 40b).
福田 (Dakkhiṇeya). A. II. 4. 4.
N. 544, 雜阿, VI. I. sūtra 13 (辰 III. 112a).
優婆塞 (Upāsaka). A. V. 179, Gihi (在家).
怨家.§ A. VII. 60. Kodhanā.
教曇彌. A. VI. 54. Dhammika.

Sections 1—6 of the Pāli text are concise and are related as the recollections
ddha's luxurious life in his father's house.
Dividing the Pāli verse into 16 Gāthās we have in Chinese, 1, 2, 3, two
s, 4a, 5a, 4b, 5b, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10a, two padas, 10b, two padas, 11—16.
With three Gāthās at the close, which begin with words something like
e adhammena bhoge pariyesati" (若非法求財).
Place: Jetavana. Kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇa is transcribed 迦 (ka),
lin), 伽 (ga), 波 (pa), 想 (va), 邏 (ra), 波 (pa), 遮 (ca), 悉 (s), 多
, 羅 (ra), 那 (na). Dividing the Pāli verse into 16 Gāthās we have in
se, 1, 3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 8, 12, 14, 13, 15, 16.

131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.
(27) N. 573, 魔嬈亂 (厌 VIII. 41b).
(33) N. 574, 獘魔試目連 (厌 VIII. 43b).
132. 賴吒恕羅. M. 82. Raṭṭhapāla.
(34) N. 594, 賴吒和羅 (厌 VIII. 45).*
N. 929, 護國 (厌 VIII. 47b).
133. 優婆離. M. 56. Upāli.
134. 釋問. D. 21. Sakkapañhā.
N. 545, 長阿. (14) 釋桓因問 (厌 IX. 51b).
N. 924, 帝釋所問 (厌 VIII. 50).
N. 1329, 雜寶藏經六卷初 (宿 X. 25b).
135. 善生† (Sujāta?). D. 31. Siṅgālaka.
N. 545, (16) 善生 (厌 IX. 57b).
(12) N. 555, 尸迦羅越六方禮 (厌 X. 82).
(78) N. 595, 善生子 (厌 VIII. 53b).
136. 商人求財.‡ {Jātaka No. 196. Valāhassa (駝馬).
N. 543, 增阿 (45. 1) (厌 III. 19).
137. 世間. A. IV. 23. Loka.
138. 福 (Puñña). A. VII. 58. (last part).§
139. 息止道.‖ S. Nip. Vijaya.
140. 至邊 (Anta). Itivuttaka 91. Jīvita (生活).
N. 714, 本事 II. 32. (長 VI. 38)./
141. 喻 (Upama).¶ {S. 3. 2. 7-8. Appamāda (不放逸)
Cf. Itivuttaka 23. Ubho atthe.

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* This version turns the verses into prose.

† Place: Veluvana in Pāli, Gijjhakūṭa in N. 545 and 595., Kukkuṭa giri? (鷄山) in N. 555 and 饒蝦蟆林 (forest abounding in frogs) in N. 542.

‡ "The merchants seeking after wealth." The descriptions are more minute than in Jātaka.

§ Just the passage which Hardy puts in square brackets. This is given as a separate sermon delivered at Jetavana. The descriptions of the heavenly worlds are minuter.

‖ With a short introduction in prose. Agreement not perfect.

/ This version has quite different verses.

¶ Comparisons of *appamāda* with many other things which are the best among their respective categories, as found at the close of M. 107.

N. 454, 雜阿, VII. 4. sūtra 13. (辰 IV. 70b).
N. 456, 別雜, ditto 一法 (辰 V. 22).
Cf. N. 714. 本事 I. 12. (辰 VI. 23).

142. 雨勢. { A. VII. 20. Vassakāra.
D. 16, Mahāparinibbāna I. 1-11.

N. 545, (2) 長阿, 遊行 (戾 IX. 9b-7).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 2). (戾 II. 68b).

143. 傷歌羅. A. III. 60, Saṅgārava.

144. 算數目揵連. M. 107. Gaṇakamoggallāna.
(69) N. 596. 數 (戾 VIII. 55b).

145. 瞿默目揵連. M. 108. Gopakamoggallāna.

146. 象跡喻. M. 27. Hatthipadopama (Cūḷa).

147. 聞德 (Jānussoṇi).* ?

148. 何苦 (Kim dukkham).† ? (cf. A. V. 31. verses).
N. 543, 增阿 (2. 8) 月喻 (戾 I. 32).

149. 何欲 (Kim adhipāyā). A. VI. 52. Khattiya (剎利).
N. 543, 增阿 (38. 10). (戾 II. 49b-50).

150. 鬱瘦歌羅.‡ M. 96. Esukāri.

151. 阿攝恕 (Aśva).§ M. 93. Assalāyana.
(89) N. 597, 頻波羅延 (戾 VIII. 57).‖

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* Buddha resides at Jetavana. He instructs Jānussoṇi in the various degrees of ascetic life and its completion.

† Buddha resides at Jetavana. Jānussoṇi (生聞) comes to him and asks several questions as to the benefits of the ascetic life and Buddha teaches him the necessity of association with good men (*kalyāṇamittatā*). At the close good men are compared with the waxing moon and the simile is given again in verse, as in A. V. 31.

‡ The discourse on the kinds of service is repeated. Esukāri, in arguing for the difference of properties, introduces the simile of a shepherd losing sight of his herd. This simile is not found in Pāli. The Chinese text is longer than the Pāli.

§ In the text his name is given as 阿攝恕羅延多; if we leave out this last 多, we can read Asvalāyana. On account of repetitions the text is a little longer than the Pāli.

‖ The title 頻波羅延 reads Ampalāyana; but 波 may be a mistake for 娑 *sa, then it reads assalāyana.*

152.	鸚鵡.*	M. 99. Subha.
153.	鬚 (摩?) 閑提.†	M. 75. Māgandiya.
154.	婆羅婆堂 (Bhāradvāja).	D. 27. Aggañña.
	N. 544, 長阿 (5) 小緣.	
155.	須達多 (Sudatta).	A. IX. 20. Velāma (隨藍).‡
	(132) N. 606. 須達 (沃 VIII. 58b).	
	N. 848, 長者施報 (沃 VIII. 59b).	
	(103) N. 605, 慈心厭離功德 (沃 VIII. 61b).	
	N. 543, 增阿 (沃 I. 80).	
156.	梵波羅延 (Brahma-pārāyana).	S. Nip. (19) Brahmāṇadhammika.
157.	黃蘆園 (Naḷerupucimanda).	A. VIII. 11. Verañja (鞞蘭若).
	(121) N. 607, 黃竹園老婆羅門說學 (沃 VIII. 61b).	
158.	頭那.	A. V. 192. Doṇa.
159.	阿伽羅訶那.§	?
160.	阿蘭那 (珂).‖	A. VII. 70. Araka.
161.	梵摩./	M. 91. Brahmāyu.
	(35) N. 608, 梵摩瑜 (沃 VIII. 62b).	
162.	分別六界.¶	M. 140. Dhātu-vibhaṅga.

* For this rendering of the title, see No. 170. Some of the questions Buddha asks are given first as they are thought of in his mind and then expressed in words.

† The last part abridged and all the verse part in prose.

‡ 隨, a mistake for 額 (Ve)? This confusion occurs very often.

§ "Agrahaṇa"? Buddha residing at Jetavana, in response to questions by a Brahmin Agrahaṇa, traces the causes of existence, from Veda to man, from man to matter, from matter to sun, and finally to Nibbāna.

‖ The story is told by Buddha to his disciples at Jetavana. After a short remark on life and death, he says that when human life was longer (corresponding to the beginning of ¶3.) there ruled a Cakkavatti Koravya (拘牢婆). At that time Araka appeared. Then the narration of his ascetic life is longer than in ¶3. Then occur the similes as in ¶2.

/ The conversation between Brahmāyu and Buddha in verse is different. First Brahmāyu asks Buddha about his genital organ and then comes the praise.

¶ Preceeding the simile of an oil lamp there are two similes: one, of the fire produced by the rubbing together of pieces of wood, which illustrates the extinction of *vedanās*, and the other, of purifying gold to illustrate the rise of mind to the infinite by means of meditation.

163.	分別六處.	M. 137. Saḷāyatana-vibh.
164.	分別觀法.	M. 138. Uddesa-vibh.
165.	溫泉林天 (Tapodavana-devatā).	M. 133. Kaccāna-bhaddekaratta (迦旃延跋地羅帝偈).
166.	釋中禪室尊.*	M. 134. Lomasakaṅgiya-bhad.
	(49) N. 609, 尊上 (沃 VIII. 65).	
167.	阿難說.	M. 132. Ānanda-bhad.
168.	意行.†	M. 120. Saṅkhāruppatti.
169.	拘樓度無諍 (Kurusu Araṇa).‡	M. 139. Araṇa-vibhaṅga (無諍分別).
170.	鸚鵡 (Subha, or Suka).§	M. 135. Kamma-vibhaṅga (Cūḷa) (業分別).
	N. 783, 分別善惡報應 (沃 VIII. 66).	
	(83) N. 611, 兜調 (沃 VIII. 71).	
	(117) N. 610, 鸚鵡 (沃 VIII. 72).	
	(133) N. 739, 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別 (宿 VI. 63).	
171.	分別大業.‖	M. 136. Kamma-vibh. (Mahā).
172.	心 (citta).	A. IV. 186. Ummagga (賢道).
	(50) N. 612, 意 (沃 VIII. 74b).	

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* "The meditation hall in the land of Sakkas" where Lomasakaṅgiya (鹿爽强翁) resides. The place where these verses were uttered by Buddha, as is told by the devatā, is not in the heavenly world but in Rājagaha.

† At the close the simile of sterilized milk.

‡ Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamme.

§ The text of all the Chinese versions must have read Suka or Çuka (i.e. parrot) instead of Subha. In all these versions the circumstance which caused the son of Todeyya to come to Buddha is given as follows: His white dog, whose name is given as Caṅki in N. 783, barked at Buddha. On being scolded for it by Buddha, the dog comes to Subha and seems to be much distressed. Subha, being angry at Buddha's behaviour toward his beloved dog, comes to Buddha. Then Buddha tells how Subha's father, Todeyya, was born as a dog on account of his pride. After this episode the text agrees with the Pāli. N. 783 is a much expanded version, and N. 739 also does not exactly agree with the others.

‖ Mahācunda accompanies Ānanda. There is no mention of Udāyi. At the close occurs a simile of ripe and unripe mango fruit, compared with four kinds of men according to their merits.

173.	浮彌.*	M. 126. Bhūmija.
174.	受法.	M. 45. Dhammasamādāna.
175.	受法.†	M. 46. Dhammasamādāna.
	(51) N. 614, 應法 (沃 VIII. 75).	
176.	行禪.‡	?
177.	說.§	?
178.	獵師 (Nevaka).	M. 25. Nivāpa (獵師食).
179.	五支物主 (Pañcakaṅgiya).	M. 78. Sāmaṇamuṇḍika (沙門文祁).
180.	瞿曇彌 (Gotamī).‖	M. 142. Dakkhiṇāvisuddhi (淨施).
	N. 930, 分別布施 (沃 VIII. 76).	
181.	多界./	M. 115. Bahudhātuka.
182.	馬邑.¶	M. 39. Assapura.
183.	馬邑.	M. 40. Assapura.

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* Jīvasena (耆婆先那) instead of Jāyasena. The simile of oil comes first.

† Place: Kammāssaddamma in Kuru. Agreement nearly perfect.

‡ "The practice of Jhāna." The four kinds of men who practise jhāna and cautions about practising it. Place: Jetavana.

§ The four kinds of sermons, after which the text is nearly the same as No. 176. Place: Kammāssaddamma.

‖ Before the four kinds of pure donations the twofold seven kinds of puñña are enumerated, somewhat as in No. 7. I have sought in vain for the text agreeing with these in the Sattakanipāta of the Pāli Aṅguttara.

/ The simile at the opening, which, in Pāli, is used by Buddha in speaking to his disciples, is thought out first in Ānanda's mind, and then repeated by Buddha. The number of the dhātus enumerated are summed up and given as 62. After the statement of the three kinds of conduct, the five *upakkilesas*, the four *satipaṭṭhānas* and the seven *bojjhaṅgas* are enumerated. At the close a division of the discourse into four sections is made, and the title of the sutta is designated by Buddha. The sections are: 多界法界甘露界多鼓法鼓甘露鼓法鏡 (bahu-dhātu-dhamma-dhātu-amata-dhātu-bahu-duṇḍubim-dhamma-duṇḍubim-amata-duṇḍubim-dhamma-ādāsa ?). We do not know how to divide this uddāna into four.

¶ The text is much abridged.

184.	牛角娑羅林.*	M. 32. Gosiṅga.
	N. 543, 增阿 (37. 3). (沃 II. 46b).	
185.	牛角娑羅林.	M. 31. Gosiṅga.
186.	求解.†	M. 47. Vīmaṃsaka.
187.	說智 (Ñāna).‡	M. 112. Chavisodhana (六漏盡).
188.	阿夷那.§	A. X. 116. Ajina. (& A. X. 115).
189.	聖道 (Ariyamagga).‖	M. 117. Cattārisaka (四十大法).
190.	小空.	M. 121. Suññatā, (cūḷa).
191.	大空.	M. 122. Suññatā, (mahā).
192.	迦樓烏陀夷 (Kāla ? Udāyi)./	M. 66. Laṭukikopama (蠅喻).
193.	牟梨破群那 (Moliya Phagguṇa).	M. 21. Kakacūpama (利刀鋸喻).
	N. 543, 增阿 (50. 8.) 鉄鉗 (沃 III. 53b).	
194.	跋陀和利.¶	M. 65. Bhaddāli.
195.	阿濕貝 (自) (Assaji).ⅱb	M. 70. Kiṭāgiri (迦羅頻).

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* Besides the other theras there is Mahākaccāna. He plays the rôle of Moggallāna in Pāli and the utterances of Moggallāna which we find in Chinese are wanting in Pāli. This version is more in accordance with the respective excellences of the two, as mentioned in A. I. 14, i.e. that Kaccāna is the man of analytical and intellectual mind and that Moggallāna is excellent in his attainment of supernatural powers.

† Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamma. The verses are wanting.

‡ The descriptions of Buddha's tapas are more minute.

§ Place: Migamātā's Pubbārāma in Sāvatthi. Ajina's master is named 婆頭 (Vantu ?). The latter half of the Pāli text treating of erroneous ways is replaced, in Ānanda's explanation of the sermon, by the simile of *sara*, as found in A. X. 115.

‖ Place: Kammāssaddamma. The passage stating that these are the forty laws is repeated.

/ There are more repetitions as answers of Udāyi. Laṭukikopama has a different reading (or version). It says, a fly may die, being caught in a drop of spit or tear. Has the text read *makkhikā* instead of *laṭukikā ?*

¶ After the four *jhānas* the three *vijjās* are stated.

ⅱb More repetitions.

196.	周那 (Cunda).*	M. 104. Sāmagāma (舍彌村).
	N. 945, 息諍因緣 (沢 VIII. 77).	
197.	優波離 (Upāli).†	Vinaya, Mah. IX. 6. (1-8).
198.	調御地.	M. 125. Dantabhūmi.
199.	癡慧地.	M. 129. Bālapaṇḍita.
	(90) N. 575, 泥黎 (沢 VIII. 79).	
200.	阿黎吒 (Ariṭṭha).	M. 22. Alagaddūpama (筏喻).
201.	嗏帝 (Sāti).‡	M. 38. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya (Mahā) (大苦陰滅).
202.	持齋. (Uposatha)§	A. VIII. 43. Visākhā (毘舍佉).
	(36) N. 577, 齋 (沢 VIII. 82b).	
	(122) N. 576, 優陂夷墮舍佉 (沢 VIII. 83b).	
	(129) N. 701, 八關齋 (沢 VIII. 84).	
203.	哺多利.‖	M. 54. Potaliya.
204.	羅摩 (Rammaka)./	M. 26. Ariyapariyesana (聖求).

* The village Sāmagāma is said to be in the country of the Sakkas in Pāli, but in that of the Vajjis in Chinese. Pāvā, where Jina died, gave the occasion to this discourse, and it seems more probable that Sāmagāma was near Pāvā. If this supposition were right, the Chinese tradition might be right. Cf. Neumann, Vol. III. p. 42, Note 1.

† Place: on the bank of the Gaṅgā at Campā.

‡ The last part where the ascetic practice of Buddha is described in Pāli is much abridged in Chinese. At the close the three thousand great worlds tremble and shake (as is often stated in Mahāyānist texts).

§ Deviation between the two traditions is great. In contrast to the eight excellences of Buhdha's Uposatha two, one of a goplāaka and another of a Nigantha, are described. Then the true uposatha is described at much greater length than in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Pāli text. The verses are wanting.

‖ Place: Nālandāyam Pāvārikambavane (那羅大波和利林園), instead of Āpana. Between the simile of a pit filled with fire and that of a vain dream there is inserted another of a poisonous snake. Cf. No. 200 and M. 22.

/ This is the text which first called my attention to, and aroused my interest in, the comparison of the Chinese Madhyama and the Pāli Majjhima. There are more deviations between these two than in the cases of other suttas; still the essential agreement is undeniable and the deviations are only in details. Two great differences are that the Chinese text omits the passage on Brahmā's admonition and adds a pretty long passage on the middle way (沢 VII 75b lines 3-10) before the statement on the five passions (i.e. between lines 20 and 21, p. 173 of the Pāli text). Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 20-43.

205.	五下分結 (Pañc' oraṃ-bhāginiyāni saṃyojanāni).	M. 64. Māluṅkya (鬘).
206.	心穢.	M. 16. Cetokhila.
	N. 543, 增阿 (50. 4), (厌 III. 57).	
207.	箭毛.*	M. 77. Sakuludāyi (Mahā).
208.	箭毛.	M. 79. Sakuludāyi (Cūḷa).
209.	鞞摩那修 (Vemanasu ?).†	M. 80. Vekhanasa.
	(118) N. 581, 鞞摩肅 (厌 VIII. 85).	
210.	法樂比丘尼 (Bhikkhuni Dhammadinnā).‡	M. 44. Vedalla (Cūḷa).
211.	大拘絺羅 (Mahākoṭṭhita).§	M. 43. Vedalla (Mahā).
212.	一切智 (?).‖	M. 90. Kaṇṇakatthala (普棘刺林).

* The last part, containing the descriptions of the four *jhānas* and the similes associated with them, is abridged. Cf. Nos. 182, 81.

† There is an addition of nine lines after the statement of the five passions. The first part of the passage says that Vekhanasa was satisfied with Buddha's sermon and the second part that he was unsatisfied. This may be an insertion made by mistake. After the simile of a baby there are added two similes, one of an oil lamp and another of fire.

‡ Place: Jetavana. Generally and especially the passages on *avijjā* and on *nibbāna* are much longer.

§ There are three additions to the Pāli text. The first, before the statement of the four truths, is a conversation on the *kusala* and the *akusala* (善 不 善); the second, on the three *vedanās* (覺), instead of the five qualities of the first *jhāna*; the third, after the explanation of death and before that of the four conditions of the *vimutti*, explains the three *phassas* (觸).

‖ In salutations and conversations there are more repetitions. One curious utterance by Buddha occurs in these salutations but is not found in the Pāli. Whenever he asks about the health of Pasenadi or of his sisters he says: "Is now Pasenadi (or are others) well; is now his (or, her) body well, which belongs *to devas or man or asuras or gandhabba or* rakkhasa or any other beings?"

213. 法莊嚴.* M. 89. Dhammacetiya.
214. 鞞訶提 (Vehati?). M. 88. Bāhitikā.
215. 第一得 (Aggam). A. X. 29. Kosala (拘薩羅).
216. 愛生.† M. 87. Piyajātika.
(8) N. 582, 婆羅門子命終愛念不離 (沃 VIII. 86).
M. 543, 增阿 (13. 3) 竹膊 (沃 I. 21b).
217. 八城.‡ M. 52. Aṭṭhakanāgara.
(9) N. 583, 十支居士八城人 (沃 VIII. 87).
218-219. 阿那律陀 (Anuruddha).§ ?
220. 見 (Diṭṭhi).|| A. VII. 51. Avyākata.
(104) N. 584, 邪見 (沃 VIII. 88).
221. 箭喻 (Sallūpama). M. 63. Māluṅkya (Cūḷa) (鬘).
(105) N. 585, 箭喻 (沃 VIII. 88b).
222. 例./ ?

Summing up the comparisons given above, we have among the 222 suttas in the Chinese Madhyama Collection the following

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* When Pasenadi arrives before the abode of Buddha there are assembled many bhikkhus. Pasenadi asks them where Buddha now is. They say that the door (or window, 牖) of Buddha's room is closed and that so the king should knock at the door. This description is given in brief in M. 89 but not in M. 90; on the contrary 中 阿 Nos. 212 and 213 give minute descriptions of these things. What Pasenadi has seen and states in contrast with Buddha's virtues is narrated in different successions. Isidatta is rendered 仙 餘 and Purāṇa 富 蘭.

† We see here that Nos. 112-116 make up a group of texts with reference to Pasenadi.

‡ 中 阿 states that this conversation took place after Buddha's death. Twelve instead of eleven gateways to immortality occur in both Chinese versions.

§ Both at Jetavana. Bhikkhus come to Anuruddha and are taught how to prepare for death by practicing jhāna and attaining to the three iddhis. The texts are very similar to those in the Saṃyutta 52, Anuruddha section.

|| In A. this is a sermon delivered by Buddha to a bhikkhu, but in Chinese versions it is by Ānanda and as delivered after Buddha's death.

/ "Enumerations" of the ways leading to the extinction of *avijjā*, i.e. of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, the four *iddhipādas* &c. Cf. No. 86.

constituents:

Those texts found in Pāli

Majjhima	99
Aṅguttara	75
Dīgha	9
Saṃyutta	8
Khuddaka	5
Vinaya	2
in Divyāvadāna	1
not yet identified	22
	221

These 23 texts which are not yet identified are as follows:

7.	世間福.	76.	郁伽支羅.
11.	鹽喻.	80.	迦絺那.
17.	伽彌尼.	92.	青白蓮華.
33.	侍者.	96.	無.
39.	郁伽.	147.	聞德.
44.	念.	148.	何苦.
51.	本際.	159.	阿伽羅訶那.
54.	盡智.	176.	行禪.
55.	涅槃.	177.	說.
65.	鳥喻.	218-219.	阿那律陀.
69.	三十喻.	222.	例.

(Table VIII). THE PĀLI MAJJHIMA TEXTS AND THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS.

1.	Mūlapariyāya.	106.	想	(沃 VI. 29b f),
2.	Sabbāsava.	10.	漏盡	(沃 V. 13 f).
3.	Dhammadāyāda.	88.	求法	(沃 VI. 8b f).
4.	Bhayabherava (苦患).	N. 543.	增阿 (31. 1.) 增長	(沃 II. 10).
5.	*Anaṅgaṇa.*	87.	穢品	(沃 VI. 5b f).

6.	Ākaṅkheya.	105.	願 (厌 VI. 29).
7.	Vatthūpama.	93.	水淨梵志(厌 VI. 12b f).
8.	Sallekha.	91.	周那問見(厌 VI. 11b).
9.	Sammādiṭṭhi.	N. 543.	增阿 (49.5) 因緣法 (厌 III. 41-42).
10.	Satipaṭṭhāna.	90.	念處 (厌 VI. 18b f).
11.	Cūḷa-sīhanāda.	103.	師子吼 (厌 VI. 25 f).
12.	Mahā-sīhanāda (師子吼).	Cf	N. 543. 增阿 (46. 4), 力 (厌 III. 24). N. 544, 雜阿, V. 3. 36. (辰 III. 52).
13.	Mahā-dukkhakkhandha.	99.	苦陰 (厌 VI. 20b f).
14.	Cūḷa-dukkhakkhandha.	100.	苦陰 (厌 VI. 21b f).
15.	Anumāna.	89.	比丘請 (厌 VI. 10 f).
16.	Cetokhila.	206.	心穢 (厌 VII. 77b).
17.	Vanapatha.	107-108.	林 (厌 VI. 30 f).
18.	Madhupiṇḍika.	115.	蜜丸喻 (厌 VI. 35b f).
19.	Dvedhāvitakka.	102.	念 (厌 VI. 24 a).
20.	Vitakkasanthāna.	101.	增上心 (厌 VI. 23 a).
21.	Kakacūpama.	193.	牟黎破群那 (厌 VII. 48 f).
22.	Alagaddūpama.	200.	阿黎吒 (宿 VII. 63 f).
23.	Vammīka.	N. 986.	蟻喻 (厌 VIII. 7).
24.	Rathavinīta.	9.	七車 (厌 V. 11b f).
25.	Nivāpa.	178.	獵師 (厌 VII. 27b f).
26.	Ariyapariyesana.	204.	羅摩 (厌 VII. 73b f).
27.	Cūḷa-hatthipadopama.	146.	象跡喻 (厌 VI. 78 f).
28.	Mahā-hatthipadopama.	30.	象跡喻 (厌 V. 39b f).
29.	Mahā-sāropma. (樹喻).	N. 543.	增阿 (43.4.) 提婆 (厌 III 10-11).
30.	Cūḷa-sāropama	?	
31.	Cūḷa-gosiṅga.	185.	牛角娑羅林(厌 VII. 36b f).
32.	Mahā-gosiṅga.	184.	牛角娑羅林(厌 VII. 34b f)
33.	Mahā-gopālaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 2. 4. (辰 IV. 73b). N. 543. 增阿 (489. 1.) 牧牛 (厌 III. 38b).	

34.	Cūḷa-gopālaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 2. 3. (辰 IV. 73a). N. 543. 增阿, (43. 6) 牧牛 (厌 III. 12b).
35.	Cūḷa-saccaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, I. 1. 15. sūtra 9 (辰 II. 28 f). N. 543. 增阿 (37. 10) 薩遮 (厌 II. 50 f).
36.	Mahā-saccaka.	?
37.	Cūḷa-taṇhāsaṅkhaya. (愛盡)	N. 544. 雜阿 IV. 2. Sūtra 5. (辰 III. 7a). N. 543. 增阿 (19. 愛 (9b).
38.	Mahā-taṇhāsaṅkhaya.	201. 嗟帝鷄和哆子 (厌 VII. 66b f)
39.	Mahā-assapura.	182. 馬邑 (厌 VII. 33).
40.	Cūḷa-assapura.	183. 馬邑 (厌 VII. 33b f).
41.	Sāleyyaka.	?
42.	Verañjaka.	?
43.	Mahā-vedalla.	211. 大拘絺羅 (厌 VII. 85 f).
44.	Cūḷa-vedalla.	210. 法樂比丘尼 (厌 VII. 83b f).
45.	Cūḷa-dhammasamādāna.	174. 受法 (厌 VII. 22 f).
46.	Mahā-dhammsamādāna.	175. 受法 (厌 VII. 23 f).
47.	Vīmaṃsaka.	186. 求解 (厌 VII. 38 f).
48.	Kosambiya.	N. 543. 增阿 (24. 8). 長壽 (厌 I. 66).
49.	Brahmanimantanika.	78. 梵天請佛 (厌 V. 106 f).
50.	Māratajjaniya.	131. 降魔 (厌 VI. 49b f).
51.	Kandaraka.	?
52.	Aṭṭhakanāgara.	217. 八城 (厌 VII. 94b f).
53.	Sekhapaṭipadā (學處)	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 5. 13. 無漏法 (Anāsavadhamma). (辰 IV. 50b).
54.	Potaliya.	203. 哺多利 (厌 VII. 71b f).
55.	Jīvaka.	?
56.	Upāli.	133. 優波離 (厌 VI. 55b f).
57.	Kukkuravatika.	?
58.	Abhayarājakumāra.	?
59.	*Bahuvedaniya.*	?

60.	Apaṇṇaka.	?
61.	Rāhulovāda.	14. 羅云 (沃 V. 16b f).
62.	Mahā-rāhulovāda.	N. 543. 增阿 (17. 1.) 羅雲 (沃 I. 29b).
63.	Cūḷa-māluṅkya.	221. 箭喻 (沃 VII. 96b f).
64.	Mahā-māluṅkya.	205. 五下分結(沃 VII. 76 f).
65.	Bhaddāli.	194. 跋陁和利(沃 VII. 50b f).
66.	Laṭukikopama.	192. 加樓烏陀夷(沃 VII. 45b f.)
67.	Cātumā (四衢).	N. 543. 增阿 (45. 2) (沃 III. 20). (25) N. 625. 逝四衢.
68.	Naḷakapāna.	77. 娑難帝三族姓子 (沃 V. 104 f).
69.	Gulissāni.	26. 瞿尼師 (沃 V. 31b f).
70.	Kiṭāgiri.	195. 阿濕貝 (沃 VII. 53 f).
71.	Cūḷa-vacchagotta.	?
72.	Aggivacchagotta (娑蹉種)	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 6. 6. (辰 III. 101b f). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 66)
73.	Mahā-vacchagotta. (,,)	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 6. 8. (辰 III. 102 f). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 66b).
74.	Dīghanakha (長爪).	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 7. 5. (辰 III. 104). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 69).
75.	Māgandiya.	153. 鬚閑提 (辰 VI. 89b f).
76.	Sandaka.	?
77.	Mahā-sakuludāyi.	207. 箭毛 (沃 VII. 78b f).
78.	Sāmaṇamuṇḍika.	179. 五支物主 (沃 VII. 29 f).
79.	Cūḷa-sakuludāyi.	208. 箭毛 (沃 VII. 80 f).
80.	Vekhanasa.	209. 鞞摩那修 (沃 VII. 82 f).
81.	Ghaṭikāra.	63. 鞞婆陵耆 (沃 V. 67b f).
82.	Raṭṭhapāla.	132. 賴吒和羅 (沃 VI. 51b f).
83.	Makhadeva.	67. 大天捺林 (沃 V. 78 f).
84.	Madhura (摩偷羅).	N. 544. 雜阿, IV. 5. 3. (辰 III. 14)

85.	Bodhirājakumāra.	?	
86.	Aṅgulimāla(央掘利摩羅)	N. 544. 雜阿, VII. 1. 16. 賊 (辰 IV. 20b).	
		N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 6).	
		N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6) 鴦俱魔 (厌 II. 54—55).	
		(43) N. 621. 鴦堀魔(厌 IV. 24).	
		(62) N. 622. 鴦堀髻(厌 IV. 25).	
87.	Piyajātika.	216. 愛生	(厌 VII. 93b f).
88.	Bāhitikā.	214. 鞞訶提	(厌 VII. 91 f).
89.	Dhammacetiya.	213. 法莊嚴	(厌 VII. 89b f).
90.	Kaṇṇakatthala.	212. 一切智	(厌 VII. 87 f).
91.	Brahmāyu.	161. 梵壽	(厌 VII. 1 f).
92.	Sela.	?	
93.	Assalāyana.	151. 阿攝想	(厌 VI. 84 f).
94.	Ghoṭamukha.	?	
95.	Caṅkī.	?	
96.	Esukāri.	150. 齮瘦歌邏	(厌 VI. 82 f).
97.	Dhanañjani.	27. 梵志陀然	(厌 V. 32 b).
98.	Vāseṭṭha.	?	
99.	Subha.	152. 鷄鵡	(厌 VI. 87 f).
100.	Saṅgārava.	?	
101.	Devadaha.	19. 尼乾	(厌 V. 21b f).
102.	Pañcattaya.	?	
103.	Kinti.	?	
104.	Sāmagāma.	196. 周那	(厌 VII. 55b f).
105.	Sunakkhatta (善星).	? 身毛喜堅	(宿 VII. 66).
106.	Āneñjasappāya.	75. 淨不動道	(厌 V. 102b).
107.	Gaṇakamoggallāna.	144. 算數目揵連	(厌 VI. 75).
108.	Gopakamoggallāna.	145. 瞿默目揵連	(厌 VI. 76b).
109.	Mahā-puṇṇama.	N. 544. 雜阿, I. 10. 2-8. (=S. 22. 82)	(辰 II. 12).
110.	Cūḷa-puṇṇama.		
111.	Anupada.	?	
112.	Chavisodhana.	187. 說智	(厌 V. 39).
113.	*Sappurisa.*	85. 眞人	(厌 VI. 1b).

114.	Sevitabbāsevitabba.	?	
115.	Bahudhātuka.	181. 多界	(厌 VII. 31b).
116.	Isigili.	N. 543. 增阿 (38. 7.) 仙人編	(厌 II. 56-57).
117.	Cattārīsaka.	189. 墨道	(厌 VII. 41b).
118.	Ānāpānasati.	N. 1335. 治意	(富 VIII. 14).
119.	Kāyagatāsati.	81. 念身	(厌 V. 112b).
120.	Saṅkhāruppatti.	168. 意行	(厌 VII. 13).
121.	Cūḷa-suññata.	190. 小空	(厌 VII. 42b).
122.	Mahā-suññata.	191. 大空	(厌 VII. 43b).
123.	Acchariyabbhutadhamma.	32. 未曾有法	(厌 V. 43b).
124.	Bakkula.	34. 薄拘羅	(厌 V. 48).
125.	Dantabhūmi.	198. 調御地	(厌 VII. 58b).
126.	Bhūmija.	173. 浮彌	(厌 VII. 20b).
127.	Anuruddha.	79. 有勝天	(厌 V. 108).
128.	Upakkilesiya.	72. 長壽王本起	(厌 V. 95).
129.	Bālapaṇḍita.	199. 癡慧	(厌 VII. 60b).
130.	Devadūta.	64. 天使	(厌 V. 71).
131.	Bhaddekaratta.	?	
132.	Ānanda-bhad.	167. 阿難說	(厌 VII. 12b).
133.	Kaccāna-bhad.	165. 溫泉林天	(厌 VII. 10).
134.	Lomasakaṅgiya-bhad.	166. 釋中禪室尊	(厌 VII. 11b).
135.	Cūḷa-kammavibhaṅga.	170. 鸚鵡	(厌 VII. 16).
136.	Mahā-kammavibhaṅga.	171. 分別大業	(厌 VII. 18).
137.	Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga.	163. 分別六處	(厌 VII. 7).
138.	Uddesavibhaṅga.	164. 分別觀法	(厌 VII. 8).
139.	Araṇavibhaṅga.	169. 拘樓瘦無諍	(厌 VII. 14).
140.	Dhātuvibhaṅga.	162. 分別六界	(厌 VII. 5).
141.	Saccavibhaṅga.	31. 聖諦分別	(厌 V. 14b).
142.	Dakkhiṇāvisuddhi.	180. 瞿曇彌	(厌 VII. 30b).
143.	Anāthapiṇḍikovada.	28. 教化病	(厌 V. 34b).
144.	Channovāda (= S. 35. 87).	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 3. sūtra 2.	(厌 IV. 77).

145.	Puṇṇovāda (= S. 35. 88).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 1. sūtra 86 (辰 II. 72). (107) N. 656. 滿願子(辰 VI. 16).
146.	Nandakovāda.	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 4 (辰 II. 60).
147.	Rāhulovāda (=S. 35. 121).	?
148.	Chachakka.	86. 說處 (伏 VI. 2).
149.	Mahā-saḷāyatana (六處)	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 4. sūtra 2. (辰 II. 70b).
150.	Nagaravindeyya (頻頭城).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 8. (辰 II. 62).
151.	Piṇḍapātaparisuddhi.	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 2. sūtra 9. 淸淨乞食住 (辰 II. 47a).
152.	Indriyabhāvanā (修諸根).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 10. (辰 II. 63b).

Thus we have the Majjhima texts in Chinese in the collections or separate versions as follows:

Madhyama	98
Both in the Saṃyukta and Ekottara	7
Ekottara	6
Saṃyukta	14
Separate versions...	3
Not yet identified...	24
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VI.

THE CLASSIFIED COLLECTION.

As is known through the Pāli canon, the Buddhist Vinaya tells us something about the compilation of the Tripiṭaka which is said to have taken place immediately after the Master's death. There are five different versions of the Viṇaya texts, each belonging to a different school, and all preserved in Chinese translations. They give us some ideas about the divisions of the Sūtra-piṭaka into five or four *āgamas* (or *nikāyas* in Pāli), though the accounts which they give deviate more or less in detail from one another. What here concerns us is the divisions of the Saṃyukta, or Classified Collection. Only one of these different traditions divides the whole collection into the Vaggas, the larger divisions, three give only some of the Saṃyuktas, the minor sections, and one tells nothing at all of these divisions.

A version of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (N. 1121.), in its 39th fasciculum (寒 II 29 a), enumerates the following seven vārgas (品):

1. Skandha (蘊品), i. e. accounts of and discourses about the five *skandhas*.
2. Āyatana and Dhātu (處界品), i. e. the six *āyatanas* and the eighteen *dhātus*.
3. Nidāna and Ārya-satya (緣起聖諦品), i. e. the twelve *nidānas* and the four *satyas*.
4. Śrāvaka (聲聞品), i. e. discourses delivered by Buddha's disciples.
5. Buddha (佛品), i. e. those delivered by Buddha.
6. Ārya-mārga (聖道品), i. e. discourses about *smṛti-prasthānas*, *pradhānas*, *ṛddhis*, *indriyas*, *balas*, *bodhyaṅgas* and *mārga*.

7. Gāthā (伽他), i. e. those sūtras which have *gāthās*.

The Mahīśāsaka (N. 1122) and the Dharmagupta (N. 1117) traditions enumerate some subdivisions, or *saṃyukta* (雜 or 相應), of the Sagāthā only. These two agree in the order of the subdivisions, the latter, however, adding three to those of the former. They are:

1. Bhikṣu (比丘).
2. Bhikṣṇī (比丘尼).
3. Upāsaka (優婆塞).
4. Upāsikā (優婆夷).
5. Deva (or Devaputra) and Devatā (諸天 or 天子天女)
6. Śakra Indra (帝釋).
7. Māra (魔).
8. Brahmā (梵王).

As different from these, the Mahāsaṅghika (列 X 34 a) version mentions only four of the subdivisions (雜) of the Mārga-vārga, i.e., *indriya* (根), *bala* (力), *bodhyaṅga* (覺), and *mārga* (道).

A similar account of the Saṃyukta divisions is found in a Mahāyānist work, the *Yogācārya-bhūmi* (N. 1170), ascribed to Asaṅga. In the 85th fasc. of this book (來 V. 18b) the Sūtra piṭaka is classified (with a certain amount of overlapping) into 24 kinds, the second of which contains the four āgamas. Here the Saṃyukta is divided into the following five Saṃyuktas (相應):

1. Discourses delivered by the Tathāgata and his disciples (如來及諸弟子所說相應).
2. Those on *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* (蘊界處相應).
3. Those on *nidānas*, *āhāras* and *satyas* (緣起食諦相應).
4. Those on *smṛti-prasthānas*, *pradhānas*, *ṛddhis*, *indriyas*, *balas*, *bodhyaṅgas*, *mārgāṅgas*, *ānāpānas*, *śaikṣas*, *prasadas* &c. (念住正斷神足根力覺支道支入出息念學證淨等相應).
5. Discourses given to the eight *pudgalas* (八衆說衆相應).

The existence of a *Sagāthā* part is uncertain; but later on mention is made of *bhikṣus*, *devatas*, *māras* (諸苾芻天魔等), and these may mean the subdivisions of the fifth.

When we come to the two extant versions of the Saṃyukta in Chinese (N. 544 and 546) the classifications are in utter confusion. Fortunately the Chinese editions of the earlier translation (N. 546) have a better and clearer arrangement than the Korean, on which the Japanese edition of 1883-6 has been based. There the Sagātha part and another, probably the Tathāgatasaṃyukta or vārga, come clearly into view.

The texts in the fasciculi, 4, 22, 32-34, 35 (1), 36, 38-40, 41 (2), 42, 44-46, and 48-50 of the new version (N. 544) can be identified with those of the older version (N. 546). The two fasciculi 23 and 25 of the new are evidently the Aśokavadāna, and we can leave them out of account. Fortunately the new version preserves the *Uddanas* in the Khandhavagga. By the help of these we group together the following fasciculi into a Khandha-vagga: 1-3, 5, and 10. Leaving all these aside there remain the following: 6-9, 11-21, 24, 26-31, 35 (2), 37, 41 (1), 43 and 47. Again there are survivals of the titles and divisions at the beginning of several fasciculi as follows:

F. 8. 誦六入處品第二 (II. Ajjhāya, Saḷāyatana-vagga).

F. 16. 雜因誦第三品之四 (The fourth (section) of III. Ajjhāya, Saṃyutta-nidāna-vagga).

F. 17. 雜因誦第三品之五 (The fifth (section) c III. Ajjhāya, Saṃyutta-nidāna-vagga).

F. 18. 弟子所說誦第四品 (IV. Ajjhāya, Sāvaka-vagga).

F. 24. 第五誦道品第一 (The first (section) of V. Ajjhāya, Magga-vagga).

Thus we know of the existence of at least the following divisions:

II. *Saḷāyatana*, beginning with the fasciculum No. 8.

III. *Nidāna*, containing the fasciculi 16 and 17 and with three preceding sections.

IV. *Sāvaka*, beginning with fasc. 18.

V. *Magga*, beginning with fasc. 24.

By means of analogies presented in the Pāli Saṃyutta, I have been able to bring out, in addition to these materials, the divisions and sections as follows:

第一品 五蘊誦 (I. Khandha-vagga)*

1.	五蘊部 (Khandha-saṃyutta)	II. 1—6a	F. 1.
		II. 52b, line 13—59a, l. 4	F. 10.
		II. 17b, l. 8—18b, l. 7	F. 3 (2)
		II. 6b—12b, l. 9.	F. 2.
		II. 12b, l. 10.—17b. l. 7	F. 3 (1)
		II. 24a, l. 17—30a	F. 5.
2.	羅陀部 (Rādha-s.)	II. 30b—33a.	F. 6.
3.	大師部 (Satthā-s)	II. 33b, ll. 1-7.	F. 6.
4.	沙門婆羅門部 (Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-s).	II. 33b, ll. 8-14.	F. 6.
5.	所起部 (Paccāya-s.)	II. 33b, l. 15—34b. l. 7	F. 6.
		II. 34b, l. 8—37b. l. 2.	F. 7.
6.	燃頭部 (Ādittasīsa-s.)	II. 37b, l. 3—39b., l. 3.	F. 7.
7.	無常部 (Anicca-s.)	II. 39b, ll. 4-19.	F. 7.
8.	成就部 (Sampanna-s)	II. 39b, l. 20—40a, l. 11	F. 7.

第二品 六入處誦 (II. Saḷāyatana-vagga).

1.	六入處部 (Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta)	II. 40a, l. 12—46a, l. 4.	F. 8.
		II. 46a, l. 5—52b, l. 12.	F. 9.
		II. 59a, l. 5—64a, l. 14.	F. 11.
		II. 70b—75b.	F. 13.
		IV. 46b—52a, l. 4.	F. 43.

第三品 雜因誦 (III. Nidāna-vagga.)

1.	雜因部 (Nidāna-s.)	II. 64a, l. 15—70 a.	F. 12.
		II. 76a—81b.	F. 14.

* The titles are given in Pali forms. II. III. to the volumes in the case 段, and F. means the division in fasciculi.

2.	四諦部 (Sacca-s.)	II. 82a—84a, l. 11	F. 15.
		II. 84a, l. 12—88a	
		II. 88b—93a.	F. 16.
3.	界 部 (Dhātu-s.)	II. 93b—94b.	
		II. 94b,—96b, l. 15.	F. 17.
4.	受 部 (Vedanā-s.)	II. 96b, l. 16—101b.	

第四品 弟子所說誦 (IV. Sāvaka-vagga).

1.	舍利弗部 (Sāriputta-saṃyutta).	III. 1a—2b, l. 11. (Jambukhādaka-s).	F. 18.
		III. 2b, l. 12—5b, l. 12	
2.	大目犍連部 (Mahāmoggallāna-s.)	III. 5b, l. 13—6b, l. 7.	F. 19.
		III. 6b, l. 8—8a, l. 8.	
		III. 8a, l. 9—11a, l. 1. (Lakkhaṇa-s.)	
3.	阿那律部 (Anuruddha-s.)	III. 11b, ll. 2-20.	F. 20.
		III. 12a—13a, l. 18.	
4.	大迦旃延部 (Mahākaccāna-s.)	III. 13a, l. 19—16b, l. 12.	
5.	阿難部 (Ānanda-s.)	III. 16b, l. 13—17a, l. 16.	F. 21.
		III. 17a, l. 17—19. b. l. 2.	
6.	質多羅部 (Citra-s.)	III. 19b, l. 3—22b.	

第五品 道誦 (V. Magga-vagga.)

1.	念處部 (Satipaṭṭhāna-s.)	III. 39b—44b, l. 14.	F. 24.
2.	根部 (Indriya-s.)	III. 48b—50a, l. 13.	F. 26.
3.	力部 (Bala-s.)	III. 50a, l. 14—54b, l. 8.	
4.	覺支部 (Bojjhaṅga-s.)	III. 54b, l. 9—55b.	
		III. 56a—61b	F. 27.
5.	道部 (Magga-s.)	III. 62a—68a, l. 10	F. 28.
		III. 68a, l. 11—68b, l. 2.	F. 29.
6.	安那般那部 (Ānāpāna-s.)	III. 68b, l. 3—71b, l. 15.	
7.	三學部	III. 71b, l. 16—74a, l. 13.	

	(Sekkha-s.)	III. 74a, l. 14—75a, l. 4.	F. 30.
8.	不壞淨部 (Aveccapasāda-s. or Sotāpatta-s).	III. 75a, l. 5—79a.	F. 30.
		IV. 35b, l. 5—37b, l. 1.....	F. 41.
9.	天部 (Deva-s.)	III. 79b, ll. 1-12.	F. 31.
10.	是形部 (Tadrūpa-s.)	III. 79b, l. 13—81a, l. 4.	F. 31.
11.	正斷部 (Sammāpadhāna-s.)	III. 81a, l. 5—82b, l. 3.	F. 31.
12.	四禪部 (Jhāna-s.)...	III. 82b, l. 4—83a, l. 1.	F. 31.
13.	三明部 (Tevijjā-s.)..	III. 83a, l. 2—83b, l. 16.	F. 31.
14.	無爲部 (Asaṅkata-s.)	III. 83b, l. 17—84a, l. 1.	F. 31.
15.	湖水部 (Samudda-s.)	III. 84a, ll. 2-7.	F. 31.
16.	六入部 (Saḷāyatana-s.)	III. 84a, ll. 8-14.	F. 31.
17.	種子部 (Bija-s).....	III. 84a, ll. 15-19.	F. 31.
18.	世間部 (Loka-s.)...	III. 84a, l. 20—84b, l. 6.	F. 31.
19.	大師部 (Satthā-s.)...	III. 84b, ll. 7-14.	F. 31.
20.	羅喉羅部 (Rāhula-s.)	III. 84b, ll. 15-19.	F. 31.
21.	比丘部 (Bhikkhu-s.)	III. 84b, l. 20—85a.	F. 31.

第六品 八衆誦 (VI. Puggala-vagga).

1.	八衆部 (Puggala-s.)	III. 108b, l. 11—112a.....	F. 35.
		IV. 71b—72b, l. 7.	F. 35.
2.	譬喻部 (Opamma-s.)	IV. 72b, l. 8—76b, l. 1.	F. 47.
3.	病部 (Ābādhika-s.)	IV. 76b, l. 2—78a, l. 5.	F. 47.
		IV. 9a, l. 4—12b, l. 14.	F. 37.
4.	應報部 (Vipāka.)	IV. 12b, l. 15—16b, l. 8.	F. 37.

第七品 頌偈誦 (VII. Sagātha-vagga.)

1.	比丘部 (Bhikkhu-s.)	IV. 16b, l. 9—22b, l. 11....	F. 38.
		IV. 22b, l. 12—23b, l. 15.	F. 39.
2.	魔部 (Māra-s.)...	IV. 23b, l. 16—29a, l. 15.	F. 39.
3.	帝釋部 (Sakka-s.)	IV. 29a, l. 16—35b, l. 3....	F. 40.
		IV. 66a—67a, l. 2.	F. 46.
4.	拘薩羅部	IV. 67a, l. 3—71a.	F. 46.

	(Kosala-s.)	IV. 41a—43a, l. 16.	F. 42.
5.	婆羅門部 (Brāhmaṇa-s.)	IV. 43a, l. 17—46a.	
		II. 18b, l. 9—24a, l. 16....	F. 4.
		IV. 52a, l. 5—55b, l. 15.	F. 44.
6.	梵天部(Brahma-s.)	IV. 55b, l. 16—59a.	
7.	比丘尼部 (Bhikkhunī-s.)	IV. 59b—62b, l. 1.	F. 45.
8.	婆耆娑部 (Vaṅgīsa-s.)	IV. 62b, l. 2—65b.	
		IV. 1a—2a, l. 14.	F. 36.
9.	天部 (Devatā-s.)	IV. 2a, l. 15—9a, l. 2.	
		III. 23a—31a, l. 7.	F. 22.
		IV. 78a, l. 6—86a, l. 12. ...	F. 48.
10.	天子部 (Devaputta-s.)	IV. 86a, l. 13—87b, l. 11.	F. 49.
		IV. 87b, l. 12—91b.	
11.	夜叉部 (Yakkha-s.)	IV. 92a—93b, l. 11.	
		IV. 93b, l. 12—97b, l. 11.	F. 50.
12.	林部 (Vana-s.)	IV. 97b, l. 12—103b.	

第八品 如來誦 (?) (VIII. Tathāgata-vagga.)

1.	大迦葉部 (Mahākassappa-s.)	IV. 37b, l. 2—40b.	F. 41.
		III. 85b—86a, l. 10.	
2.	聚落主部 (Gāmani-s.)	III. 86a, l. 11—90b, l. 9.	F. 32
3.	馬部 (Assa-s.)	III. 90b, l. 10—91a.	
		III. 91b—93b.	
4.	摩訶南部 (Mahānāma-s.)	III. 94a—97a, l. 6.	F. 33.
5.	生死部 (Anamata-s)	III. 97a, l. 7—97b.	
		III. 98a—100a, l. 11.	
6.	婆蹉種部 (Vacchagotta-s)	III. 100a, l. 12—103a, l. 8.	F. 34.
7.	外道部 (Paribbājaka-, or Titthiya-s.)	III. 103a, l. 9—105a, l. 3.	
		III. 105a, l. 4—108b, l. 10..	F. 35.

Here we see results which do not exactly agree with either the Sarvāstivada tradition or that which Asaṅga mentions. Still the similarities show that there were various versions which were derived from one and the same source and which differed one from another in this or that particular.

The first point in which our results differ from both of the old traditions is that the Dhātu (界) section is incorporated in the Nidāna (因) division, instead of the Āyatana (六入). I can not arrange it otherwise, however, because the fragmentary survival of the titles, as given above, shows that the section existed in the Nidāna division of this version.

The second point I would note is that our version has not the Iddhipāda (神足) section, as the two above mentioned and the Pāli version also have it. Has it been lost, or did it not exist originally?

Another point which calls our attention is whether or not the two divisions, the Puggala (八衆) and the Tathāgata (如來), are to be incorporated into some of the other divisions. The first of these two is quite doubtful, both as to its separate existence and also its title. But it seems to me that the sections contained in it do not find suitable places in other divisions, and I have identified the division provisionally with the fifth of Asaṅga's group. The latter division, the title of which is not well suited to it, evidently makes one division, after the fashion of the Sagātha in the old version (N. 546), and I think I have reason to count it as the eighth and identify it with the fifth in the Sarvāstivāda tradition, and with part of the first of Asaṅga's divisions.

Finally as to the old version (N. 546), we cannot know whether it is a fragment of the collection or a species of extracts taken from it. I am inclined to regard it as a fragment, though with perhaps no definite reason for doing so. Most of the parts of this version have the Uddānas, and in the following table the titles of the suttas in the last two divisions are given in *accordance with them.*

All these divisions, and the texts contained in them, more or less from the Pāli, and none of the divisions and can be said to be identical with the Pāli. Nevertheles larity and affinity are undeniable. Although I must p entrance upon details until the whole research is concl can say definitely that the two versions, the Pāli and the C are descended from one and the same source. To illustr conclusion I might point out the Saṃyuttas which exactly the same texts in both versions. They are:

VII.	2.	Māra	——	Pāli 4. (except one sut
VII.	7.	Bhikkhunī	——	„ 7.
VIII.	1.	Kassappa	——	„ 16. (except two sut
IV.	6.	Citra	——	„ 41.

Beside these, most of the divisions existing in both agre one another more than by mere accidence, and the num the texts that are contained in both fluctuate between 50 per cent. There are some saṃyuttas in Pāli that are wanting in Chinese; just as there are some Chinese divisi to be found in Pāli. But I hope to be able to find s the texts contained therein in other sections, as there ready many cases showing clearly the possibility of s discovery being made.

(TABLE IX.) THE CHINESE SAṂYUKTA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

第一蘊品 (I Ajjhāya, Khandha-vagga).

[第一蘊品] (1. Khandha-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga)

1-3.	無常, 苦, 空, 非我	(*A* I. 1-3, 辰 II. 1a).*	S. 22. 12-14. Aniccam &c.
4-6.	正觀察 (Sammapaññā)	(„ 4-6, 辰 II. 1b).	S. 22. 15-17. Yad aniccam &c.
7-10.	無知 (Apaññā?)	(„ 7-10 辰 II. 1b).	?
11.	於色喜樂	(„ 11, 辰 II. 1b).	S. 22. 29. Abhinanda.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

1-4.	過去 (Atīta)	(*A* I. 12-15, 辰 II. 2a).	S. 22. 9-11. Atītānāgata-paccupanna.
5.	厭離 (Nibbinda)	(*A* I. 16, 辰 II. 2a).	S. 22. 15-17. Yad aniccam. (無常)
6.	解脫 (Vimutta)	(„ 17, „ 2a).	
7-8.	因緣	(„ 18-19 „ 2a).	S. 22. 18-19. Hetu.
9-10.	味	(*A* I. 20-21, 辰 II. 2b).	S. 22. 26-28. Assāda.

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

1.	使	(*A* I. 22, 辰 II. 2-3).	S. 22. 64. Maññamāna.
2.	增諸數 (Saṅkha)	(„ 23, „ 3a.)	S. 22. 36. Bhikkhu.

* *A* I. means fasciculus I of the later version (N. 544) and 辰 II. 1a means *a* (i. e. first) side of the first sheet in Vol. II. of the case 辰 &c. *B* I &c mean the fasciculi of the older version (N. 546). In the table, the Chinese titles of respective sūtras are given according to the Uddānas, where they are found; and supplied according to the Pāli uddānas, where they are not found in the Chinese versions. Those titles which agree with the Pāli titles are left without translations; others which do not agree are translated into Pāli in and put in brackets.

3.	非我	(*A* I. 24, 辰 II. 3a).	S. 22. 35. Anattā.
4.	非我	(*A* I. 25, 辰 II. 3b).	S. 22. 68-69. Anattā.
5.	結繫	(„ 26, „ 3b).	? S. 22. 70. Rajanīyasaṇṭhita.
6.	深 (Gambhira ?)	(„ 27, „ 4a).	?
7.	動搖	(„ 28, „ 4a).	S. 22. 63. Upādiyamāna.
8.	刼波所問 (Kappa-pucchā)	(*A* I. 29, 辰 II. 4a).	S. 22. 124-125. Kappa.
9-10.	羅睺羅	(*A* I. 30-31, 辰 II. 4b).	S. 22. 91-92. Rāhula.

[第四部] (4. Catuttha-vagga).

1.	多聞 (Bahussuta)	(*A* I. 32, 辰 II. 4-5).	?
2.	善說法	(„ 33, „ 5a).	S. 22. 115-116. Kathika.
3.	向法	(*A* I. 34, 辰 II. 5a).	S. 22. 40-42. Anudhamma.
4.	涅槃 (Nibbāna)	(*A* I. 35, 辰 II. 5a).	S. 22. 39. Anudhamma.
5.	三密離提問云何說法師*	(*A* I. 36, 辰 II. 5a).	?

[第五部] (5. Pañcama-vagga).

1-2.	輸屢那 (Sroṇa)	(*A* I. 37-38, 辰 II. 5a-b).	S. 22. 49-50. Soṇa.
3.	„	(*A* I. 39, 辰 II. 6a).	?
4-6.	無明 (Avijjā)	(*A* X. 1-3, 辰 II. 52-53).	S. 22. 133-135. Koṭṭhita (拘絺羅).
7.	無間苦 (?)	(*A* X. 4, 辰 II. 53b).	S. 22. 122. Sila.
8.	滅 (Nirodha ?)	*A* X. 5, 辰 II. 53b).	S. 22. 62. Niruppatti (?)

* *çamṛddhi's question* as to who is to be called a teacher in the dhamma.

9. 富留那 (Pūrṇa) (*A* X. 6, 辰 II. 54a).
S. 22. 83. Ānanda (阿難).

10. 闡陀 (Chanda ?) (*A* X. 7, 辰 II. 54).
S. 22. 90. Channa.

[第六部] (6. Chaṭṭha-vagga).

1. 應說 (Bhāsita ?) (*A* X. 8, 辰 II. 55a).
S. 22. 101. Nāva (舶).

2. 小土樗* (*A* X. 9, 辰 II. 55).
S. 22. 96. Gomaya.

3. 泡沫† (*A* X. 10, 辰 II. 56). S. 22. 95. Pheṇa.

4-5. 無知 (Apaññā ?) (*A* X. 11-12, 辰 II. 56b).
S. 22. 99-100. Gaddula (狗).

6. 河流 (*A* X. 13, 辰 II. 57a).
S. 22. 93. Nadī.

7. 祇林 (Jetavana) (*A* X. 14, 辰 II. 57).
S. 22. 33-34. Natuṃhāka (非汝所應).

8. 樹 (Vaṇṭa) (*A* X. 15, 辰 II. 57b).
S. 22. 102 Aniccatā (無常).

9. 低舍 (Tiśya ?) (*A* X. 16, 辰 II. 58a).
S. 22. 84. Tissa.

10. 諸想 (Vitakkā) (*A* X. 17, 辰 II. 58b).
S. 22. 80. Piṇḍolya (乞食).

[第七部] (7. Sattama-vagga).

1. 竹園 (Veḷuvana) (*A* III. 84., 辰 II. 17b). ?

2. 毘舍利 (Vesālī) („ 85., „ 17b). ?

3. 清淨 (?) („ 86., „ 18a).
S. 22. 45. Aniccatā.

4. 正觀察 (Sammappaññā) („ 87., „ 18a).
S. 22. 46. Aniccatā (無常).

5. 無常 (Aniccatā) („ 88., .. 18a). ?

6. 苦 (Dukkha) („ 89., .. 18b). ?

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* *Cf. N. 542. 中阿, No. 61.* † Cf. Table II. Nos. 14. & 92.

7. 非我 (Anattā) (*A* II. 1., 辰 II. 6b). ?
8. 五比丘 („ 2., „ 6b).
S. 22. 59. Pañca.
9. 三正士 (Sappurisā) (*A* II. 3., 辰 II. 6-7). ?
10. 十六 (Soḷasa) („ 4., „ 7a).
S. 22. 43. Attadīpa (自洲).

[第八部] (8. Aṭṭhama-vagga).

1. 我 (Aham) (*A* II. 5, 辰 II. 7a),
S. 22. 94. Vaddha (?).
2. 卑下 (Nīca ?) (*A* II. 6, 辰 II. 7b). ?
3. 種子 („ 7, „ 7b). S. 22. 54. Bīja.
4. 封滯 (Vocchijja-ārammana.) („ 8, „ 7b). S. 22. 53. Upāya.
5. 五轉 (Pañca-parivattaṃ) (*A* II. 9, 辰 II. 8a).
S. 22. 56. Upādānaṃ parivattaṃ.
6. 七處 (*A* II. 10, 辰 II. 8b).
S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.
7. 取着 (*A* II. 11, 辰 II. 9a).
S. 22. 7. Upādāparitassanā.
8. 繫着 (Bandhana ?) (*A* II. 12, 辰 II. 9a).
S. 22. 117. Bandhana.
9. 覺 (Vedanā) (*A* II. 13, 辰 II. 9b). ?
10. 陰世食 („ 14, „ 9b). ?
S. 22. 79. Khajjani (所食).

[第九部] (9. Navama-vagga).

1-2. 信 (Saddhā) (*A* II. 15-16, 辰 II. 10a).
S. 22. 146-147. Kulaputta (善男子).
3-4. 阿難 (*A* II. 17-18, 辰 II. 10a).
S. 22. 37-38. Ānanda.
5. 壞法 (*A* II. 19, 辰 II. 10b).
S. 22. 32. Pabhaṅga.
6. 鬱低迦 (Uttika)* (*A* II. 20, 辰 II. 10b). ?

* The text is not given, on the ground that it is the same as the *Uttika* in the Fourth Nipāta of the Ekottara. It is found in neither Pāli Aṅguttara nor Chinese Ekottara.

7. 婆羅門 (Brāhmaṇa)* (*A* II. 21, 辰 II. 10b). ?
8. 世間 (Loka) † („ 22, „ 11a). ?
9. 陰 (Khandha) („ 23. „ 11a),
S. 22. 48. Khandhā.
9. 漏無漏法 (Āsava-anāsava-dhammā) („ 24, „ 11a). ?

[第十部] (10. Dasama-vagga).

1. 陰根 (Khaṇdhamūla) (*A* II. 25, 辰 II. 11a-b).
S. 22. 81. Pārileyya (?)
2. 陰即受‡ (Khandha-vedanā) (*A* II. 26, 辰 II. 12a).
S. 22. 82. Puṇṇamā (滿月) 1–5.
3. 二陰相關 (Khandha-vemattatā) (*A* II. 27, 辰 II. 12a). „ 6–7.
4. 名字 (Nāma) (*A* II. 28, „ 12a). „ 8.
5. 因 (Hetu) („ 29, „ 12a). „ 9.
6. 味 (Assāda) („ 30, „ 12a). „ 12.
7. 我慢疾 (Sakkāya-diṭṭhi) („ 31, „ 12a). „ 10–11.
8. 漏盡 (Āsavakkhaya) („ 32, „ 12a-b). „ 13–21.

[第十一部] (11. Ekādasama-vagga).

1. 生滅 (Samudaya-atthangama) (*A* III. 1, 辰 II. 12b).
S. 22. 5. Samādhi.
2. 不樂 (Na abhinandati) (*A* III. 2, 辰 II. 12b)
S. 22. 5. Samādhi.
3. 分別 (Viveka?) (*A* III. 3, 辰 II. 13a). ?
4. 貪著 (Lobha?) („ 4, „ 13). ?
5. 等觀察 („ 5, „ 13b).
S. 22. 47. Samanupassanā.
6. 優陀那 (*A* III. 6, 辰 II. 13b).
S. 22. 55. Udāna.

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* Mahāsāla (大姓). Another version of M. 41. Sāleyyaka?

† Discourse to a Brāhmaṇa Vigata-loka (毘迦多魯迦), who is versed in astrology.

‡ Suttas 2-8 make one series of dialogues as in the Pāli version, though titles *are given separately. See above p. 65, M. 109-110.*

[第十二部] (12. Dvādasama-vagga).

1-12. 受 (Vedanā) (*A* III. 7-18, 辰 II. 14a).
S. 22. 5-6. Samādhi, (禪思).
13-24. 生 (Upādā ?), (*A* III. 19-30, 辰 II. 14ab).
25-36. 樂 (Apekhavā ?), (*A* III. 31-42, 辰 II. 14b).
} S. 22. 7. Upādā-parītassanā (?).
37-41. 六入處 (Saḷāyatana)* (*A* III. 43-54, 辰 II 14-15). ?

[第十三部] (13. Terasama-vagga).

1-3. 其道 (*A* III. 55-47, 辰 II. 15a). S. 22. 44. Paṭipadā.
4-6. 實覺 (?) („ 58-60, „ 15a). S. 22. 103. Anta (邊).
7-10. 有身 („ 61-64, „ 15b). S. 22. 105. Sakkāya.
11-16. 羅漢 (Arahanta), (*A* III. 65-70, 辰 II. 15b). ?

[第十四部] (14. Catuddasama-vagga).

1. 知法 (*A* III. 71, 辰 II. 15b), S. 22. 23-24. Pariññā.
2. 重擔 (*A* III. 72, 辰 II. 15b), S. 22. 22. Bhāra.
3. 往詣 (?) („ 73, „ 16a).
S. 22. 65. Abhinandamāna (所樂).
4. 觀 (?) („ 74, 辰 II. 16a).
S. 22. 58. Sambuddha, (正覺).
5. 欲 (Chanda ?) (*A* III. 75, 辰 II. 16a.). ?
6. 貪 („ 76, „ 16b). S. 22. 25. Chandarāga.
7. 生 („ 77, „ 16b). S. 22. 30. Uppāda.
8-11. 畧說 (Saṅkhittena) (*A* III. 78-81, 辰 II. 16b). S. 22. 9-10 (?).
12. 法印 (Dhamma-lakkhaṇa)† („ 82, „ 17a). ?
13. 富闌那 (Purāṇa) („ 83, „ 17).
S. 22. 60. Mahāli (摩訶南?)

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* These four groups of suttas are named *Samādhi* or Paṭisallāṇā (禪定三昧經) altogether and they are all very similar in contents.

† See Table II. No. 52 and Nanjio, No. 932.

[第十五部] (15. Pañcadasama-vagga).

1. 彼(波)多羅十問* (*A* 5. 1, 辰 II 24a). S. 42. 13. Pātali.
2. 差摩 (*A* 5. 2, 辰 II 24). S. 22. 89. Khema.
3. 焰 („ 3, „ 25). S. 22. 85. Yamaka.
4. 仙尼 (Seniya ?) („ 4, „ 26). ?
5. 阿兔羅 („ 5, „ 26b).
S. 22. 86. Anurādha. †
6. 長者 (Gahapati). (*A* 5. 6, 辰 II 27a).
S. 22. 1. Nakulapitā (那拘羅).
7. 西 (Pacchābhūma) (*A* 5. 7, 辰 II 27b).
S. 22. 2. Devadaha (天現).
8. 毛嶋 (Kesagga) ‡ (*A* 5. 8, 辰 II 28).
S. 13. 2. Pokkharaṇī (池水).
9. 薩遮 (*A* 5. 9, 辰 II 29-30). M. 35. Saccaka.

[第二 羅陀品] (2, Rādha-Saṃyutta).
=*A* 6. suttas 1-48.

1. [有流] (辰 II 30b). S. 23. 3. Bhavanetti.
2. [斷知] („ 30b). S. 23. 4. Pariññeyyā.
3-9. [外道] (Paribbājaka) („ 31). ?
10. [魔] („ 32a). S. 23. 1. Māra.
11. [死法] (Maraṇa-dhamma) („ 32a). ?
12. [衆生] („ 32a). S. 23. 2. Satta.
13. [愛喜貪] („ 32b).
S. 23. 9-10. Chandarāga.
14-48. [魔等] („ 32b-33a). S. 23. 11-46. Māra &c.

The rest of the 6th fascic. and the whole of the 7th seem to make a group of several minor saṃyuttas, but the number of texts are indeterminable owing to the repetitions with

* Here given only in the *uddāna*; for the text, see Madhyama No. 20. (p. 42.)
† =S. 44. 2.
‡ *The title reads "the point of hair" i. e. kesagga instead of the word kuaggo in Pāli. With an explanation of the simile by Sāriputta.*

minor differences. They seem to be divided into the following six groups :—

1.	(3) 大師	Satthā-saṃyutta. consisting of about 60 suttas.	the rest of the 6th fasc.	
2.	(4) 沙門婆羅門	Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-s., consisting of about 11 suttas.		
3.	(5) 所起	Paccāya-s., consisting of about 6 suttas.		
		consisting of about 104 suttas.	7th fasc.	
4.	(6) 燃頭	Āditta-sīsa-s., consisting of about 672 suttas.		
5.	(7) 無常	Anicca-s., consisting of about 135 suttas.		
6.	(8) 成就	Sampanna-s., consisting of about 148 suttas.		

This enormous number of the texts is due to the multiplications of the same statements with different vices, points of view &c. For example, in the fourth group we have in three lines the following multiplication :—

無常 anicca { 1. 未來 2. 過去 3. 現在 4. 過去未來 5. 過去現在 6. 未來現在 7. 過去未來現在 8 without time ;

these 8×3 (i.e. 內身觀, 外身觀, 內外身觀);
these 24×4 (i.e. 身會處, 受會處, 心會處, 法會處);
these 96×7 (i.e. 當知, 當吐, 當盡, 當止, 當捨 當滅, 當沒)=672.

第二誦 六入處品 (II. Ajjhāya, Saḷāyatana-vagga).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga)=*A* 8.

1-4. [離喜貪] (辰 II. 40a). S. 35. 155-158. Nandikkhaya.

5.	?	(辰 II. 40b).	?
6.	?	(„ 40b).	?
7-8.	[不離欲] (?)	(„ 40b).	S. 35. 21-22. Uppāda
9.	[生喜]	(辰 II. 40b).	S. 35. 19-20. Abhinandena.
0-12.	[無常, 苦, 無我],	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 1-12. Anicca, Dukkha, Anattā.
13.	[無常]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 43. Anicca.
14-15.	[苦, 空]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 44. Dukkha.
16.	[非我]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 45. Anattā.
17.	[盧業法]	(„ 41a).	„ 39. Khaya.
18.	[破壞法]	(„ 41a).	„ 40. Vaya.
19-24.	[生法, 老法, 病法, 死法, 愁憂法, 煩惱法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 33-38. Jātī, Jarā, Vyādhi, Maraṇa, Soka, Saṃkilesa.
25-26.	[集法, 滅法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 41-42. Samudaya, Nirodha.
27-29.	[知法, 識法, 斷法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 46-48. Abhiññeyaṃ, Pariññeyyaṃ, Pahātabbaṃ.
30.	[覺法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 50. Abhiññā-pariññeyyaṃ.
31.	[作証]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 49. Sacchikātabbaṃ.
32-34.	[魔] (Māra &c.)	(辰 II. 41a).	?
35-37.	[燃, 熾, 燒]	(„ 41a).	?
38.	[燒燃]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 28. Ādittaṃ.
39-42.	[羅睺羅] (Rāhula)	(„ 41a).	?
43.	„	(„ 41b).	S. 35. 121. Rāhula
44.	„	(„ 42a).	?
45-60.	[比丘] (Bhikkhu)	(„ 42a).	?
61.	„	(„ 42a).	?
62.	„	(„ 42b).	?
63.	*[阿難陀] (Ānanda)*	(„ 42b).	?

64.	[耆婆菴羅園]	(辰 II. 42b).	S. 35. 160. Jīvakambavane.
65.	,,	(辰 II. 42b).	S. 35. 159. Jīvakambavane.
66-69.	,,	(,, 43a).	?
80.	[六觸入處]	(,, 43a).	? S. 35. 71-73. Chaphassayātanikā.
81.	?	(辰 II. 43).	?
82.	[世間五欲]	(,, 43b).	S. 35. 117. Lokakāmaguṇa.
83.	(Place, Sāvatthi)	(,, 43b).	S. 35. 134. Devadahakana.
84.	[二法]	(,, 44a).	S. 35. 93. Dvayaṃ.
85.	,,	(,, 44a).	,, 92. ,,
86.	[富留那]*	(,, 44).	S. 35. 88. (2-5). Puṇṇa.
87.	[大海]	(,, 44b).	S. 35. 188. Samudda.
88-92.	,,	(,, 44b).	?
93.	,,	(,, 44b).	S. 35. 187. Samudda.
94.	[道跡](Paṭipadā)	(,, 44b).	?
95-96.	[趣]	(,, 45a).	S. 35. 146-149. Sappāya.
97.	[取] (Upādāna)	(,, 45a).	?
98-99.	[知識]	(,, 45a).	S. 35. 26-27. Parijānāna.
100-101.	[斷]	(,, 45a).	,, 24-25. Pahāna.
102-3.	[計] (Diṭṭhi)	(,, 45b).	?
104-105.	,,	(,, 45b).	?
106.	[增] ?	(,, 45b).	?
107-110.	[起](Upanna &c.	(辰 II. 45b).	?
111.	[有漏]	(,, 45b).	S. 35. 56-57. Āsavā.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga) = *A* 9.

1.	[三彌離提]†	(辰 II. 46a).	S. 35. 68. Samiddhi.
2-3.	,,	(,, 46a).	S. 35. 65-66. Samiddhi.
4-5.	,,	(,, 46a).	?

* The name reads Pūrṇa instead of Puṇṇa.

† The title reads Samṛddhi instead of Samiddhi.

6.	[世間]	(辰 II. 46b).	S. 35. 107 Loka.
7.	[世界邊] *	(„ 46b).	S. 35. 116. Lokassanta.
8.	[近住]	(辰 II. 46b).	S. 35. 150. Antevasi.
9.	[清淨乞食住]	(„ 47a).	M. 151. Piṇḍapātaparisuddhi.
10.	[毘舍離] †	(辰 II. 47a).	S. 35. 124. Vesalī.
11-12.	„ ‡	(„ 47a).	?
13.	[因]	(„ 47a).	S. 35. 141-144. Hetu.
14.	[結法]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 109. Saṃyojana.
15.	[取法]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 110. Upādāna.
16.	[燒然]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 194. Ādittena.
17-40.	[知]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 111-112. Parijānaṃ.
41-54.	[味等]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 15-19. Assāda &c.
55-56.	[魔鉤] (Mārabalisa)	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 114-115. Mārapāsa.
57.	[四品法] §	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 189. Bālisika (鉤) 4-15.
58.	[七年]	(„ 48a-b).	S. 4. 3. 4. Saṭṭavassāni.
59-65.	[魔] (Māra &c.)	(„ 48b).	?
66.	[純陀] ¶	(„ 48b).	S. 35. 193. Udāyī.
67.	[拘絺羅]	(„ 49a).	A. IV. 174 Koṭṭhika.
68.	„	(„ 49a-b).	S. 35. 191. Koṭṭhita.
69.	„ ‖	(„ 49b).	A. IV. 175 (?)
70.	[優波先那]	(„ 50a).	S. 35. 69. Upasena and Vinaya, Cullavgga, V. 6.
71.	[毘紐迦旃延] °	(辰 II. 50b).	S. 35. 133. Verahaccāni.
72.	[耳]	(„ 51).	A. VI. 55. Soṇa.
73.	[魯醯遮]	(„ 52).	S. 35. 132. Lohicca.

* With the verse *Na gamanena* (A. IV. 45.).

† The name of the gahapati is Ugru or Ugro (郁羅婁) instead of Ugga.

‡ The same discourse as above, spoken to Ānanda and to many disciples.

§ I. e. Cattuvaggiyadhammā.

¶ The title means Mahācunda, because the discourse is spoken by Ānand to Mahācunda instead of to Udayi.

‖ Another conversation between Sāriputta and Koṭṭhita almost perfectly agreeing with A. IV. 175, a conversation between Sāriputta and Upavāṇa.

° The transliteration seems to be intended to read *Veṇukaccāyana.*

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga) = *A* 11.

1.	[手聲喻]*	(辰 II. 59a).	?
2.	[棄捨] (Pahātabba)	(„ 59b).	?
3.	[難陀]	(„ 59b).	A. IX. 4. Nandaka.
4.	[難陀說法]	(„ 60b).	M. 146. Nandakovāda.
5.	?	(„ 61b).	? (See Table II. no. 39).
6.	?	(„ 61b).	?
7.	?	(„ 62a).	S. 35. 94. Saṃgayha.
8.	[頻頭城]	(„ 62b).	M. 150. Nagaravindeyya.
9.	[縈髮目揵連]	(辰 II. 62b.)	? (Sikhamoggallāna?)
10.	[諸根修]	(„ 63b).	M. 152, Indriyabhāvanā.

[第四部] (Catuttha-vagga) = *A* 13.

1.	[六六]†	(辰 II. 70b).	M. 148. Chachakka.
2.	[六入處]	(„ 70b).	M. 149. Saḷāyatana.
3-4.	[人] (Puggala?).	(„ 71b).	?
5.	[不染着]	(„ 71b).	S. 35. 136. Agayha.
6-7.	[鹿紐]	(„ 72a).	S. 35. 63-64. Migajāla.
8.	[富樓那] (Pūrṇa).	(„ 72ab.)	S. 35. 88. Puṇṇa (=M. 141).
9.	?	(辰 II. 72b).	S. 35. 95. Saṃgayha.
10.	[經法]	(„ 73a).	S. 35. 154. Kathika.
11-18.	?	(„ 73b).	?
19-21.	[生聞] (Jānussoṇi)	(„ 74a).	?
22-30.	?	(„ 74a).	?
31.	?	(„ 74b).	?
32-41.	?	(„ 74b).	?
42-53.	[過去等]	(„ 75a).	S. 35. 173-186 Atita &c.

* "Hatthasaddūpama"? Sound is caused by conjoint action of two hands by clapping them; similarly sensation is produced by conjunction of objects and sense-organs.

† *Abridged.*

54.	[有縛法]?	(辰 II. 75a).	?
55.	[第一義空]?	(„ 75a).	?
56-62.	?	(„ 75a).	?

[第五部] (Pañcama-vagga) = *A* 43.

1.	[波羅延]	(辰 IV. 46b).	A. VI. 61. Pārāyaṇa.
2.	[賓頭盧]	(„ 46b-47a).	S. 35. 127. Piṇḍola.
3.	[手足喻]	(„ 74ab).	S. 35. 195-6. Hatthapādupama.
4.	[龜]	(辰 IV. 47b).	S. 35. 199. Kumma.
5.	[麩麥]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 207. Yavakalāpi.
6.	[琴]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 205. Viṇā.
7.	[癩瘡] (Arugatta).	(„ 48ab).	S. 35. 206. (3-4).
8.	[六種衆生]	(„ 48b).	S. 35. 206. Chapāṇā (5-8).
9.	[毒蛇]	(辰 IV. 48b).	S. 35. 197. Āsīvisa.
10.	[苦法]	(„ 49a).	S. 35. 203. Dukkhadhammā.
11.	[樹] (枝)	(辰 IV. 49b-50).	S. 35. 200. Dārukkhandha.
12.	[緊獸]	(辰 IV. 50a).	S. 35. 204. Kiṃsukā.
13.	[漏法]?	(„ 506-51).	S. 35. 202. Avassuta.
14.	[灰河南]*	(„ 51b).	?

第三誦 因品 (III. Ajjhāya, Nidāna-vagga).

[第一因品] (1. Nidāna-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga) = *A* 12.

1.	[種樹]	(辰 II. 64a).	S. 12. 57. Taruṇa.

* The contrast between Buddha's teachings and those of the six heretics is compared with the contrast between a damp and hot forest on the southern bank *of the Ash River (灰河) and a cool* and airy hill on the other side of the same river

2.	[大樹]	(辰 II 64b).	S. 12. 55-56. Mahārukkha.
3.	[佛 and 縛]	(辰 II. 64b-65).	S. 12. 10. Gotama and S. 12. 53-54. Saññojana.
4.	[取]	(辰 II. 65ab).	S. 12. 52. Upādāna (3-4).
5.	[城邑]	(辰 II. 65b).	S. 12. 65. Nagara.
6.	[蘆]	(„ 65b-66).	S. 12. 67. Naḷakalāpiya.
7-8.	[無聞]	(辰 II. 66ab).	S. 12. 61-62. Assutavā.
9.	[觸法]	(„ 66b).	S. 12. 66. Saṃmasa.
10.	[思量觀察]	(„ 67).	S. 12. 51. Parivimaṃsana.
11.	[甚深] (Gambhira)	(辰 II. 67b).	?
12.	[愚痴黠慧]	(„ 68a).	S. 12. 19. Bālena paṇḍito.
13.	[非汝所有]	(„ 68).	S. 12. 37. Na tuṃha.
14.	[因緣法]	(„ 68b).	S. 12. 20. Paccaya.
15.	[大空法] (?)	(„ 68b).	?
16.	[說, 義說]	(„ 69a).	S. 12. 1-2. Desanā, Vibhaṅga.
17.	?	(辰 II. 69).	?
18.	[他]	(„ 69b).	S. 12. 4. Aññataraṃ.
19.	[迦旃延]	(„ 69b).	S. 12. 15. Kaccāyanagotta.
20.	[阿支羅]	(„ 69b).	S. 12. 17. Acela.
21.	[珫牟留]	(„ 70a).	S. 12. 18. Timbaruka.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga) = *A* 14.

1.	[浮彌]	(辰 II. 76a).	S. 12. 25. Bhūmija
2.	*	(„ 76b).	?

* A series of conversations between Mahakoṭṭhita and Sāriputta on *saddhamma āhāra, vyādhi, dukkha, saḷāyatana.* Cf M. 53.

3.	[衆生]	(辰 II. 77b).	S. 12. 31-32. Bhūtaṃ.
4.	[三法] *	(„ 77b-78).	?
5.	[須深]	(„ 78-79).	S. 12. 70. Susīma.
6.	[十力]	(„ 79b).	S. 12. 21-22. Dasabala.
7.	?	(„ 79b).	?
8.	[聖弟子]	(„ 79b).	S. 12. 49. Ariyasāvaka.
9.	†	(„ 80a).	S. 12, 68. Kosambi.
10-11.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 80).	S. 12. 13-14, Samaṇa.brāhmaṇā.
12-15.	„	(辰 II. 80b).	S. 12. 71-81. Samaṇa-brhmaṇā.
16.	[老死] (Jarāmaraṇa)	(„ 80b).	?
17.	[種智]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 33. Ñānassa vatthūni.
19-27.	[無明增]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 35-36. Avijjāpaccāya.
28-30.	[思量]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 38. & 40. Cetanā.
31.	[多聞] (Bahussuta)	(„ 81b).	?
32.	[說法]	(„ 81b).	S. 12. 16. Dhammakathika.
33.	[次法] (Anudhamma)	(„ 81b).	?

[第三部] (Tatiyo Vaggo) = *A* 15. (suttas 1-24).

1.	[見法般涅槃] ‡	(辰 II. 82a).	?
2-7.	[毘婆尸等]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 4-9. Vipassī &c.
8.	[修習]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 83. Sikkhā.
9.	[三摩提]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 84. Yoga.
10-16.	¶	(„ 82b).	?
17.	[食]	(„ 82b).	S. 12. 11. Ahārā.

* A discourse on the three dhammas, *jarā*, *vyādhi*, and *maraṇa*. See. p. 107.

† Place: Sāvatthi, instead of Kosambi. ‡ Diṭṭhe dhamme parinibbuto.

¶ These seven suttas describe meditations on causality, as were thought in mind by the seven Buddhas respectively before their attainment of Buddhahood. The content of the meditation is again put in verse, of about seven gāthās. The first gāthā begins thus: *These dhammas* arise as they are; every brahmācari shoud *meditate on them&c.* (如此諸法生 梵志勤思惟 &c.)

18.	[頗求那]	(辰 II. 83a).	S. 12. 12. Phagguna.
19.	[子肉]	(„ 83a).	S. 12. 63. Puttamaṃsa.
20-24.	[有貪]*	(„ 83b).	S. 12. 64. Atthi rāgo.

[第二 四諦品] (2. Sacca-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga) = *A* 15. (suttas 25-66).

1.	[轉法輪]	(辰 II. 84a).	S. 56. 11-12. Dhammacakkappavattana.
2.	?	(辰 II. 84b).	?
3.	?	(„ 84b).	?
4.	[當知]	(„ 84b).	S. 56. 29. Abhiññeya.
5.	?	(„ 84b).	?
6.	[漏盡]	(„ 84b).	S. 56. 25. Āsavakkhaya.
7.	[邊際] (? Anta)	(„ 85a).	?
8-9.	[無有關鍵] (Ukkhita-paligha)	(„ 85a).	?
10.	[五支六分]	(„ 85a).	S. 56. 13. Khandha and 14. Āyatana.
11.	[大醫王] (Vesajja)†	(„ 85b).	?
12-13.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 85b).	S. 56. 5-6. Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa.
14-22.	[如實知]	(辰 II. 86a).	S. 56. 22. Vijjā.
23.	[善男子]	(„ 86a).	S. 56. 34. Kulaputta.
24.	[須陀洹] (Sotāpatta)	(辰 II. 86a).	?
25-29.	[阿那含等] (Anāgāmin &c.)	(辰 II. 86a).	?
30-31.	[日月]	(辰 II. 86b).	S. 56. 37-38. Suriyūpama.
32.	[„]	(辰 II. 86b).	?

* With various similes which are not found in Pāli.

† This text compares Buddha with a great physician who knows well the actual conditions of illness, its causes, its remedies and its cessation. For this parellelism between the Four Truths and the four divisions of medical practice, see Patañjali's commentary on Yoga-sūtra II. 15.

33.	[佉提羅]	(辰 II. 87a).	S. 56. 32. Khadira.
34.	[因陀羅柱]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 39. Indakhīla.
35.	[論處]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 40. Vādino.
36.	[衣]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 34. Cela.
37.	[百槍]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 35. Sattisata.
38.	[平等正覺]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 23-24. Sammā-sambuddha.
39.	[如實知]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 21. Vijjā.
40.	[申恕林]	(„ 88a).	S. 56. 31. Sīṃsapā.
41.	[孔]	(„ 88a).	S. 56. 45. Chiggala.
42.	[龜] (? Kumma) *	(„ 88).	?

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga). † = *A* 16. (suttas 1-67).

1.	[思惟]	(辰 II. 88b).	S. 56. 41. Cintā.
2.	„	(„ 88b).	„ „ 8. „
3-6.	[覺]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 7. Vitakkā.
7.	[論]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 10. Kathā.
8.	[爭]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 9. Viggāhikā.
9.	[大力] (Mahābala)	(„ 89b).	?
10.	[宿命] (Pubbanivesa)	(„ 89b).	?
11.	?	(„ 89b).	?
12.	[受持]	(„ 89b).	S. 56. 15. Dhāraṇa.
13.	[如々]	(„ 90a).	S. 56. 20. Tathā.
14.	[受持]	(„ 90a).	S. 56. 16. Dhāraṇa.
15.	[疑] (Vicikicchā)	(„ 90a).	?
16.	„	(„ 90a).	?
17.	[深險]	(„ 90).	S. 56. 42. Papāta.
18.	[大熱]	(„ 90b).	S. 56. 43. Pariḷāha.
19.	[大闇]	(„ 90b).	S. 56. 46. Andhakāra.
20.	[千明] (Sahassatejo)	(„ 90b).	?

* The difficulty of being born as man and pratising Buddha's laws is compared with the difficulty of a blind tortoise in the sea water trying to put its head into a hole of a wooden peace floating on the water.

† *Here we have a fragmentary line* 雜因誦第三品之四 (4th of the *3rd vagga, the Nidāna-ajjhāya).*

21-22.	[千世界] (Sakassaloka)	(辰 II. 91a).	?
23-25.	?	(„ 91a).	?
26.	[禪思]	(„ 91a).	S. 56. 2 Paṭisallāṇa.
27.	[三摩提]	(„ 91a)	S. 56. 1. Samādhi.
28.	[杖]	(„ 91a).	S. 56. 33. Daṇḍa.
29.	[杖] (Daṇḍa)	(„ 91b).	?
30.	[五節] (?)	(„ 91b).	?
31.	[增上說法] (?)	(„ 91b).	?
32.	[黠慧] (Paṇḍita)	(„ 91b).	?
33.	[須達多] (Sudatta)	(„ 91b).	?
34-35.	[殿堂]	(„ 92a).	S. 56. 44. Kūṭāgara.
36.	[蟲]	(„ 92a).	S. 56. 36. Pāṇā.
37.	[山]	(„ 92).	S. 56. 49-50. Sineru.
38.	[湖池]	(„ 92b).	S. 56. 52. Pokkharaṇī.
39-46.	[薩羅等] (Sāra &c.)	(辰 II. 92b).	S. 56. 53-54. Sambhejja.
47-60.	[土等]	(„ 92b).	S. 56, 55-60. Pathavī &c.
61.	[爪甲]	(„ 92b).	S. 56. 51. Nakhasikha.
62-67.		(„ 93a),	S. 56. 61.-70.

[第三 界品] (3. Dhātu-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga). = *A* 16 (suttas 68-95).

1.	[眼藥丸] (?)	(辰 II. 93a)	?
2.	[鄙心]	(„ 93b).	S. 14. 14. Hīnādhimutti.
3.	[偈]	(辰 II. 93b).	S. 14. 16. (I). Sagātha.
4.	[行]	(辰 II. 93b).	S. 14. 15. Kamma.
5.	[偈]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 16. (II). Sagātha.

6.	?	(辰 II. 94a).	S. 14. 12. Sanidāna.
7-12.	?	(„ 94a).	?
13-23.	[少聞等]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 21-24. Appassuta &c.
24.	[界]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 1. Dhātu.
25-26.	[觸]	(„ 94b).	S. 14. 2-6. Samphassa &c.
27-28.	[想]	(„ 94b).	S. 14. 7-10. Saññā &c.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga) = *A* 17 (suttas 1-10).*

1.	[正]	(辰 II. 94b).	S. 14. 11. Sattimā.
2.	†	(„ 95a).	S. 14. 13. Giñjakāvasatha.
3.	[因]	(„ 95).	A. VI. 39. Nidāna.
4.	[自作]	(„ 95b).	A. VI. 28. Attakārī.
5.	[瞿師羅]	(„ 95b).	S. 35. 129. Ghosita
6.	„	(„ 96a).	?
7.	„	(„ 96a).	?
8.	„	(„ 96a).	?
9.	[上座名者] (Theranāma)	(„ 96).	?
10.	[著使]	(„ 96b).	S. 18. 21. Anusaya.

[第三 三受品] (3. Vedanā-saṃyutta).
= *A* 17. (suttas 11-41).

1.	[因觸]	(辰 II. 96b).	S. 36. 10. Phassamūlaka.
2.	(verses alone).	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 5. Daṭṭhaba.
3.	(„).	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 3. Pahāna.
4.	[深險]	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 4. Pātāla.
5.	[箭]	(„ 97b).	S. 36. 6. Sallata.
6.	[虛空]	(„ 98a).	S. 36. 12-13. Ākāsa.
7.	[客舍]‡	(„ 98a).	S. 36. 14. Āgāra.

* Here again 雜因誦第三品之五. (5th of the 3rd vagga, Nidāna-ajjhāya).

† Place: Migāramātu pasāde, instead of Ginjakāvasatha. Vakkali (婆迦利) instead of Kaccāyana.

‡ *With verses which are not found in Pāli.*

8.	[禪]	(辰 II. 98a).	S. 36. 1. Samādhi.
9.	[止息]	(„ 98b).	S. 36. 15-16. Santaka
10-16.	[先時]	(„ 98-99).	S. 36. 24. Pubbeññāna
17-18.	[禪思]	(„ 99a).	S. 36. 11. Rahogataka.
19.	[比丘]	(„ 99a).	S. 36. 25. Bhikkhu.
20.	(?)	(„ 99).	?
21-22.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 99b).	S. 36. 26-28. Samaṇa-brāhmaṇā.
23.	[壹奢能伽羅] (Icchānaṅgala)	(辰 II. 99b).	?
24.	[喜樂]	(„ 100a).	A. V. 176. Piti.
25.	[無食樂]	(„ 100).	S. 36. 29. Nirāmisa.
26.	[跋陀羅] (Bhadra)	(„ 100b).	A. V. 170. Bhaddaji.
27.	[優陀夷]	(„ 100b).	S. 36. 19 & 23. Udāyi
28-31.	[一法] (Ekadhamma)	(辰 II. 101).	?

第四誦 弟子所說品

(IV. Ajjhāya, Sāvaka-vagga).

[第一舍利弗品] (1. Sāriputta-saṃyutta).

[第一部 閻浮車品] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

=S. 38. Jambukhādaka-saṃyutta.

(*A* 18. 1. 辰 III. 1-2).

1-3.	[難]	S. 38. 16. Dukkara.
4-6.	[說法]	„ 3. Dhammavādi.
7.	[涅槃]	„ 1. Nibbāna.
8.	[何故]	„ 4. Kim atthi.
9.	[漏盡] (Āsavakkhaya).	?
10-11.	[阿羅漢]	S. 38. 2. Arahatta.
12.	[無明]	„ 9. Avijjā.

13.	[有漏]	S. 38. 8.	Āsava.
14.	[有]	„ 13.	Bhava.
15.	[有身]	„ 15.	Sakkāya.
16.	[苦]	„ 14.	Dukkha.
17.	[流]	„ 11.	Ogha.
18.	[扼] (Yuga).		?
19.	[取]	S. 38. 12.	Upādāna.
20.	[縛] (Bandhana)		?
21.	[結] (Saññojana)		?
22.	[使] (Anusaya)		?
23.	[欲] (Rāga)		?
24.	[著] (Yoga)		?
25-26.	[蘇息]	S. 38. 5.	Assāsa.
27-28.	[上蘇息]	„ 6.	Paramassāsa.
29-32.	[清凉] (Sita)		?
33.	[愛]	S. 38. 10.	Taṇhā.
34.	[業跡] (Kammapada)		?
35.	[穢] (Aṅgana)		?
36-40.	[垢等] (Mala &c.)		?

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

=S. 39. Sāmaṇḍaka-vagga.

(*A* 18. 2, 辰 III. 2b line 11).

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

1.	[泥水]*	(*A* 18. 3, 辰 III. 2b).	A. IV. 178. Jambāli.
2.		(„ 4, „ 3a).	?
3.	[枯樹]	(„ 5, „ 3a).	A. VI. 41. Dārukkhandha.
4.	[戒]	(„ 6, „ 3a).	A. V. 168. Sila. †

* *The same discourse as A. IV. 178,* spoken by Sāriputta.

† *Comp. A. XI. 4-5. Upanisā.*

5. [諍] (Vivāda) (*A* 18, 7, 辰 III. 3b). ?
6. [舉罪] („ 8, „ 3-4). A. V. 167 Codanā.
7. [那羅揵陀] („ 9, „ 4b). S. 47. 12. Nāḷanda.
8. [石柱] („ 10, „ 5a). A. IX. 26. Silāyūpa.
9. [淨口] („ 11, „ 5b). S. 28. 10. Sucimukhi.

[第二 目揵連品] (2. Moggallāna-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

1. [默然] (Mona) (*A* 18. 12. 辰 III. 5b). S. 40. 1-6. (?)
2. [無相] („ 12. „ 6a).
S. 40. 7-9. Akiñcañña &c.
3. ? (*A* 18. 14. 辰 III. 6a). S. 21. 3. Ghaṭa
4. ? (*A* 19. 1. „ 6b). ?
5. [愛盡] („ 2. „ 7a). M. 37. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya.
6. [帝釋] („ 3. „ 7). S. 40. 10. Sakka.
7. [天] („ 4. „ 8a). S. 55. 18. Devacārika.

[第二部 勒叉那* 品] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

=S. 19. Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta.

1. [屠牛兒] (*A* 19. 5, 辰 III. 8a). S. 19. 1. Aṭṭhipesi.
2. [屠牛者] („ 6, „ 8b).
S. 19. 2. Gavaghāṭaka.
3. [屠羊者] („ 7, „ 8b).
S. 19. 4. Nicchavorabbhi.
4. [屠羊弟子] („ 8, „ 9a). ?
5. [墮胎] („ 9, „ 9a). ?
6. [調象士] („ 10, „ 9a).
S. 19. 3. Piṇḍasakuṇiya.
17-0. [調馬士, 等] („ 19. 11-14, „ 9a). ?

* *The name reads Lakṣaṇa.*

10.	[好戰]	(*A* 19, 15, 辰 III. 9a).	
		S. 19. 9. Sūcaka.	(?)
12.	[獦師]	(„ 16, „ 9a).	
		S. 19. 6. Sattimāgavi.	
13.	[殺猪]	(„ 17, „ 9a).	
		S. 19. 5. Asisukārika.	
14.	[斷人頭]	(„ 18 „ 9b).	
		S. 19. 16. Coraghāṭaka.	
15.	[捉頭]	(*A* 19. 19, 辰 III 9b).	?
16.	[僞器鍛銅人]	(„ 20, „ 9b).	?
17.	[斗秤欺人]	(„ 21, „ 9b.)	?
18.	[村主市監]	(„ 22, „ 9b).	
		S. 19. 10. Gāmakutaka.	
19.	[捕魚師]	(„ 23, „ 9b).	?
20-21.	[捕鳥，網兎]	(„ 24-25, „ 9b).	?
22.	[卜占女]	(„ 26, „ 9b).	?
		S. 19. 14. Ikkhanikā.	
23.	[卜占師]	(„ 27, „ 10a).	?
24.	[好他淫]	(„ 28, „ 10a).	
		S. 19. 11. Paradārika.	
25.	[賣色]	(„ 29, „ 10a).	
		S. 19. 13. Aticārini.	
26.	[瞋恚燈油灑]	(„ 30, „ 10a).	
		S. 19. 15. Sapattaṅgārakokiri.	
27.	[憎嫉婆羅門]	(„ 31, „ 10).	
		S. 19. 12. Duṭṭha-brāhmaṇa.	
28.	[知事不分油]	(„ 32, „ 10b).	?
29.	[盜取七果]	(„ 33, „ 10b).	?
30.	[盜食石蜜]	(„ 34, „ 10b).	?
31.	[盜取二麩]	(„ 35, „ 10b).	?
32-38.	[比丘等]	(„ 36, „ 11a).	
		S. 19. 17-21. Bhikkhu, &c.	
39.	[駕乘牛車]	(„ 43, „ 11a).	?
40.	[呵責諸比丘]	(„ 44, „ 11a).	?

41. [惡口形名] (*A* 19. 45, 辰 III. 11a). ?
42. [好起諍論] („ 46, „ 11a). ?

[第三 阿那律 or 念處品]

(3. Anuruddha, or Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta.)

1-2. [獨一] (*A* 19. 47, 辰 III. 11b).
S. 52. 1-2. Rahogata.
3-5. [棘林?] (*A* 20. 1-3, 辰 III. 12a). S. 52. 4-6. Kaṇṭaki.
6. [所患] („ 4, „ 12b).
S. 52. 10. Bāḷhagilāya.
7. „ („ 5, „ 12b). ?
8. [手成池?] („ 6, „ 12b). S. 52. 3. Sutanu.
9. [離漏?] („ 7, „ 13a).
S. 52. 7. Taṇhakkhaya.
10. [林棘] („ 8, „ 13a). ?
11. „ („ 9, „ 13a). ?

[第四 大迦旃延品]

(4. Mahākaccāyana-saṃyutta).

1. [澡灌杖] (*A* 20. 10, 辰 III. 13).
A. II. 4. 6. Ārāmadaṇḍa.
2. [執杖] („ 11, „ 13b).
A. II. 4. 7. Kaṇḍarāyana.
3. [摩偷羅] („ 12, „ 13-14). M. 84. Madhura.
4. [迦梨] („ 13, „ 14b). A. X. 26. Kāli.
5. [離] („ 14, „ 15a). A. V. 26. Vimutti.
6-7. [訶梨] („ 15-16 „ 15b-16a).
S. 22. 3-4. Hāliddikāni.
8. „ („ 17, „ 16a).
S. 35. 130. Hāliddikāni.
9. „ („ 18, „ 16). ?
10. „ („ 19, „ 16b). ?

[第五 阿難陀品] (5. Ānanda-saṃyutta).

? (*A* 20. 20, 長 III. 16b). ?
2. [闍知羅] (Jaṭilā) („ 21, „ 17a). A. IX. 37 (7f).
3. ? („ 22, „ 17a). ?
4. ? („ 23, „ 17a). ?
5. [迦摩] (*A* 21. 1, „ 17).
S. 35. 192. Kāmabhū.
6. [度量] („ 2, „ 17b).
A. IV. 170 Yuganandha.
7. [婆羅門]. („ 3, „ 17b).
S. 51. 15. B. Brāhmaṇa.
8. [瞿師多] („ 4, „ 18a). ?
S. 35. 129. Ghosita.
9. [尼揵] („ 5, „ 18).
A. III. 74. Nigaṇṭha.
10. [比丘尼] („ 6, „ 18b). ?
A. IV. 159. Bhikkhunī.
11. [婆頭] (娑補?) („ 7, „ 19a).
A. IV. 194. Sāpugī.

[第六 質多羅品] (6. Citra-saṃyutta).

1. [那伽達多] (*A* 21. 8, 長 III. 19b).
(Nāgadatta) S. 41. 5. Kāmabhū.
2. „ („ 9, „ 19b). S. 41. 7. Godatta.
3. [迦摩] („ 10, „ 20a).
S. 41. 6. Kāmabhū.
4-5. [黎犀達多] („ 11-12, „ 20b-21a).
(Ṛṣidatta) S. 41. 2-3. Isidatta.
6. [摩訶迦] („ 13, „ 21). S. 41. 4. Mahaka.
7. [鞞] („ 14, „ 21b). S. 41. 1. Saññojana.

[阿耆毘迦]* (*A* 21 15, 辰 III. 21-22). S. 41. 9. Acela.
[尼犍] („ 16, „ 22a). S. 41. 8. Nigaṇṭha.
[病相] („ 17, „ 22).
S. 41. 10. Gilānadassana.

第五誦 道品 (V Ajjhāya, Magga-vagga).

[第一 念處品] (1. Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta) = *A* 24.

[念處] (Satipaṭṭhāna). (辰 III. 39b). ?
[淨]. („ „).
S. 47. 24. Suddhaka.
[甘露]. („ 39b). S. 47. 41. Amata.
[集]. („ 39b).
S. 47. 42. Samudaya.
[正念] („ 39b). S. 47. 2. Sato.
[善聚]. („ 40a). S. 47. 5. Kusalarāsi.
[弓]. (Dhanuggaha). („ 40a). ?
[不善聚] (Akusalarāsi). („ „). ?
[惡行等]. („ „).
S. 47. 47-50. Duccarita &c.
[大丈夫]. („ 40a).
S. 47. 11. Mahāpurisa.
[比丘尼]. („ 40b). S. 47. 10. Bhikkhunī.
[廚士]. („ 40b). S. 47. 8. Sūda.
[鳥]. („ 41a).
S. 47. 6. Sakuṇagghī.†
[四果] (Phala). (辰 III. 41b). ?
[私陀伽]. („ „). S. 47. 19. Sedaka.

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giveka? Or 耆毘 for 支羅, then Acelaka.
Jātaka No. 168.

21.	[猨猴].	(辰 III. 41b).	S. 47. 7. Makkaṭa.
22.	[年少比丘]. (Acirapabbajita)	(„ 41b).	S. 47. 4. Sāla.
23.	[菴羅女].*	(„ 42a).	S. 47. 1. Ambāpali.
24.	[世間]†	(„ 42a).	S. 47. 20. Janapada.
25.	[鬱低迦].	(„ 42b).	S. 47. 16. Uttiya.
26.	[異比丘]. (Bhikkhu.)	(„ 42b).	?
27.	[婆醯迦].	(„ 42b).	S. 47. 15. Bāhiya.
28.	[比丘]‡ (Bhikkhu.)	(„ 43a).	?
29.	[阿那律]. (Anuruddha.)	(„ „).	?
30.	[優陀夷]. (Udāyi).	(„ „).	?
31-34.	[行]?	(„ „).	S. 47. 21. Sīla.
35.	[一切法]. (Sabbadhamma).	(„ 43b).	?
36.	[聖賢].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 17. Ariya.
37-42.	[盡苦等].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 32. Virāga.
43-47.	[光澤]. (Vaṇṇa).	(„ 43b).	?
48.	[比丘].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 3. Bhikkhu.
49.	[波羅提木叉]. (Prātimokṣa)	(„ 44a).	S. 47. 46. Pātimokkha.
50.	[純陀].	(辰 III. 44a).	S. 47. 13. Cunda.
51.	?	(„ 44b).	S. 47. 14. Cela.

[第二 根品] (2. Indriya-saṃyutta) = *A* 26, suttas 1-27.

1.	[學]	(辰 III. 48b).	A. III. 84. Sekha.
2.	[淨].	(„ „).	S. 48. 1. Suddhika.

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* Combined with the story of Ambāpali's visit to Buddha and the verse in praise of her liberality.

† With verses similar to those of A. IV. 27, 29 and 30.

‡ *The same text as the preceeding one*, only difference in putting a "certain *bhikkhu*" *instead of Uttiya or Bāhiya.*

3.	[須陀洹]	(辰 III. 48b).	S. 48. 2-3. Sotāpatta.
4.	[阿羅漢]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 4-5 Arahā.
5.	[當知]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 8. Daṭṭhabba.
6.	[廣說]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 9. Vibhaṅga.
7.	[略說]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 12. Saṅkhitta.
8.	[漏盡]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 20. Āsavānaṃ khaya.
9-10.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 6. Samaṇabrāhmṇa.
11-12.	[成?]	(„ 49b).	S. 48. 13-18. Paṭipanna &c.
13-17.	[堂閣] (Kūṭāgara)	(„ 49b).	S. 48. 52. (?).
18.	[信]	(„ 50a).	S. 48. 50. Saddha (?).
19-27.	[苦斷等] (Dukkhanirodha).	(„ 50a).	?

[第三 力品] (3. Bala-saṃyutta).

1.	[二力]	(*A* 26. 28, 辰 III. 50a).	A. II. 2. 1. Bala.
2-12.	„	(„ 29-39. „ „).	?
13-18.	[三力]*	(„ 40-45. „ 50b).	?
19-20.	[四力]†	(„ 46-47, „ 50b).	?
21.	[攝]	(„ 48, „ 51a).	A. IV. 32. Saṅgaha.
22-24.	[四力]‡	(„ 49-51, „ „).	?
25.	[五力]	(„ 52, „ „).	S. 50. 1. Bala.
26.	„	(„ 53, „ 51b).	?
27.	[當知]	(„ 54, „ „).	S. 48. 7. Daṭṭhabba.
28.	[五力]	(„ 55, „ „).	?
29-30.		(„ 56-57, „ „).	A. V. 1. Saṅkhitta.
31-32.	[學力] (Sekhabala).	(„ 58-59, „ „).	?

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* The three balas, *saddhā*, *viriya*, and *paññā*.

† The four balas, *saddhā*, *viriya*, *sati*, and *paññā*. Cf. A. IV. 152.

‡ The four balas, *paññā*, *viriya*, *anavajja*, and *saṅgaha*. Cf. A. IV. 153-155.

33-34.	[白法] (Sukkadhamma).	(*A* 26. 60-61, 辰 III. 52a).	?
35.	[不善法] (Akusaladhamma).	(„ 62, „ 52a).	?
36.	[十力] (Dasa-bala)	(„ 63, „ 52a).	Cf. M. 12. Mahā-sīhanāda.
37.	[乳母] (Dhāti)	(„ 64, „ 52b).	?
38-39.	[師子吼]	(„ 65-66, „ 53a).	A. VI. 64. Sīhanāda.
40-41.	[七力]	(„ 67-68, „ 53a).	A. VII. 3. Bala.
42-43.	„	(„ 69-70, „ 53b).	A. VII. 4-5. „
44-45.	[八力]	(„ 71-72, „ 53b).	A. VIII. 27. „
46-48.	„	(„ 73-75, „ 53b).	A. VIII. 28. „
49-50.	[九力]*	(„ 76-77, „ 54a).	?
51-52.	[王力] (Rāja-bala).	(„ 78-79, „ 54a).	?
53-55.	[如來力] (Tathāgata-bala).	(„ 80-82, „ 54a).	?

[第四 覺分品] (4. Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta).

1.	[不正]	(*A* 26. 83, 辰 III. 54b).	S. 46. 24. Ayonisa.
2.	[不退]	(„ 84, „ 54b).	S. 46. 34. Kilesa and S. 46. 37. Aparihāni.
3.	[蓋]	(„ 85, „ 54b).	S. 46. 40. Nīvaraṇa.
4.	[障蓋]	(„ 86, „ 55a).	S. 46. 38. Āvaraṇa-nīvaraṇa.
5.	[樹]	(„ 87, „ 55a).	S. 46. 39. Rukkha.
6.	?	(„ 88, „ „).	S. 46. 23. Ṭhāna (?).
7.	[聽法] (Dhammasota).	(„ 89, „ 55).	?
8-9.	[無畏]	(„ 90, „ 55b; *A* 27. 1, „ 56a).	S. 46. 56. Abhaya.
10.	[轉趣]	(„ 2, „ 56a).	S. 46. 52. Pariyāya.

* *The nine balas, saddhā, viriya, hiri, ottappa, sati, samādhi, paññā, saṅkha, and bhāvana.*

11.	[火]	(*A* 27. 3, 辰 III. 56b).	S. 46. 53. Aggi.
12.	[食]	(„ 4, „ 57a).	S. 46. 51. Āhāra.
13-14.	[一法]	(„ 5-6, „ 57b).	S. 46. 29. Ekadhamma.
15.	[比丘]	(„ 7, „ 57b).	S. 46. 4. Bhikkhu.
16.	[優波摩]	(„ 8, „ 58a).	S. 46. 8. Upavāna.
17.	[阿那律] (Anuruddha).	(„ 9, „ 58a).	?
18.	[轉輪王]	(„ 10, „ 58a).	S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti.
19.	„	(„ 11, „ 58b).	?
20.	[年少]	(„ 12, „ 59a).	?
21.	[果報]	(„ 13, „ 59a).	?
22.	[不善聚]	(„ 14, „ 59a).	?
23.	[善知識]*	(„ 15, „ 59b).	Cf. S. 45. 2.
24.	? †	(„ 16, „ 59b).	?
25.	[說]	(„ 17, „ 60a).	S. 46. 22. Desanā.
26.	[滅]	(„ 18, „ 60a).	S. 46. 27. Nirodha.
27.	[分]	(„ 19, „ 60a).	S. 46. 41. Vidhā.
28.	[支節]	(„ 20, „ 60a).	S. 46. 49. Aṅga.
29.	[起]	(„ 21, „ 60a).	S. 46. 10. Uppanna.
30.	[七道品]	(„ 22, „ 60a).	?
31-33.	[果報]‡	(„ 23-25, „ 60b).	?
34.	[七道品]	(„ 26, „ 60b).	?
35-37.	[果報]‡	(„ 27-29, „ 60b).	?
38.	[不淨觀]	(„ 30, „ 61a).	S. 46. 67. Asubha.
39.	[死念]	(„ 31, „ 61a).	S. 46. 68. Maraṇa.
40.	[慈]	(„ 32, „ 61a).	S. 46. 54. Mettā.
41.	[慈]	(„ 33, „ 61b).	S. 46. 62. Mettā.
42-45.	[滅]	(„ 34-37, „ 61b).	S. 46. 76. Nirodha.

* A discourse on the *kalyāṇamitta*, nearly the same as No. 23. in the next division, except the mention of the bojjhaṅga at the close.

† A discourse on the bojjhaṅga, following the descriptions of Buddha's lying in bed, as stated in the Mahāparinibbāna, V. 2-3.

‡ Descriptions of the fruits (*phala*) of practising the *bojjhaṅga* as in S. 46. 3.

46-66. [無常] (*A* 27. 38-58, 辰 III. 61b).
S. 46. 71-75. Anicca &c.

[第五 道品] (5. Magga-saṃyutta).

A 28. and part of *A* 29.

1.	[日出]	(辰 III. 62a).	S. 45. 55. [Suriya].
2.	[無明]	(„ 62a).	S. 45. 1. Avijjā.
3.	„	(„ 62a).	?
4.	[起]?	(„ 62a).	S. 45. 24. Paṭipadā.
5.	[迦摩] (Kāmabhū)	(„ 62b).	?
6.	[阿黎吒] (Ariṭṭha)	(„ 62b).	?
7.	[舍利弗] (Sāriputta)	(„ 62b).	?
8-10.	[比丘] (Bhikkhu)	(„ 62b).	?
11.	[畏]	(„ 62b).	A. III. 62. Bhaya.
12.	[受]	(„ 63a).	S. 45. 29. Vedanā.
13.	[三法]*	(„ 63a).	?
14.	[學]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 13. Sekha.
15-16.	[正士] (Sappurisa)	(„ 63b).	?
17.	[漏盡] (Āsavakkhaya)	(„ 63b).	?
18-20.	[修]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 14-15. Uppāda.
21-22.	[清淨]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 16-17. Parisuddha.
23.	[聚]	(„ 64a).	A. V. 52. Rāsi.
24.	[半]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 2. Upaḍḍha.
25.	[婆羅門]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 4. Brāhmaṇa.
26.	[邪]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 21. Micchatta.
27-30.	[彼岸]	(„ 64b).	S. 45. 34. Pāraṃgamā.
31-52.	[一法]	(„ 64b).	S. 45. 77-90. Ekadhamma.

* Equal to the beginning part of III. 1. 2. 4, i. e. the three *dhammā aniṭṭhā akantā amanāpā* (See p. 91). The Tathāgata appears in the world because there are the three dhammas, *jarā*, *vyādhi* and *maraṇa*. This remark is found in *A. X. 76. 1-2.*

53-63. [非法是法等] (辰 III. 65b).
64-74. [斷貪等] („ 65b).
75-76. [邪正]* („ 66a).
77-81. [向邪] („ 67a).
82-89. [生聞] (Jāṇussoni) („ 67b).
90-91. [邪正]* („ 67b).
92-94. [順流逆流]† („ 67b).
95-97. [沙門] („ 68a). S. 45. 35-36. Sām
98-99. [沙門法] (*A* 29. 1-2, 辰 III. 68a).
100. [沙門果] („ 3, „ 68a).
101-104. [婆羅門] („ 4-7, „ 68a).
S. 45. 37-40. Brāhm

[第六 安那般那品] (6. Ānāpāna-saṃyutta).

1. [饒益] (*A* 29. 8, 辰 III. 68b).
2-3. [一明] („ 9-10, „ 68b).
S. 54. 1. Ekadha
4. [斷覺想] („ 11, „ 69a).
5-7. [福利等] („ 12-14, „ 69a). S. 54. 3-5. Phal
8. [阿黎瑟吒] (Ariṣṭha) („ 15, „ 69a). S. 54. 6. Ar
9. [罽賓那] („ 16, „ 69a). S. 54. 7. Kap
10. [一奢能伽羅] („ 17, „ 69a).
S. 54. 11. Icchānan
11. [迦摩] (Kāmabhū) („ 18, „ 69b).
S. 54. 12. Kaṅkh
12. [金剛?]‡ („ 19, „ 69b). S. 54. 9. Vesāl
13. [阿難] („ 20, „ 70a).
S. 54. 13-14. Ān

* *Micchā* and *sammā*.

† *Paṭisota* and *anusota*.

‡ A discourse on the *asubha-va ā*, as in S. 54. 9. and with the stor bikkhu Migavan (鹿林) killing many a bhikkhu, who wished to consequence of having heard Buddha's sermon.

14-15.	[比丘]	(辰 29. 21-22, 辰 III. 70b).	S. 54. 15-16. Bhikkhu.
16.	[金毘羅]	(„ 23, „ „).	S. 54. 10. Kimbila.
17.	[不疲]	(„ 24, „ 71a).	?
18.	[布薩] (Uposatha)	(„ 25, „ „).	?

[第七 學品] (7. Sekha-saṃyutta).

1.	[學]	(*A* 29, 26, 辰 III. 71b).	A. III. 89. Sikkha.
2-3.	„	(„ 27-28, „ 72a).	
4.	„	(„ 29, „ „).	A. III. 87. Sādhika (1).
5-6.	„	(„ 30-31, „ „).	A. III. 85-86. Sekha.
7.	[涅槃] (Nibbāna)	(„ 32, „ „).	?
8.	„	(„ 33, „ „).	?
9.	[學]*	(„ 34, „ 73a).	A. III. 84. Sekha.
10.	„	(„ 35, „ „).	Itiv. 46. Sikkhā.
11.	„ †	(„ 36, „ „).	?
12-15.	„	(„ 37-40, „ 73b).	?
16.	[耕磨]	(„ 41, „ „).	A. III. 82. Sukhetta.
17.	?	(„ 42, „ „).	A. III. 81. Samaṇa.
18.	[跋耆子]	(„ 43, „ 74a).	A. III. 83. Vajjiputta.
19.	[崩伽開]	(*A* 30. 1, „ „).	A. III. 90. Paṅkadhāya.
20.	[戒] (Sila)	(„ 2, „ 74b).	?
21.	[三學]	(„ 3, „ 75b).	A III. 88. Sikkha.
22.	[聖諦等] (Sacca &c)	(„ 4, „ „).	?

[第八 不壞淨品]

(8. Aveccapasāda, or Sotāpatta-saṃyutta).

1.	[離車]	(*A* 30. 5, 辰 III. 75a).	S. 55. 30. Licchavi.
2.	[不貧] (Adalidda)	(„ 6, „ „).	?

* With the verses as in Itiv. 62.

† An expansion of the above discourse.

3.	[王]	(*A* 30. 7, 辰 III. 75a).	S. 55. 1. Rājā.
4.	?	(„ 8, „ „).	S. 55. 17. Mittenāmaccā.
5.	[過患] (Ādīnava)	(„ 9, „ 75b).	?
6.	[食] (Āhāra)	(„ 10, „ „).	?
7-8.	[戒] (Sīla)	(„ 11-12, „ „).	?
9.	[潤澤]	(„ 13, „ 76a).	S. 55. 41-42. Abhisandha.
10.	[婆羅門]	(„ 14, „ 76a).	S. 55. 12. Brāhmaṇa.
11.	[舍利弗]	(„ 15, „ „).	S. 55. 5. Sāriputta.
12.	„	(„ 16, „ 76b).	S. 55. 4. „
13.	[恐怖]	(„ 17, „ „).	S. 55. 29. Verabhaya.
14.	„	(„ 18, „ „).	S. 55. 28. Verabhaya.
15-18.*	[天道]	(„ 19-20, „ 77a).	S. 55. 34-35. Devapada.
19-24.	[法鏡]† (Dhamma-ādāsa).	(„ 23-28, „ 77b).	S. 55. 8-9. Ginjakāvasatha.
25.	[繁耆迦]	(*A* 30, 29, 辰 III. 78a).	S. 55. 10. Giñjakāvasatha.
26.	[難提]	(„ 30, „ 78a).	S. 55. 40. Nandiya
27.	„	(„ 31, „ 78b).	S. 55. 47. „
28.	„	(„ 32, „ „).	?
29.	„	(„ 33, „ „).	A. XI. 14. Nandiya.
30.	[黎師達多]‡	(„ 34, „ 79a).	?
31.	[田業]	(„ 35, „ „).	S. 55. 6. Thapati.
32.	[釋氏]	(*A* 41. 1, 辰 IV. 35b).	A. X. 46. Sakka.
33.	[疾病]§	(„ 2, „ 36a).	S. 55. 54. Giliyana.
34.	[菩提]	(„ 3, „ „).	S. 55. 48. Bhaddiya.
35.	[往生]	(„ 4, „ 36b).	S. 55. 36. Sabhāgata
36-37.	[須陀洹]	(„ 5-6, „ „).	S. 55. 46. Sotāpatta.

* No. 16. is much expanded.

† Place and persons different.

‡ Ṛṣidatta and Purāṇa. The same discourse as above.

§ Nandiya, instead of Mahānāma.

38-45. [四法] (*A* 41. 7-14, 辰 IV. 36b). ?
46-47. [四果] („ 15-16, „ „).
S. 55. 55-58 Caturo Phalā.
48-79. [行住坐臥等] („ 17-48, „ 36b). ?
(Caranta, ṭhitā, nisinnā, sayānā).
80-83. [潤澤] („ 49-52, „ „).
S. 55. 31-33. Abhisandha.
84. [四十天子] („ 53, „ 36b).
S. 55. 20. Devacārika.

(The following minor saṃyutta's which make up the whole of *A* 31, are extremely difficult to be divided into suttas and the enumeration of the suttas cannot be given exactly).

〔第九 天品〕 (9. Deva-saṃyutta) (辰 III. 79b).
〔第十 是形品〕 (10. Tad-rūpa-s.) (辰 III. 79b-81a).
a (辰 III. 80b) = A. IV. 8.
b (辰 III. 80b) = Itivuttaka 74.
〔第十一 正斷品〕 (11. Sammāppadhāna-s.)
(辰 III. 81a-82b).
a (辰 III. 81a, l. 14) = A. IV. 69.
b („ 81b, l. 1) = A. IV. 14.
c („ „ l. 16) = A. VI. 53. and A. X. 15.
〔第十二 四禪品〕 (12. Jhāna-s.) (辰 III. 82b-83a).
= S. 53. Jhāna-saṃyutta.
〔第十三 三明品〕 (13. Tevijjā-s.) (辰 III. 83a-b).
a (辰 III. 83a, l. 2) = A. III. 58-59.
〔第十四 無爲品〕 (14. Asaṅkata-s.)* (辰 III. 83b)
= S. 43. Asaṅkata.

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* In the whole saṃyutta we have 21 different epithets of the way (against 32 of the Pāli tradition). They are as follows:

無爲 (asaṅkata), 難見 (sududdasa, anidassana), 不動 (dhuva), 不風 (ajajjara), 不死 (amata), 無漏 (anāsava), 覆蔭 (leṇa ?), 洲渚 (dīpa), 濟渡 (tāṇa), 依止 (saraṇa), 擁護 (?), 不流轉 (anītika ?), 離熾燃 (?), 離燃燒 (?), 流通 (paṇīta ?), 清涼 (santa ?), 微妙 (nipuṇa), 安隱 (khema), 無病 (avyāpajja), 無所有 (anālaya ?) and 涅槃 (nibbāna).

〔第十五 湖水品〕 (15. Samudda-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
=S. 13. Abhisamaya.
〔第十六 六入品〕 (16. Saḷāyatana-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
〔第十七 種子品〕 (17. Bija-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
〔第十八 世間品〕 (18. Loka-s.) (辰 III. 84a-b).
〔第十九 大師品〕 (19. Satthā-s.) (辰 III. 84b)
〔第二十 羅喉羅品〕 (20. Rāhula-s.) (辰 III. 84b)
=S. 18. Rāhula.
〔第二十一 比丘品〕 (21. Bhikkhu-s.) (辰 III. 85a

[第六誦 八衆品]

(VI. Ajjhāya, Puggala-vagga).

[第一 八衆品] [1. Puggala-saṃyutta).

1. [毗舍離賈客] (A 35. 11, 辰 III. 108b). ?
(Vesaliyā vanijja).
2. [幢] („ 12, „ 109a).
S. 11. 1-3 Dhajagga (except verse).
3-4. [阿難舍利弗] (A 35. 13-14, 辰 III. 109a).
A. III. 32. Ānanda-Sāriputta.
5. [愛] („ 15, 辰 III. 109b). A. IV. 199. Taṇhā.
6. „ („ 16, „ 110a). A. IV. 200. Pemā.
7. [二事斷] („ 17, „ 110b). ?
8. [二法] („ 18, „ 110b). ?
9-10. [帝釋] („ 19-20, „ 110b). S. 40. 10. Sakka.
11. [鹿住] („ 21, „ 111a).
A. X. 75. Migasālā.
12. „ („ 22, 辰 III. 111b).
A. VI. 44. Migasālā.
13. [延請] („ 23, 辰 III. 112a).
A. II. 4. 4. Dakkhiṇeyya.

14.	[給孤獨]* (Anāthapiṇḍika).	(*A* 47. 1, 辰 IV. 71b).	?
15.	[給孤獨]	(*A* 47. 2, „ 71b).	?
16.	[淨法]	(„ 3, „ 72a).	Itiv. 42. Dhamma.
17.	[燃燒法]†	(„ 4, „ „).	?
18.	[惡行]	(„ 5, „ 72b).	A. III. 17. Pāpaṇika.

[第二 譬喻品] (2. Opamma-Saṃyutta).

1.	[鑄金者]	(*A* 47. 6, 辰 IV. 72b).	A. III. 100 Suvaṇṇakāra (13-14).
2.	„	(„ 7, 辰 IV. 73a).	A. III. 100 „ (1-5).
3.	[牧牛者]	(„ 8, 辰 IV. 73a).	M. 34. Gopālaka.
4.	„	(„ 9, „ 73b).	M. 33. „
5.	[那提迦]‡	(„ 10, „ 74a).	A. V. 30, A. VI. 42. A. VIII. 86. Nāgita.
6.	„	(„ 11, „ 74b).	
7.	[枕木]	(„ 12, „ 74b).	S. 20. 8. Kaliṅgara.
8.	[釜]	(„ 13, „ 75a).	S. 20. 4. Ukkā.
9.	[人家]	(„ 14, „ „).	S. 20. 3. Kula.
10.	[匕手劒]	(„ 15, „ „).	S. 20. 5. Satti.
11.	[爪上]	(„ 16, „ „).	S. 20. 2. Nakhasikha.
12.	[弓手]	(„ 17, „ „).	S. 20. 6. Dhanuggaha.
13.	[皷]	(„ 18, „ 75b).	S. 20. 7. Āṇi.
14.	[鐵丸]§	(„ 19, „ „).	?
15.	[猫]	(„ 20, „ „).	S. 20. 10. Bilāra.
16.	[木杵]/	(„ 21, „ 76a).	?

* A very interesting confession of the gahapati Anāthapiṇḍika that he dedicates all the merits of his faith and works for the sake of his relatives, friends, kings and all other beings.

† A discourse on the *dahadhamma*, and *adahadhamma*, with descriptions of the hells and the verse "*Catukanno*" (A. III. 35).

‡ The name reads Nādika. The three Pāli suttas are combined.

§ *Ayogula.* *The simile of an iron ball heated in fire to red-heat.*

/ *Musala?* *The simile of a wooden pastle spoiled by use.*

17.	[野狐]	(*A* 47. 22, 辰 IV. 76a).	S. 20. 11. Singāla
18.	[糞尿]	(„ 23, „ „).	S. 17. 5. Piḷhi
19.	[野狐]	(„ 24, „ „).	S. 17. 8. Sing

[第三 病品] (3. Ābādhika-saṃyutta).

1.	[跋迦梨]	(*A* 47. 25, 辰 IV. 76b).	S. 22. 87. Vakkal
2.	[闡陀]	(„ 26, „ 77a).	S. 35. 87. Channa
3.	[巨求那]	(*A* 37. 1, 辰 IV. 9a).	A. VI. 56. Phagguna
4.	[阿濕波誓]	(„ 2, „ 9b).	S. 22. 88. Assaji.
5-6.	[疾病]	(„ 3-4, „ 9b).	S. 35. 74-75. Gilāna.
7.	[病比丘]	(„ 5, „ 10a).	?
8.	[疾病]*	(„ 6, „ 10b).	S. 36. 7. Gelañña.
9.	„ †	(„ 7, „ 11a).	S. 36. 8. „
10.	[給孤獨]‡	(„ 8, „ „).	?
11.	„	(„ 9, „ „).	S. 55. 27. Anāthapiṇḍika.
12.	„ §	(„ 10, „ 11b).	S. 55. 26. „
13.	[達磨提離]¶	(„ 11, „ 11b).	? S. 55. 53, Dhammadinna.
14.	[長壽]	(„ 12, „ „).	S. 55. 3. Dīghāvu.
15.	[婆藪]/ (Vāsu ?)	(*A* 37. 13, „ 12a).	?
16.	[沙羅]‖ (Sāḷha.)	(„ 14, „ „).	?

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* With the verse of S. 36. 3. † With the verse of S. 36. 6. See p. 65.

‡ Buddha visits Anāthapiṇḍika at his sick bed and instructs him in the truth of the five *khandhas*, as in S. 22. 89. Khema, and exhorts him to the practice of the *avecca-pasāda*. § Without verse.

¶ The name does not read exactly Dhammadinna, unless we substitute 那 instead of 離.

/ This sutta and No. 17 (next page) are abridged, being nearly the same texts as 18. Mānadinna, which again is very similar to. S. 47. 29. Sirivaddha. Yaso may possibly be another name for Sirivaddha.

‖ This is nearly the same text as 13-16, except as to persons and places. In all of them the first part is abridged and rendered "as in the Khema-sutta" (差摩修多羅), i.e., S. 22. 89. (see p. 83). The place of no. 15 is Isipatana and that of no. 17. is Giñjakavāsa of Natika district (那提聚落曲谷精舍).

17. [耶輸]* (Yaso) (*A* 37. 15, 辰 IV. 12a). ?
18. [摩那提那] („ 16, „ „). S. 47. 30. Mānadinna.

[第四 應報品] (4. Vipāka-saṃyutta).

1. [淳陀] (*A* 37. 17, 辰 IV. 12b). A. X. 176. Cunda.
2. [捨行] („ 18, „ 13a). A. X. 167. Paccorohaṇi.
3. [生聞] („ 19, „ 13b). A. X. 177. Jāṇussoṇi.
4-5. [鞞羅摩]† („ 20-21, „ 14a). ?
6. [鞞紐多羅] („ 22, „ 14b). S. 55. 7. Veludvāra.
7. [隨類] („ 23, „ „). A. X. 199. (?).
8. [蚘行] („ 24, „ „). A. X. 205. Saṃsappaniya.
9-10. [圓珠] („ 25-26, „ 14b). A. X. 206. Maṇi.
11. [從生] („ 27, „ „). A. X. 174. Hetu.
12. [出不出] („ 28, „ 15b). A. X. 175. Parikamma.
13. [岸] („ 29, „ „). A. X. 170. Tīra.
14. [眞實法] („ 30, „ „). A. X. 191. Saddhamma.
15. [惡法] („ 31, „ „). A. IV. 207-210. Pāpadh.
16. [善男子] („ 32, „ „). A. X. 192. Sappurisadh.
17. ? („ 33, „ „). A. IV. 201. Sikhāpada.
18. [十法] („ 34, „ 16a). A. X. 210. Dasa-dh.
19. [二十法] („ 35, „ „). A. X. 211. Vīsati dh.
20. [三十法] („ 36, „ „). A. X. 212. Tiṃsā-dh.
21. [四十法] („ 37, „ „). A. X. 213. Cattārisā-dh.
22-32. [法非法等]‡ („ 38, „ 16a). A. X. 198. Saddhamma &c.

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* See p. 114, note 1. † Velāma.

‡ In Chinese we have the following eleven antitheses: 非法正法 (adhamma-saddhamma), 非律正律 (?), 非聖法聖法 (ariyadh.-anariyadh.), 不善善 (kusala-akusala), 非親近親近 (na-āsevitabba-āsevitabba), 非善說善說 (asādhu-sādhu), 黑白 (kaṇha-sukka), 非義正義 (anattha-attha), 卑法勝法 (?), 有罪無罪 (pāpa-apāpa), and 棄法不棄法 (sāvajja-anavajja ?).

[第七篇 頌偈品]

(VII. Sagātha-vagga).

[第一 比丘品] (1. Bhikkhu-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV, 16b-18; *B* 辰 V. 1-4a).

1. 善生 (*A* 38. 1; *B* 1. 1). S. 21. 5. Sujāta.
2. 惡色 (Dubbaṇṇa) („ 2; „ 2). S. 21. 6. Bhaddhi.
3. 提婆 (Devadatta) („ 3; „ 3).
   S. 17. 35-36. Rathapakkanta (燈車).
4. 象首 (Hatthaka)* (*A* 38. 4; *B* 1. 4). ?
5. 難陀 („ 5; „ 5). S. 21. 8. Nanda.
6. „ † (*A* 11. 3; „ 6). ?
7. 窒師 (*A* 38. 7; „ 7). S. 21. 9. Tissa.
8. 般闍羅 (Pañcāla) („ 8; „ 8).
   S. 21. 7. Visākha (毘舍佉).‡
9. 年少 (*A* 38. 9; *B* 1. 9). S. 21. 4. Nava.
10. 長老 (Thera) („ 10; „ 10).
    S. 21. 10. Theranāma.
11. 僧鉗 (Saṅgam) („ 11; *B* 1. 11).
    Udāna I. 8. Saṅgāmaji.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 19-23 b; *B* 辰 V. 4-8a).

12. 阿難 (Ānanda) (*A* 38. 12; *B* 1. 12).
    A. III. 79. Gandha (香).
13. 結髮 (Jaṭila) („ 13; „ 13). Vinaya, M. I. 22.

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* Buddha tells the fate of Hatthaka, the Sakka, who has performed many vicious acts. The sutta concludes with the verses, *Lobho doso ca moho ca* (S. 3. 1. 2.) and *Tasinā lobham ca dosañ ca* (A. III. 33).

† Nanda (or Nandaka) is praised as a man of great power in cencentrating his mind and guarding himself against the agitations of the senses. ‡ A. IV. 48.

14.	陀驃 (Dabba)	(*A* 38. 14; *B* 1. 14).	Vinaya, C. IV. 4. 4.
15.	„	(„ 15; „ 15).	Udāna VIII. 10.
16.	賊 (Cora)	(„ 16; „ 16).	M. 86. Aṅgulimāla (鴦掘魔羅).
17.	散闍吒*	(„ 17; *B* 1. 17).	S. 1. 2. 10. Samiddhi.
18.	秡殄†	(„ 18; „ 18).	?
19.	慙愧根‡	(„ 19; „ 19).	?
20.	苦子	(*A* 39. 1; „ 20).	A. III. 126. Kaṭuviya.
21.	覆瘡§	(„ 2; „ 21).	?
22.	食藕根 (Bhisamulāla)‖	(„ 3; „ 22).	S. 20. 9. Nāga (象).

第二 [魔品] (2. Māra-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 23b-26b; *B* 辰 V. 8-11a).

1.	長壽	(*A* 39. 4; *B* 2. 1).	S. 4. 1. 9. Āyu.
2.	河帝 (Nadī)	(„ 5; „ 2).	S. 4. 1. 10. „
3.	羂機 (Pāsa)	(„ 6; „ 3).	S. 4. 2. 5. Mānasa (心).
4.	睡眠	(„ 7; „ [illegible]).	S. 4. 1. 7. Suppati.
5.	經行 (Caraka)	(„ 8; „ 5).	S. 4. 2. 1. Pāsāna (大石).
6.	大毒蛇	(„ 9; „ 6).	S. 4. 1. 6. Sappa.
7.	無所爲 (Matta)	(„ 10; „ 7).	S. 4. 2. 3. Sakalika (刺).
8.	求德	(„ 11; *B* 2. 8).	S. 4. 3. 3. Godhika.
9.	魔女	(„ 12; „ 9).	S. 4. 3. 4-5. Dhītaro.
10.	好惡 (Subhāsubha)	(„ 13; „ 10).	S. 4. 1. 3. Subha.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 27-29a; missing in *B*).

11.	[苦行]	(*A* 39. 14; 辰 IV. 27a).	S. 4. 1. 1. Tapo.
12.	[乞食]	(„ 15; „ „).	S. 4. 2. 8. Piṇḍa.

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* Sandiṭṭhika? The name Samiddhi is not given.

† The title means "digging out;" a curious story of digging out of the earth tortoises serpents &c.

‡ *"Ashamed of immodesty."* § "Ulceration."

‖ *With verses which are not found in Pāli.*

13. [繩索] (*A* 39. 16; 辰 IV. 27a). S. 4. 1. 4-5. Pāsa.
14. [自應] („ 17; „ 27b). S. 4. 2. 4. Patirūpa.
15. [作王] („ 18; „ „). S. 4. 2. 10. Rajja.
16. [衆多] („ 19; „ 28a). S. 4. 3. 1. Sambahulā.
17. [善覺] („ 20; „ 28a). S. 4. 3. 2. Samiddhi.
18. [師子] („ 21; „ 28b). S. 4. 2. 2. Sīha.
19. [鉢] („ 22; „ „). S. 4. 2. 6. Patta.
20. [入處] („ 23; „ 29a). S. 4. 2. 7. Āyatana.

第三 [帝釋品] (3. Sakka-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 29a-32b; *B* 辰 V. 11-14).

1. 帝釋 (Sakka) (*A* 40. 1; *B* 2. 11). S. 11. 2. 1. Devā (天).
2. 摩訶離 (Mahāli) („ 2; „ 12). S. 11. 2. 3. „
3. 以何因 (Kaṃhā) („ 3; „ 13). S. 11. 2. 2. „
4. 夜叉 (Yakkha) („ 4; „ 14).
   S. 11. 3. 2. Dubbaṇṇiya (惡色).
5. 得眼 (?) („ 5; *B* 2. 15).
   S. 11. 3. 4-5. Akodhana (不怒).
6. 得善勝 („ 6; *B* 2. 16).
   S. 11. 1. 5. Subhāsita-jaya.
7. 縛繫 (Bandhana) („ 7; *B* 2. 17).
   S. 11. 1. 4. Vepacitti (毘摩質多羅).
8. 敬佛 (*A* 40. 8; *B* 2. 18).
   (Buddha-namassana) S. 11. 2. 9. Sakka-namassana.
9. 敬法 (Dhamma-n.) (*A* 40. 9; *B* 2. 19). S. 11. 2. 8. Sakka-n.
10. 禮僧 (Saṅgha-n.) (*A* 40. 10 *B* 2. 20). S. 11. 2. 10. Sakka-n.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 32b-35b, 66a; *B* 辰 V. 14b-18a).

11. 須毘羅 (*A* 40. 11; *B* 3. 1). S. 11. 1. 1. Suvira.
12. 仙人 („ 12; „ 2). S. 11. 1. 10 9. Isayo.

13. 滅瞋 (Kodham chetvā) (*A* 40. 13; *B* 3. 3). S. 11. 3. 1. Chetvā.
14. 月八日 (Atthamī) („ 14; „ 4). A. III. 37. Devadūta (天使).
15. 病 (Abādhika) (*A* 40 15; „ 5). S. 11. 3. 3. Māyā.
16. 持一戒 (Sila) („ 17; „ 6). S. 11. 1. 7. Na dubbhiyam.
17. 婆黎 („ 16; *B* 3. 8). S. 11. 1. 8. Verocana.
18. 鳥巢 (*A* 46. 1; „ 7). ?
19. 貧人 („ 2; „ 9). S. 11. 2. 4. Dalidda.
20. 大祠 („ 3; „ 10). S. 11. 2. 6. Yajamāna.

第四 [拘薩羅品] (4. Kosala-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 67a-70a; *B* 辰 V 18a-21a).

1. 三菩提 (Sambodhi) (*A* 46. 4; *B* 3. 11). S. 3. 1. 1. Dahara (幼小).
2. 母 (*A* 46. 5; *B* 3. 12). S. 3. 3. 2. Ayyakā.
3. 愛己 („ 6; „ 13). S. 3. 1. 4. Piya.
4. 護己 („ 7; „ 14). S. 3. 1. 5. Attānarakkhita.
5. 鹿窣 (Migakūta) (*A*. 46. 8; „ 16). S. 3. 1. 6. Appakā (少有).
6. 捕魚 (Maccha) (*A* 46. 9; *B* 3. 15). S. 3. 1. 7. Atthakaraṇa (思惟).
7. 慳 (Macchera) (*A* 46. 10; *B* 3. 17). S. 3. 2. 9. Aputtaka (無子).
8. 命終 (Kālakata) („ 11; *B* 3. 18). S. 3. 2. 10. „
9. 祠祀 („ 12; „ 19). S. 3. 1. 9. Yaññа.
19. 繫縛 („ 13; „ 20). S. 3. 1. 10. Bandhana.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 長 IV. 70a-71a, 41-43a; *B* 長 V 21b-25a).

11. 得勝 (Jaya) (*A* 46. 14; *B* 4. 1).
S. 3. 2. 4. Sangāma (交陣).
12. 毀壞 (Vilutta) („ 15; *B* 4. 2). S. 3. 2. 5. Sangāma.
13. 從佛教 („ 16; *B* 4. 3).
(Upanissāya) S. 3. 2. 8. Appamāda (不放逸)
14. 一法 („ 17; „ 4). S. 3. 2. 7. Appamāda.
(Ekadhamma)
15. 福田 („ 18; „ 5). S. 3. 1. 3. Rājā (王).
(Puññakkhetta)
16. 可厭患 (?) (*A* 42. 1; „ 6). S. 3. 3. 4. Issatta (?).
17. 明闇 (Joti-tamo) („ 2; „ 7).
S. 3. 3. 1. Puggala (人).
18. 石山 („ 3; „ 8).
S. 3. 3. 5. Pabbatūpama.
19. 著一衣 („ 4; „ 9).
(Ekasātaka) S. 3. 2. 1. Jaṭila (長髮).
20. 諸王 (*A* 42. 5; *B* 4. 10). S. 3. 2. 2. Panca-rājāno.
21. 喘息 („ 6; „ 11). S. 3. 2. 3. Doṇapāka.

第五 [婆羅門品] (5. Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 長 IV. 43a-45b; *B* 長 V. 25-27b).

1. 阿修羅盧 (*A* 42. 7; *B* 4. 12). S. 7. 1. 3. Asurinda.
2. 卑嶷 (Piṅgi)* („ 8; „ 13).
S. 7. 1. 2. Akkosa (瞋罵).
3. 嗔罵 („ 9; „ 14). S. 7. 1. 2. Akkosa.

* Piṅgi stands for Akkosaka in Pāli; in *A* his name is Piṅgika (賓耆迦).

4. 瞋鳳 (*A* 42. 10; *B* 4. 15). S. 7. 1. 4. Bilaṅgika.
5. 返戾 („ 11; „ 16). S. 7. 2. 6. Paccanīka.
6. 無害 („ 12; „ 17). S. 7. 1. 5. Ahiṃsaka.
7. 羅開 (Bhāradvāja) (*A* 42. 13; „ 18).
S. 7. 2. 2. Udaya (與?).
8. 婆私吒 (Vāsettha) (*A* 42. 14; *B* 4. 19).
S. 7. 1. 1. Dhanañjanī.
9. 摩佉 (*A* 42. 15; *B* 4. 20). S. Nip. 31. Māgha.
10. 刹利 (Khattiya) („ 16; *B* 4. 21).
S. 7. 1. 7. Suddhika (清淨).

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 45b-46a, 辰 II. 18b-19b; *B* 辰 V. 27b-29b).

11. [火] (*A* 42. 17; *B* 5. 1). S. 7. 1. 8. Aggika.
12. * („ 18; „ 2). ?
13. [人生] („ 19; „ 3). A. III. 51. Janā.
14. „ (wanting; „ 4). A. III. 52. „
15. [?]† (*A* 4. 1; „ 5).
S. 7. 2. 9. Mātuposaka (敬母).
16. [優波迦] (Upaka). (*A* 4. 2; *B* 5. 6). A. IV. 39. Ujjaya (?).
17. [„] („ 3; „ 7). „ 40. Udāyi (?).
18. [鬱開迦] („ 4; „ 8). A. VIII. 55. Ujjaya.

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 II 19b-24a; *B* 辰 V. 83-87a).

19. [憍慢] (*A* 4. 5; *B* 5. 18).
S. 7. 2. 5. Mānatthadda.
20. [火] („ 6; „ 19). A. VII. 44. Aggi.

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* A discourse to Ānanda on an old couple who have no consolation in old age, having done nothing good before. Buddha utters the verse of Dhap. 155.

† *Udu or Ujja (烏答) in A and Uttara (鬱多羅) in B.*

21. [僧迦羅]* (*A* 4. 7; *B* 5. 20). ?
22. [生聞]† („ 8; „ 21). A. III. 57. Vacchagotta.
23. [婆羅門] („ 9; „ 22). S. 7. 2. 4. Mahāsāla.
24. [乞食] („ 10; „ 23). S. 7. 2. 10. Bhikkhaka.
25. [耕田] („ 11; „ 24). S. 7. 2. 1. Kasi.
26. [梵天] („ 12; „ 25). S. 6. 1. 3. Brahmadeva.
27. [佛陀] (Buddha)‡ („ 13; „ 26). ?
28. [人間] („ 14; „ 27). A. IV. 36. Loke.
29. [旃陀羅] (Caṇḍāla) („ 15; „ 28). S. Nip. 7. Vasala.

[第四部] (Catuṭṭha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 52a-55b; *B* 辰 V. 29b-33b).

30. 婆私吒 (*A* 44. 1; *B* 5. 9).
Theragāthā, 133 f. Vāseṭṭha.
31. 失牛 („ 2; „ 10).
(Balivaddā naṭṭhā) S. 7. 1. 10. Bahudhīti (?).
32. 搆巢處§ („ 3; „ 11). ?
33. 天敬 („ 4; „ 12). S. 7. 2. 3. Devahita.
34. 娑羅林 („ 5; „ 13).
(Sālavane) S. 7. 2. 7. Navakammika (?)
35. 聚薪 („ 6; „ 14). S. 7. 2. 8. Kaṭṭhahāra.
36. 孫陀利 („ 7; „ 16). S. 7. 1. 9. Sundarika.

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* Saṅgāra? A Māṇava Saṅgāra asks Buddha to explain good and bad kinds of men. These are compared with the moon and the description is put again into verse, as in A. V. 31. (See p. 53, No. 148).

† Jāṇussoṇi, instead of Vacchagotta. The text agrees well with Pāli.

‡ A Brāhmaṇa asks Buddha whether the title Buddha was given to him by his parents. Buddha answers, in verse, that he knows everything, has gone through all stages of enlightenment and wisdom, and, therefore, is called the *sammāsambuddha*.

§ The title means *santhāgāra*. Buddha once entered into the meeting hall of the village of Sālā. The Brāhmanas assembled there express their contempt for Buddha, as being a mere *muṇḍaka*. He explains the true meaning of a *paṇḍita*, with the verse *nābhāsamānam* etc. (A. IV. 48).

37.	孫陀利 (Sundarika)	(*A* 44. 8; *B* 5. 15).	M. 7. Vatthūpama.
38-39.	髻髮	(„ 9-10; „ 17).	S. 7. 1. 6. Jaṭā.

[第六 梵天品] (6. Brahma-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 55b-59a; *B* 辰 V. 34-37b).

1.	[尊重]	(*A* 44. 11; *B* 6. 1).	S. 6. 1. 2. Gārava.
2.	[梵天]	(„ 12; „ 2).	S. 47. 18. Brahmā.
3.	[梵主]	(„ 13; „ 3).	S. 6. 2. 1. Sanaṅkumāra.
4.	[空閑處]	(„ 14; „ 4).	S. 6. 2. 3. Andhakavinde.
5.	[集會]	(„ 15; „ 5).	S. 1. 4. 7. Samaya.
6.	[瞿迦黎]	(„ 16; „ 6).	S. 6. 1. 7-9. Kokalika.
7.	[?]	(„ 17; „ 7).	S. 6. 1. 6. Pamāda.
8.	[婆迦梵]	(„ 18; „ 8).	S. 6. 1. 4. Bako Brahmā.
9.	[邪見]	(„ 19; „ 9).	S. 6. 1. 5. Aparā diṭṭhi.
10.	[入滅]	(„ 20; „ 10).	S. 6. 2. 5. Parinibbāna.

[第七 比丘尼品] (7. Bhikkhuṇī-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 59b-62b; *B* 辰 V. 73-75b).

1.	曠野	(*A* 45. 1; *B* 6. 11).	S. 5. 1. Ālavikā.
2.	素彌 (Somi)	(„ 2; „ 12).	S. 5. 2. Somā.
3.	瞿曇彌	(„ 3; „ 13).	S. 5. 3. Gotamī.
4.	蓮華	(„ 4; „ 14).	S. 5. 5. Uppalavaṇṇā.
5.	石室	(„ 5; „ 15).	S. 5. 10. Vajirā.
6.	鼻黎 (Vīri)*	(„ 6; „ 16).	S. 5. 9. Selā.
7.	毘閑	(„ 7; „ 17).	S. 5. 4. Vijayā.
8.	折羅	(„ 8; „ 18).	S. 5. 6. Cālā.
9.	優波折羅	(„ 9; „ 19).	S. 5. 7. Upacālā.
10.	動頭	(„ 10; „ 20).	S. 5. 8. Sīsupacālā.

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* 毘羅 (Virā) in *A* and in the uddāna of *B*.

[第八 婆耆娑品] (8. Vaṅgīsa-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 62b-64b; *B* 辰 V. 75b-77a, 81b).

1.	[揭伽池]	(*A* 45. 11; *B* 7. 1).	S. 8. 11. Gaggarā.
2.	憍陳如	(„ 12; „ 2).	S. 8. 9. Koṇḍañña.
3.	舍利佛	(„ 13; „ 3).	S. 8. 6. Sāriputta.
4.	龍脅 (Nāga-passe)	(„ 14; „ 4).	S. 8. 10. Moggallāna (目揵連)
5.	自恣	(„ 15; „ 5).	S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
6.	不樂	(„ 16; „ 6).	S. 8. 2. Arati.
7.	欲結 (Kāmarāga)	(„ 17; „ 7).	S. 8. 4. Ānanda (阿難陀)
8.	出離	(„ 18; „ 8).	S. 8. 1. Nikkhanta.
9.	憍慢 (Māna)	(„ 19; „ 9).	S. 8. 3. Pesalātimaññanā (謙順柔輭)

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 62b-65, 1-2a; *B* 辰 V. 81b-83a).

10.	本如醉酒 (Pubbe kāveyyamatto)	(*A* 45. 20; *B* 7. 10).	S. 8. 12. Vaṅgīsa (婆耆娑)
11.	四句讚	(„ 21; „ 11).	S. 8. 5. Subhāsitā.
12.	龍脅 (Nāgapasse)	(„ 22; wanting).	S. 8. 8. Parosahassa (千眷屬)
13.	秋毒箭*	(„ 23; *B* 7. 12).	?
14.	尼瞿陀刼賓 (Nigrodhakappina)	(„ 24; „ 13).	S. Nip. 24. Vaṅgīsa.
15.	讚大聲聞†	(*A* 36. 1; „ 14).	?

* "One who takes out the poisonous arrow." Comparison of Buddha to a great physician who knows thoroughly the conditions of illness and how to take out the poisonous arrow or to cure any wound.

† "The praise of the great Sāvakas," sung by Vaṅgīsa.

16. 婆耆婆滅盡* (*A* 36. 2; *B* 7. 15). ?

[第九 天女品] (9. Devatā-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 2-4b; *B*. 辰 V. 47b-50a).

1. 阿練 (*A* 36. 3; *B*. 8. 1). S. 1. 1. 10. Araññe.
2. 憍慢 („ 4; „ 2). S. 1. 1. 9. Mānakāma.
3. 修福增 („ 5; „ 3). S. 1. 5. 7. Vanaropa (園林).
   (Puññam pavaḍḍhati)
4. 云何大得 („ 6; „ 4). S. 1. 5. 2. Kiṃdada.
5. 生歡喜 („ 7; „ 5). S. 2. 3. 3. Serī.†
   (Abhinandati)
6. 遠去 („ 8; „ 6).
   (Pathavata) S. 1. 6. 3. Mitta. (可親者).
7. 强親迫 („ 9; „ 7). S. 1. 1. 3. Upaneyya.
8. 日夜有損減 (wanting; „ 8).
   (?) S. 1. 1. 4. Accenti (不暫停).
9. 思惟 (*A* 36. 10; „ 9).
   (Cinta ?) S. 1. 1. 5. Kati chinde (捨何法).
10. 睡寤 („ 11; „ 10). S. 1. 1. 6. Jāgara. (寤).
    (Sutta-jāgara).

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 4b-6b; 辰 V. 50a, 77-79a).

11. [生歡喜] (*A* 36. 12; *B* 8. 11). S. 1. 2. 2. Nandati.
12. [義利] („ 13; „ 12). S. 1. 6. 4. Vatthu.
13. [所愛無過子] („ 14; „ 13).
    S. 1. 2. 3. Natthi puttasamam.

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* "Parinibbāna of Vangīsa." Buddha visits Vangīsa at his bed-side. Vangīsa, who is on the point of dying, utters his confession and his gratitude towards the *Master in a long series of verses.* Comp. Mahāvastu, Vol. I. p. 165.

† *A gives the name Sveri* (悉利離); *B* 遲緩, *i.e.* the Slow.

14.	[剎利]	(*A* 36. 15; *B* 8. 14).	S. 1. 2. 4. Khattiya.
15.	[種子]	(„ 16; „ 15).	S. 1. 8. 4. Vuṭṭhi.
16.	[世間]	(„ 16; „ 16).	S. 1. 7. 10. Loka.
17.	[意]	(„ 17; „ 17).	S. 1. 7. 2. Citta.
18.	[繒]	(„ 18; „ 18).	S. 1. 7. 4. Saṃyojana.
19.	[覆]	(„ 19; „ 19).	S. 1. 7. 8. Pihita.
20.	[無明]*	(„ 20; „ 20).	?

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 6b-8; *B* 辰 V. 7 9a-81).

21.	信 (Saddhā)	(*A* 36. 21; *B* 8. 21).	S. 1. 8. 3. Vitta (財).
22.	第二	(„ 22; „ 22).	S. 1. 6. 9. Dutiya.
23.	持戒至老 (Sīlam yāva jarā)	(„ 23; „ 23).	S. 1. 6. 1. Jarā (老).
24.	生世間	(„ 24; „ 24).	S. 1. 6. 6. Janaṃ.
25.	„	(„ 25; „ 25).	S. 1. 6. 5. „
26.	„	(„ 26; „ 26).	S. 1. 6. 7. „
27.	非道	(„ 27; „ 27).	S. 1. 6. 8. Uppatho.
28.	最上勝 (Addhabhavi).	(„ 28; „ 28).	S. 1. 7. 1. Nāma (名).
29.	偈者何者初 (Nidānam gāthānaṃ)	(„ 29; „ 29).	S. 1. 6. 10. Kavi (文章).
30.	別車 (Rathassa paññānaṃ)	(„ 30; „ 30).	S. 1. 8. 2. Ratha (車).

[第四部] (Catuttha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 23-25b; *B* 辰 V. 55b-58a).

31.	[歡喜園]	(*A* 22. 1; *B* 9. 1).	S. 1. 2. 1. Nandana.
32.	[?]	(„ 2; „ 2).	S. 10. 2. Sakka.
33.	[慚愧]	(„ 3; „ 3).	S. 1. 2. 8. Hirī.

* On *avijjā* and *vijjā*, something like S. 1.7.6.

34.	[不善知]	(*A* 22. 4; *B* 9. 4).	S. 1. 1. 7. Appatividità.
35.	[善調]	(„ 5; „ 5).	S. 1. 1. 8. Susammuṭṭhā.
36.	[羅漢]	(„ 6-7; „ 6).	S. 1. 3. 5. Araham.*
37.	[月天子]	(„ 8; „ 7).	S. 2. 1. 9. Candimā.
38.	[手杻]	(„ 9; „ 8).	S. 1. 3. 9. Kuṭikā.
39.	[?]	(„ 10; „ 9).	S. 2. 2. 8. Kakudha.

[第五部] (Pañcama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 25b-26a, 29b-30, 辰 IV. 78; *B* 辰 V. 58-60).

40.	牟鋏†	(*A* „ 11; *B* 9. 10).	S. 1. 3. 1. Sattiyā.
41.	天女	(„ 12; „ 11).	S. 1. 5. 6. Accharā.
42.	四轉輪‡	(„ 13; „ 12).	S. 1. 3. 9. Catucakka.
43.	髻髮	(„ 24; „ 13).	S. 1. 3. 3. Jaṭā.
44.	極難盡	(„ 25; „ 14).	S. 1. 2. 7. Dukkharam.
45.	睡眠	(„ 23; „ 15).	S. 1. 2. 6. Niddā tandi.
46.	[池水]	(„ 26; „ 16).	S. 1. 3. 7. Sarā.
47.	伊尼延	(„ 27; „ 17).	S. 1. 3. 10. Enijaṅgha.
48a.	[流] (Ogha)	(„ 28; wanting).	S. 10. 12. (11-12)
48b.	[流] (Ogha)	(*A* 48. 3; *B* 9. 18).	S. 2. 2. 5.
49.	解脫	(„ 2; „ 19).	S. 1. 1. 2. Nimokkha.
50.	濟度 (Atari)	(„ 1; „ 20).	S. 1. 1. 1. Ogha (駛流).

(第六部) (Chaṭṭha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 29, 26-29; *B* 辰 V. 60b-61a).

51.	常驚 (Niccam utrastam)	(*A* 22. 21; *B* 9. 21).	S. 2. 2. 7. Subrahmā (?).

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* *A* 22. 7 and *B* 9. 6 correspond to the part of S. 1. 3. 5, which Léon Feer considers to be an interpolation in his SS. MS.

† These two signs correspond to the word *sattiyā*, but I cannot make out what it means. *A* renders the word by "sharp sword" (利劍).

‡ *B* has 鍋 (*lohena*) instead of 貪欲 (*lobhena*) of *A*.

52. 顏色 (*A* 22. 22; *B* 9. 22). ?
53. 羅吒國 (*A* 22. 14; „ 23).
(Raṭṭhavanta) S. 1. 3. 8. Mahaddhana. (財富).
54. 佑客 („ 15; „ 24). ?
55. 輸波羅 („ 16; „ 25). ?
56. 須達 („ 17; „ 26). S. 10. 8. Sudatta.
57. 須達生天 („ 18; „ 27).
(Sudatto saggajāto)* S. 2. 2. 10. Anāthapiṇḍika.
58. 首長者生天† („ 19; „ 28).
A. III. 125. Hatthaka.
59. 無煩天 (Aviha) („ 20; „ 29).
S. 2. 3. 4. Ghaṭikara (?)

[第七部] (Sattama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 78b-82a; *B* 辰 V. 87-89b).

60.‡ (*A* 48. 4; *B* 10. 1). ?
61. („ 5; „ 2). ?
62. („ 6; wantnig). ?
63. [波純提女] („ 7; *B* 10. 3).
S. 1. 4. 10. Pajjunna-dhītā.
64. „ („ 8; „ 4). S. 1. 4. 9. „
65. [觸] („ 9; „ 5). S. 1. 3. 2. Phussati.
66. [?] („ 10; „ 6). S. 2. 3. 2. Khema.
67. [嫌賣?] („ 11; „ 7).
S. 1. 4. 5. Ujjhānasaññino.
68. [瞿迦黎]§ („ 12; „ 8). S. Nip. 30. Kokāliya.
69. [輕賤] („ 13; „ 9). S. Nip. 6. Parābhava.

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* *B* narrates Sudatta's death, as told in Majjhima 143. Cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 203, Note 1.

† Hatthaka Āḷavika's birth in the heaven Appaṭivāno.

‡ Nos. 60-62 are almost nothing but duplicates of No. 63.

§ Cf. S. 6. 1. 9-10.

[第八部] (Aṭṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 82a-85a; *B* 辰 V. 89b-92b).

70.	乘下	(*A* 48. 14; *B* 10. 10).		?
71.	遮止	(„ 15; „ 11).	S. 1. 3. 4. Mano-nivāraṇā.	
72.	名稱 (Kitti)*	(„ 16; „ 12).		?
73.	枝能†	(„ 17; „ 13).	D. 31. Siṅgālaka (?).	
74.	彈琴 (Gandabba)	(„ 18; „ 14).	Jātaka, 243. Guttila (蠶牛).‡	
75.	棄捨	(„ 19; „ 15).	S. 1. 8. 1. Chetvā.§	
76.	種別 (?)	(„ 20; „ 16).	S. 1. 4. 4 and 6.	
77.	善丈夫‖	(„ 21; „ 17).	S. 1. 4. 1. Sabbhi.	
78.	慳貪	(„ 22; „ 18).	S. 1. 4. 2. Macchari.	
79.	八天 (Aṭṭha-devatā)	(„ 23; „ 19).	S. 1. 4. 8. Sakalika (刺).	

[第九部] (Navama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 85a-87a; *B* 辰 V. 92b-95a).

80.	大地 (Paṭhavi)	(*A* 48. 24; *B* 11. 1).	?
81.	火不燒 (Aggi na dahati)	(„ 25; „ 2).	?
82.	糧 (Pātheyya)	(„ 26; „ 3).	?
83.	所願 (Icchā?)	(*A* 49. 1; „ 4).	?
84.	甚能 (Issariya?)	(*A* 48. 27; „ 5).	?
85.	車乘 (Ratha)	(*A* 49. 2; „ 6).	?
86.	鋸陀女/	(„ 3; „ 7).	?

* Questions=S. 10. 12 v. 13.

† Verses instructing as to how to use the wealth accumulated by one's own efforts. Similar verses are found in the Chinese Dīrgha, attached to the last part of the Siṅgālaka.

‡ The last part where the angels speak.

§ The latter part of S. 1. 4. 6. is incorporated in this text in *B*.

‖ In *A* much abridged.

/ In *A* the name reads Suparatissā, daughter of the king of Kuruda (? 拘屢陀王女修波羅提沙), and in *B* Sutamissā, daughter of the king Koḍa (? 須多蜜者鋸陀女).

87.	算數 (Saṅkha)	(*A* 49. 4; *B* 11. 8).	?
88.	何重	(„ 5; „ 9).	?
89.	十善	(„ 6; „ 10).	?

[第十 天子品] (X. Devaputta-saṃyutta)

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 長 IV. 87b-90; *B* 長 V. 95a-97).

1.	因陀羅	(*A* 49. 7; *B* 11. 11).	S. 10. 1. Indaka.
2.	斷一切結 (Sabbaganthassa pahīno)	(wanting; „ 12).	S. 10. 2. Sakka (釋迦).
3.	說善稱	(*A* 49. 8; „ 13).	?
4.	尸毘	(„ 9; „ 14).	S. 2. 3. 1. Siva.
5.	月自在	(„ 10; „ 15).	S. 2. 2. 1. Candimasa.
6.	毗忸	(„ 11; „ 16).	S. 2. 2. 2. Veṇḍu.
7.	般闍羅揵特	(„ 12; „ 17).	S. 2. 1. 7. Pañcālacaṇḍa.
8.	須深摩	(„ 13; „ 18).	S. 2. 3. 9. Susima.
9.	邊際 (Lokass' anta)	(„ 14; „ 19).	S. 2. 3. 6. Rohita (赤馬).
10.	外道諸見	(„ 15; „ 20).	S. 2. 3. 10. Nānātitthiyā.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 長 IV. 90a- ; *B* 長 V. 98-).

11.	摩佉	(*A* 49. 16; *B* 11. 21).	S. 2. 1. 3. Māgha.
12.	照明	(„ 17; „ 22).	S. 2. 1. 4. Pajjota.
13.	曇摩*	(„ 18; „ 23).	S. 2. 1. 5. Dāmali.
14.	所斷†	(„ 19; „ 24).	S. 1. 1. 5. Kati Chinde.
15.	實智 (Citta-vūpasama)	(„ 20; „ 25).	S. 2. 1. 6. Kāmada (迦默).

* Dāmani (陀摩尼) in *A* and Dāmasi (曇摩尸) in *B*.

† The questioner is a devaputta Tālakanda (? 多羅達陀).

16. 漩流 (?)* (*A* 49. 21; *B* 12. 26). S. 10. 3. Suciloma.
17-18. 栴檀 („ 22-23; „ 27-28). S. 2. 2. 4-5. Candana.
19-20. 迦葉 („ 24-25; „ 29-30). S. 2. 1. 1-2. Kassappa.

[第十一 夜叉品] (11. Yakkha-Saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 92-97b; *B* 辰 V. 99b-104).

1. 瞿摩 (Goma?) (*A* 49. 26; *B* 12. 1). S. 10. 4. Maṇibhadda.
2. 白山 (Pāvā?) („ 27; „ 2). Udāna 1. 7. Pāvāyaṃ.
3. 賓伽羅 („ 28; „ 3). S. 10. 6. Piyaṅkara.
4. 富那婆藪 („ 29; „ 4). S. 10. 7. Punabbasu.
5. 曼尼遮羅† („ 30; „ 5). ?
6. 箭毛 („ 31; „ 6). S. 10. 3. Suciloma.
7. 受齋 (Uposatha) (*A* 50. 1; *B* 12. 7). S. 10. 5. Sūnu (?).
8. 曠野 („ 2; „ 8). S. 10. 12. Alavam.
9. 淨 („ 3; „ 10). S. 10. 9-10. Sukkā.
10. 雄 („ 4; „ 9). S. 10. 11. Vīrā.
11. 七岳雪山 („ 5; „ 11). S. Nip. 9. Hemavata.
12. 害及無害 („ 6; „ 12).
Udāna, 4. 4. Juṇha (燒煮).

[第十二 林品] (12. Vana-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 97b-99b; *B* 辰 V. 108-109b).

1. 不樂 (Arati) (*A* 50. 7; *B* 20. 1). S. 9. 4. Cārika (遊行).
2. 睡眠 (Supati) („ 8; „ 2). S. 9. 2. Upaṭṭhāna (?).
3. 遠離 („ 9; „ 3). S. 9. 1. Viveka.
4. 倒淨 (不正) („ 10; „ 4). S. 9. 11. Ayoniso.
5. 安住 (Ṭhita) („ 11; „ 5).
S. 9. 12. Majjhantika (日中).
6. 閑利那‡ („ 12; „ 6). S. 9. 6. Anuruddha.

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* The questioner is a devaputta Kāma. Cf. below 11. 6=S. 10. 3.

† Maṇicara. A woman, intending to bring offerings to the Yakkha Maṇicara, offers them to Buddha. He instructs the woman in the merits of giving alms to the genuine ascetics.

‡ *A* reads *Jālinī* (閑隣尼) and *B* Jālinā as above given.

7. 誦習 (*A* 50. 13; *B* 20. 7). S. 9. 10. Sajjhāya
8. 花 („ 14; „ 8). S. 9. 14. Padumapuppha.
9. 迦葉 („ 15; „ 9). S. 9. 3. Kassappagotta.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 99b-101; *B* 辰 V. 109b-110).

10. [跋耆子] (*A* 50. 16; *B* 20. 10). S. 9. 9. Vajjiputta.
11. [?] („ 17; „ 11). S. 9. 5. Ānanda.
12. [龍與] („ 18; „ 12). S. 9. 7. Nāgadatta.
13. [衆多比丘] („ 19; „ 13). S. 9. 13. Sambahulā bhikkhū.
14. [嬉戲?] („ 20; „ 14). S. 9. 8. Ogaḷha.
15. [見多] („ 21; *B* wanting). ?
16. [睡眠] (Suppa) („ 22; „). ?
17. [味] (Rasa) („ 23; „). ?
18. [離林] (Vanā) („ 24; „). ?
19. [優樓鳥] (Ulūka) („ 25; „). ?
20. [波吒利] (Pāṭalī) („ 26; „). ?

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 101b-103; wanting in *B*).

21. [孔雀] (Mora) (*A* 50. 27). ?
22. [那娑佉多] (?) („ 28). ?
23. [頻陀] (Vinjha) („ 29). ?
23. [恒河] (Gaṅgā) („ 30). ?
24. [瓜] ? („ 31). ?
25. [沙彌] (Samaṇera) („ 32). ?
26. [瓦師] („ 33). ?
27. [貧] (Dalidda) („ 34). ?
28. [刼貝] (Kambu) („ 35). ?
29. [鐶釧] (Jala) („ 36). ?
30. [彈琴] (Viṇā?) („ 37). ?

31. [鴿鳥] (Kapoṭa)* (*A* 50. 38). ?

[第八 誦 佛品 (?)]

(VIII. Ajjhāya. Buddha or Tathāgata vagga).

[第一 迦葉品] (1. Kassappa-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 37b-40, 辰 III. 85b 86a; *B* 辰 V. 37b-42).

1. 月喻 (*A* 41. 54; *B* 13. 1). S. 16. 3. Candupama.
2. 施與 (Dāna) („ 55; „ 2). S. 16. 4. Kulupaga (詣於檀越家).
3. 負勝 (Accayamā) („ 56; „ 3). S. 16. 6. Ovāda (教授).
4. 無信 (Saddhā natthi) („ 57; „ 4). S. 16. 7. „
5. 佛爲根本† („ 58; „ 5). S. 16. 8. „
6. 極老 („ 59; „ 6). S. 16. 5. Jiṇṇa.
7. „ („ 60; „ 7). S. 16. 9. Jhānābhiññā (禪定神通).
8. 此時 („ 61; *B* 14. 1). S. 16. 10. Upasayam.
9. 衆減少 (Hīnāyāvattā) („ 62; „ 2). S. 16. 11. Civara (法服).
10. 外道 (Aññatitthiyā) (*A* 32. 1; „ 3). S. 16. 12. Paraṃ maraṇaṃ (死後).
11. 法減損 (Saddhammassa antarādhāna) („ 2; „ 4). S. 16. 13. Saddhamma-paṭirūpaka (像法).

第二 [聚落主品] (2. Gāmani-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 86a-60b; *B* 辰 V. 42b-47a).

1. 動搖 (Cāla) (*A* 32. 3; *B* 15. 1). S. 42. 2. Puṭa.‡
2. 爭鬪 („ 4; „ 2). S. 42. 3. Yodhājīva.

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* These suttas, Nos. 15-31, seem to be parodies of popular [illegible] made for didactic purposes. Some of them are very interesting.

† *Buddha-mūlakā?*

‡ *Pāli Tala (or Tāla) puṭa; A* 迦羅周羅, *B* [illegible]

3.	調馬	(*A* 32. 5; *B* 15. 3).	S. 42. 5. Assa, or Haya.
4.	惡性	(„ 6; „ 4).	S. 42. 1. Caṇḍa.
5.	頂髮	(„ 7; „ 5).	S. 42. 10. Maṇicūḷaka.
6.	王髮	(„ 8; „ 6).	S. 42. 12. Rāsiya.
7.	賢姓	(„ 9; „ 7).	S. 42. 11. Bhadraka.
8.	飢饉 (Dubbhikkha)	(„ 10; „ 8).	S. 42. 9. Kula (諸家).
9.	種田 (Khetta)	(„ 11; „ 9).	S. 42. 7. Desanā (說).
10.	說何論 (Kathaṃ dhammam)	(„ 12; „ 10).	S. 42. 8. Saṅkha. (筭數).*

[第三馬品] (3. Assa-saṃyutta).

(*A* 長 III. 90b-93; *B* 長 V. 50-52b).

1.	惡馬†	(*A* 32. 13; *B* 16. 1).	A. III. 137. Assakhaluṅka.
2.	順調馬† (Assasadassa)	(„ 14; „ 2).	A. III. 138. Assakhaluṅka.
3.	賢乘† (Bhadda-assajāniya)	(*A* 33, 1; „ 3).	A. III. 139. Assakhaluṅka.
4.	三	(„ 2; „ 4).	A. III. 94. Tayo.
5.	四 (Cattāro)	(„ 3; „ 5).	A. IV. 256-257. Ājañña.
6.	鞭影 (Patodacchāyā)	(„ 4; „ 6).	A. IV. 113. Patoda (鞭).
7.	乘調 (Assadamma)	(„ 5; wanting).	A. IV. 111. Kesi (只尸).
8.	有過 (Dosa)	(„ 6; *B* 19. 7).	A. VIII. 14. Khaluṅka.
9.	八種 (Aṭṭha)	(„ 7; „ 8).	A. VIII. 13. Ājañña.
10.	迦旃延 (Kaccāna)‡	(„ 8; „ 9).	A. XI. 9. Sekkha (修有).

* This simile is wanting in Chinese and instead of it is the simile of *nakhasikha.*

† Comp. A. IX. 22.

‡ *A* gives the name Sandha Kaccāna (訖陀迦旃延) and *B* mistakes it for Mahā-Kaccāna

[第四 摩訶南品] (4. Mahānāma-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 94-97a; *B* 辰 V. 52b-55).

1.	優波塞 (Upāsaka)	(*A* 33. 9; *B* 16. 10).	S. 55. 37. Mahānāma.
2.	得果	(„ 10; „ 11).	?
3.	一切行*	(„ 11; „ 12).	A. VIII. 25. Mahānāma.
4.	自輕 (?)	(„ 12; „ 13).	S. 55. 21. „
5.	住處 (Vihārena)	(„ 13; „ 14).	A. VI. 10. „ †
6.	十一 (Ekādasa)	(„ 14; „ 15).	A. XI. 12. „
7.	十二 (Dvādasa)	(„ 15; wanting).	A. XI. 13. „
8.	解脫‡	(„ 16; *B* 16. 16).	A. III. 73. Sakka. (釋).
9.	舍羅§	(„ 17; „ 17).	S. 55. 23. Godha.
10.	麤手‖	(„ 18; „ 18).	S. 55. 24. Sarakāni.

[第五 生死 or 無始品] (5. Anamata-saṃyutta).

(辰 III. 97-98b; 辰 V. 104b-106b).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

1.	血 (Lohita)	(*A* 33. 19; *B* 17. 1).	S. 15. 13. Tiṃsamattā (三十).
2.	淚	(„ 20; „ 2).	S. 15. 3. Assu.
3.	母乳	(„ 21; „ 3).	S. 15. 4. Khīra.
4.	土丸 (?)	(*A* 34. 1; *B* 17. 4).	S. 15. 1. Tiṇakattha (草木).

* Only the last half agrees with A. VIII. 25.

† Partly=A. VIII. 11.

‡ Chinese versions read vimokkha (解脫 or 正受) instead of *ñāna* in Pāli.

§ In *B* the name *Sara* (?) is given in the uddāna, but 麤手 (rough hand) appears in the text; *A* has 沙陀 (Sāḷha or *sara*?). May 沙 be a mistake and 沙陀 be *Godha?*

‖ 麤手 *(rough hand) in B and* 百手 (hundred-handed) Sattahatthaka in *A*.

5.	如豆粒 (Kolaṭṭhimatta)	(*A* 34. 2; *B* 17. 5).	S. 15. 2. Pathavī (大地).
6.	[喜樂]	(„ 3; „ 6).	S. 15. 12. Sukhita.
7.	[苦惱]	(„ 4; „ 7).	S. 15. 11. Duggata.
8.	恐怖 (Bhayabherava)	(„ 5; „ 8).	?
9.	彼愛 (So satto sulabharūpo?)	(„ 6; „ 9).	S. 15. 14-19 Mātā &c. (父母等.)
10.	恒河	(„ 7; „ 10).	S. 15. 8. Gaṅgā.
11.	骨聚 (Aṭṭhikaṅkala)*	(„ 8; „ 11).	S. 15. 10 Puggala.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 98b-100a; *B* 辰 V. 106b-108).

12.	城 (Nagara)	(*A* 34. 9; *B* 17. 12).	S. 15. 6. Sāsapa (芥子).
13.	山	(„ 10; „ 13).	S. 15. 5. Pabbata.
14.	過去 (Abbhatīta)	(„ 11; „ 14).	S. 15. 7. Sāvakā (弟子).
15.	無地方處†	(„ 12; „ 15).	?
16.	無不是‡	(„ 13; „ 16).	?
17.	蠓雨滯雨§	(„ 14; „ 17).	?
18.	縛掃簪‖	(„ 15; „ 18).	?
19.	擲杖/	(„ 16; „ 19).	S. 15. 9. Daṇḍa.
20.	轉輪 (Cakka)	(„ 17; „ 20).	?
21.	毘富羅	(„ 18; „ 21).	S. 15. 20. Vepulla.

[第六婆蹉種品] (6. Vacchagotta-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 100-103a; *B* 辰 V. 64-67).

1.	身命 (Kāya)	(*A* 34. 19; *B* 18. 1).	S. 44. 9. Kuṭūhasālā (?)

* Cf. p. 31.

† There is no spot where we were not once born.

‡ There is no being with whom we have never had some kind of relation.

§ The evanescence of our life is like that of rain-drops which soon disappear.

‖ Every part of the world will sometime be destroyed.

/ Transmigration compared with a wheel.

2.	目連 (Mogg)	(*A* 34. 20; *B* 18. 2).	S. 44. 8. Bandha.
3.	"	(" 21; " 3).	
4.	迦旃延 (Sandha-Kaccāna)	(" 21a; " 3a).	S. 44. 11. Sabhiya.
5.	未曾有 (Acchariya)	(" 22; " 4).	S. 33. 2-3. Aññāṇā.
6.	無我 (Anatta)	(" 23; " 5).	S. 44. 10. Attatha.
7.	見 (Diṭṭhi).	(" 24; " 6).	M. 72. Aggivacchagotta.
8.	愚痴 (?)	(" 25; " 7).	S. 33. 1. Aññāṇā.
9.	出家 (Pabbajjā ?)	(" 26; " 8).	M. 73. Mahā-Vacchagotta.

[第七 外道品] (7. Paribbājaka-saṃyutta).

(*A* 長 III. 103-108b; *B* 長 V. 68-73a).

1.	優陟	(*A* 34. 27; *B* 19. 1).	A. X. 95. Uttiya.
2.	分匿 (Puṇṇa)	(" 28; " 2).	A. X. 83. Puṇṇiya.
3.	俱迦那	(" 29; " 3).	A. X. 96. Kokanuda.
4.	須達 (Sudatta)	(" 30; " 4).	A. X. 93. Diṭṭhi (見).
5.	長爪	(" 31; " 5).	M. 74. Dighanakha.
6.	奢羅浮	(*A* 35. 1; " 6).	A. III. 64. Sarabha.
7.	重巢* (床?)	(" 2; " 7).	?
8.	三諦	(" 3; " 8).	A. IV. 185. Sacca.
9.	聞 (闡?) 陀	(" 4; " 9).	A. III. 71. Channa.
10-11.	不留得†	(" 5-6; " 10-11).	?

* An ascetic called "High-seated" (重床 in *B* and 上座 in *A*) resides on the bank of the lake Sumagadhā, near Rājagaha. He challenges Buddha to a discussion in verse.

† *B* gives the name of the ascetic in these two texts as Uttiya (優陟), but in uddāna it reads 不留得 (Puruto ?). In *A* both of these names are Purutika (?? 和鞞低迦).

12.	尸 蘭 (Sīvaka)	(*A* 34. 7; *B* 19. 12).	A VI. 47. Sandiṭṭhika (學).
13.	„	(„ 8; „ 13).	S. 36. 21. Sivaka.
14.	那利婆羅*	(„ 9; „ 14).	A. IV. 3. Khata?
15.	須跋 (Subhadda)	(„ 10; „ 15).	D. Mahāparinibbāna V. 52-69.

* An ascetic called Nalibāla (? 那利婆羅 in *B*), or Leader (? 商主 in *A*), visits each of the six heretics and asks a question as to the fate of a relative of his who had recently died. None of them could answer him. He comes to Buddha, who instructs him by means of a sermon very similar to A. IV. 3.

VII. THE NUMERICAL COLLECTION.

As for the Numerical Collection, we have a Chinese version which differs from the Pāli tradition more than any of the other three collections. In some parts its style has the characteristics of the Mahāyānist texts. Even where the texts agree as a whole with the Pāli texts the differences of detail are very remarkable. There are strong reasons to believe that the version was made from a text handed down by a school which had a very different tradition from the Theravāda, possibly by one of the Mahāsaṅghika sections.

From an epilogue attached to the Madhyama-āgama (N. 452) and a prologue to the present version of the Ekottara-āgama we collect the following data as to the present text. It was in the summer of 384 that a certain Dharmanandin from Tukhara arrived at Chān-ān, the capital of the former Tsien kingdom (350-394). With the assistance of two Chinese monks he worked out the translations of the Ekottara-āgama, the Madhyama-āgama and some other Abhidharma texts, including the Abhidharma-hṛdaya of Saṅgharakṣa and the Abhidharmas of Vasumitra. Unfortunately the wars between the king of Tsien and his neighbors disturbed the translator's work and it became somewhat confused. Tāo-ān, the eminent scholar of that period, tried to reduce the translations to order; but, as is said by the writer of the epilogue to the Madhyama, the rearrangement was not satisfactory. Meanwhile Saṅghadeva, a monk from Kubhā, began a revision of the works at Loyāng, after about 388, and finished the Ekottara and some of the Abhidharma texts.*

* Saṅghadeva went later, after the fall of the Tsien kingdom, to the south, and finished there another translation of the Madhyama, conjointly with a certain Saṅgharakṣa from Kubhā, in 397-398. It is to be doubted whether or not the Madhyama was founded upon the earlier translation made by Dharmanandin. The difference of style in the Madhyama and the present Ekottara leads me to think that the former was a work quite independent of Dharmanandin's work

Our present version is the result of this revision, and it is ascribed to Saṅghadeva or to Dharmanandin.

This present version of the Ekottara is divided into fifty two sections (*vaggas*), and has no designation of the numerical divisions (*nipātas*) such as occur in the Pāli Aṅguttara. Al though in general these numerical divisions can be made, and although the whole collection is made to contain the eleven nipātas, as in the Pāli version, some of the single parts (*suttas*) have nevertheless very little to do with the numerical divisions. For example, the discourse in the Gosiṅga forest (Pāli Majjhima, No. 32) is incorporated in the sixth part, but the whole text has no connection with the number six. To take another example, the story of the robber Aṅgulimāla (Majjhima, No. 86) is likewise found in the sixth part, only because in one passage mention is made of the six kinds of an arhat's miraculous power, which, however, is not referred to in the Pāli version of the said story. Differences between the Pāli Aṅguttara and the Chinese Ekottara are more remarkable when the texts that agree in outline in the two versions are compared in detail. Nevertheless, with regard to these differences, many of the verses contained in the text agree with their Pāli counterparts, though cited in many cases in connexion with different stories or sermons. In general, I might say of the present text that it stands, in the history of the Buddhist texts, between the Pāli books and such texts as the Mahāvastu.

In the table given below the division into the vaggas is preserved and that into the numerical nipātas is added; whereas those suttas that are not yet identified are left out. The statements of the counterparts are meant only as agreements in general outline.

Table X. THE CHINESE EKOTTARA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

[一法] (Eka-nipāta).

第二十念品 (2. Sati-vagga). A. I. 20. 93-102.
第四弟子品 (4. Sāvaka-vagga).
1-10. A. I. 14. 1-4.
第五比丘尼品 (5. Bhikkhunī-v.).
1-5. A. I. 14. 5.
第六清信士品 (6. Upāsaka-v.).
1-4. A. I. 14. 6.
第七清信女品 (7. Upāsikā-v.).
1-3. A. 1. 14. 7.

第八阿須倫品 (8. Asurinda-v.).

2. 益 (Atthāya). A. I. 13. 1.
4. 光明 (Obhāsa). A. I. 13. 6.
7. 沒 (Kālakiriya). A. I. 13. 4.
10. 無與等 (Appaṭipuggala). A. I. 13. 5.

第十二一入道品 (12. Ekamagga-v.).

1. 一道 (Ekamagga) M. 10. Satipaṭṭhāna (意止).

第十三利養品 (13. Lābha-v).

3. 竹膊 (Nāḷijaṅgha). M. 87. Piyajātika (愛生).
4. 皮 (*Skin*) S. 22. 1. Nakula (那憂羅).
5. 孫陀利 (Sundarika). M. 7. Vatthūpama (衣喻).
6. 善福 (Puñña). S. 11. 2. 6. Yajamānam.

第十五有無品 (15. Atthi-natthi-v.).

3-4 施業 (Dāna, Kamma). A. II. 13. 1-2.

第十六 火滅品 (16. ?).

1. 難陀 (Nandaka). Cf. Theragāthā v. 279.
2. 涅槃 (Nibbāna). Itiv. 44.

[二法] (Duka-nipāta).

第十七 安般品 (17. Ānāpāna-v.).

1. 羅雲 (Rāhula) M. 62. Rāhulovāda.
2. Tathāgata and Cakkavatti. A. II. 6. 2.
11. Devadatta. Verses, A. IV. 70.

第十八 慚愧品 (18. Hirottapa-v.).

1. [慚愧] A. II. 1. 9. Hirottapa.
2. [厭足] A. II. 1. 1. Vajja.
3. [法施] M. 3. Dhammadāyāda.
5. 龍 (Nāga) Vinaya, Culla-v. VII. 3. 2.
6. 難陀 S. 21. 8. Nanda.

第十九 勸請品 (19. Āyacana-v.).

1. 梵請 S. 6. 1. 1. Brahma-āyacana.
2. 二事 (Ubho ante). S. 56. 11. Dhammacakka (§ 1-4).
3. 斷愛 M. 37. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya.
9. 迦旃延 (Kaccāna). A. II. 4. 7.
11. 女 (Ambāpāli). Mahāparinibbāna, II. 12-25.

第廿 善知識品 (20. Kalyāṇamitta-v.).

3. [曇摩留支] (Dhammaruci?).*
11. [不可得報恩] A. II. 4. 2. Duppaṭikāra.

[三品] (Tika-nipāta).

第廿一 三寶品 (21. Triratana-v.).

1. 福 (Puñña?). A. IV. 34. Pasāda (安).

* The sutta contains the verses *Anekajātisaṃsāraṃ*.

2.	德業 (Atthacariya).	Verses of A. IV. 32.
3.	三因 (Paccāya).	M. 38. Taṅhāsaṅkhaya (p. 266).
4.	三安 (Pasāda).	A. III. 75. (§ 2).
5.	瞿波利 (Kopali).	S. 6. 1. 10. Kokali.
6.	三夜 (Ratti).	A. III. 16. Kataṃ.
8.	惡業 (Duccarita).	Itivuttaka, 64-65.
9.	苦陰	M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.

第廿二 供養品 (22. Dakkhineya-v.).

6.	法 (Dhammā).	A. III. 2-9.
8.	愛敬 (Madā).	A. III. 39.

第廿三 地主品 (23. Adhipatteya-v.).

3.	耳	A. VI. 55. Soṇa.
4.	婆提 (Sāvatthi ?)	S. 3. 2. 10. Aputtaka (無有子息).
5.	逆順香	A. III. 79. Gandha.

第廿四 高幢品 (24. Dhajagga-v.).

1.	幢	S. 11. 1. 3. Dhajagga.
4.	默 (Mona ?).	S. 22 97. Nakhasikha (爪上土).
5.	神足化 (Iddhipāda).	Vinaya, Mahv. I. 6. 15-20 & 54.
6.	齋戒 (Uposatha).	A. III. 36. and 70.
8.	長壽 (Dighāyu).*	M. 48. Kosambiya (first part). M. 128. and Jātaka, 428.
10.	三昧 (Samādhi).	A. III. 163.

[四法] (Cattuka-nipāta).

第廿五 四諦品 (25. Sacca-v.).

1.	諦 (Sacca).	S. 56. 21. Vijjā.
3.	阿難 (Ānanda).	A. IV. 127. Abbhutadhamma.
4.	重擔	S. 22. 22. Bhāra.

* *Compare Table VII. No. 72, p. 46.*

6.	結	M. 5. Anaṅgana.
7.	四果	A. IV. 106. Ambāni.
10.	雷 (Gajjita).	A. IV. 102. Valāhaka (雲).

第廿六意斷品 (26. Padhāna-v,).

2-4.	意斷 (Padhāna).	S. 3. 2. 7. Appamāda (不放逸)
5.	四闇 (Tamo).*	S. 3. 3. 1. Puggalā (四種人).
6.	老耄 (Jarā).†	S. 3. 1. 3. Rājā (王).
7.	,, ,,	S. 3. 3. 2. Ayyakā (王母).
8.	法本末	A. IV. 185. Samaṇasacca.
10.	婆迦梨	S. 22. 87. Vakkali.

第廿七等趣四諦品 (27. Sacca-v.).

1.	[四諦]	M. 141. Saccavibhaṅga.
2.	[師子吼]	M. 11. Sīhanāda.
3.	[毘羅摩]	A. IX. 20. Velāma.
6.	[無所畏]	A. IV. 8. Vesārajja.
7.	[第一]	A. IV. 7. Sobheti.

第廿八聲聞品 (28. Sāvaka-v.).

2.	翳	A. IV. 50. Upakkilesā.
3.	手	A. III. 34. Hatthi.
5.	廣演義	A. IV. 180. Mahāpadesana.
7.	柔軟 (Sukhamāla).	A. IV. 88. Saññojana (結).

第廿九苦樂品 (29. Dukkhasukha-v.).

6.	[不可思惟]	A. IV. 77. Acintita.
8.	[愛起法]	A. IV. 9. Taṅhuppāda.

第卅一增上品 (31. Aññatama-v.?).

1.	增上 (Aññatama ?)	M. 4. Bhayabherava (畏懼).

* Cf. A. IV. 85.

† With the verses of S. 48. 41.

6.	無漏 (Anāsava).	S. 35. 197. Āsīvisa (毒蛇).
8.	禪 (Jhāna).	M. 12. Sihanāda (pp. 79 f.).
9.	四樂	S. 1. 2. [illegible].

[五法] (Pañcaka-nipāta).

第卅二 善聚品 (32. Kusalarāsi-v.).

1.	善 (Kusala-rāsi).	A. V. 2.
2.	不善 (Akusalarāsi).	A. V. 52. Rāsi.
4.	天使	M. 130. Devadūta.
5.	歲	S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
7.	文荼 (Muṇḍa).	A. V. 50. Nārada (那羅陀).
8.	觀 (?)	A. V. 124. Upaṭṭhāna (差).
9.	瞻病	A. V. 122. Gilāna.
10.	五施 (Pañcadāna).	A. V. 34. Sīha (師子).
11.	隨時 (Kāla).	A. V. 37. Bhojana.
12.	時施	A. V. 36. Kāla.

第卅三 五王品 (33. Pañcarājāna-v.).

1.	五王	S. 3. 2. 2. Pañcarājāno.
3-4.	鬪	A. V. 75-76. Yodhājīva.
7.	行 (Cārika).	A. V. 221. Dīghacārika (長遊行)
10.	枯樹 (Rukkhakkhandha).	A. VII. 68. Aggi (火).

第卅四 等見品 (34. Sammādiṭṭhi-v.?).

8.	[毘摩質多羅]	S. 11. 1. 4. Vepacitti.

第卅六 聽法品 (36. Dhammasavana-v.).

1.	[聽法]	A. V. 202. Dhammasavana.
3.	[揚枝]	A. V. 207. Yāgu.

[六法] (Chakka-nipāta).

第卅七六重品 (37. Cha-āhuneyya-v.).

1.	[重]	A. VI. 1. Āhuneyya.
2.	[阿耨達] (Anotatta).	Derived from S. 6. 2. 4. Aruṇavatī.*
3.	[牛師子園]	M. 32. Gosiṅga.
5.	[可敬]	A. VI. 2. Āhuneyya.
8.	[刹利種]	A. VI. 52. Khattiya.
9.	[婬]	A. VII. 47. Methunā.
10.	[薩遮]	M. 35. Saccaka.

第卅八力品 (38. Bala-v.).

1.	[力]	A. VIII. 27. Bala.
3.	?	A. IV. 36. (§ 1-2).
4.	[城]	S. 12. 65. Nagara.
6.	[鴦崛魔]†	M. 86. Aṅgulimāla.
7.	[仙人崛]	M. 116. Isigili.
8.	[六蟲]	S. 35. 206. Chapāna.

[七品] (Sattaka-nipāta).

第卅九等法品 (39. Dhamma-v.?).

1.	[知法]	A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū.
2.	[畫度樹]	A. VII. 65. Pāricchattaka.
3.	[水喻]	A. VII. 15. Udakūpama.
4.	[城]	A. VII. 63. Nagara.
7.	[轉輪王]	S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti.
10.	[七車]	M. 24. Rathavinīta.

* The derivation of this Ekottara text from the Saṃyutta text shows a very interesting phase in the development of the Buddhological ideas. See Shiwo's study regarding it in the *Shūkyō-kai*, 1905.

† With the nidāna of the king Mahāphala (大果). See Mahāvastu, Vol. I. 310.

第四十 七日品 (40. Sattasuriya-v.).

1. [七日]	A. VII. 62. Suriya (1-8) and D. 27. Aggañña (part).
2. [婆利迦]	A. VII. 20. Vassakara.
6. [諸漏法]	M. 2. Sabbāsava.
9. [美食]	M. 18. Madhupiṇḍika.

第四十一 莫畏品 (41. Abhaya or Mahābhayia-v.).

1. [摩訶男]*	S. 55. 21. Mahānāma.
3. [七處]	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.

[八法] (Aṭṭhaka-nipāta).

第四十二 八難品 (42. Aṭṭha-akkhaṇa-v.).

1. [非時]	A. VIII. 29. Akkhaṇa.
3. 道 (Magga ?).	Mahāparinibbāna. IV-V.†
4. 須倫天	A. VIII. 19. Asurinda.
5. 地動	A. VIII. 70. Bhūmicāla (10-19).
6. 大人八念 (Aṭṭha mahāpurisa-vitakke)	A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha (阿那律).
7. 衆	A. VIII. 69. Parisā.
9. 善男子	A. VIII. 37. Sappurisa.

第四十三 馬血品 (43. Rohitassa-v.)

1. 馬血	A. IV. 45. Rohitassa.
2. 齋 (Uposatha) ‡	A. VIII. 41. Saṃkhitta.
3. 難陀 (Nanda)	S. 35. 200. Dārukkhandha (材木).
4. 提婆 (Devadatta)	M. 29. Saropama (樹喻).
6. 牧牛	M. 34. Gopālaka.

* With an additional discourse on the Nigaṇṭha.

† A very different version, with an additional story of Buddha's throwing a huge rock. This story has a separate version, for which see Table II. (44) N. 623.

7. 無根信 (Amūlasaddlā ?) D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
8. 世法 (Lokadhamma) A. VIII. 5. Lokaparivatta (世廻轉).

[九法] (Navakaa-nipāta).

第四十四 衆生居品 (44. Sattāvāsa-v.).

1. 九止 A. IX. 24. Sattāvāsa.
5. 繫縛 A. VIII. 17. Bandha.
8. 供養 A. IX. 10. Āhuneyya.
11. 若干想 (Nānāsaññi) A. I. 24. Satta (生),

第四十五 馬王品 (45. Assarāja-v. ?).

2. [?] M. 67. Cātumā.

[十法] (Dasaka-nipāta).

第四十六 結禁品 (46. Sila-v. ?).

2. 聖賢居 A. X. 20. Ariyavāsa.
4. 力 (Bala) A. X. 21. Siha (師子).
5. 親國 A. X. 45. Pavesana.
7. 十論 (Bhāsita ?) A. X. 27. Mahāpañhā.
8. 想 A. X. 56-57. Saññā.

第四十七 善惡品 (47. Kusala-akusala-v.).

4. [論] A. X. 70. Kathāvatthu.

第四十八 不善品 (48. Akusala-v.).

4. [?] D. 14. Mahāpadāna.

[十一法] (Ekādasa-nipāta).

第四十九 牧牛品 (49. Gopālaka-v.).

1. [牧牛] { A. XI. 18 / M. 33. } Gopālaka.

7.	[跋提婆羅]	M. 65. Bhaddāli. M. 66. Laṭukikopama.
9.	[提婆] (Devadatta)	Vinaya, Cullav. VII. 3–4.
10.	[慈心]	A. XI. 16. Mettā.

第五十 禮三寶品 (50?).

4.	[大天]	M. 83. Makhadeva.
6.	[?]	M. 12. Sihanāda.*
8.	[鉄鉗]	M. 21. Kakacūpama.

第五十一 非常品 (51. Anicca or Anamata-v.).

1.	[淚]	S. 15. 3. Assu.
2.	[六十]	S. 15. 13. Tiṃsamattā.
4.	[結]	M. 16. Cetokhila.
8.	[阿那邠祁]	M. 143 Anāthapiṇḍikovāda.
9.	[婦]	A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

第五十二 大愛道涅槃品 (52. Mahāpajapatī-v.).

3.	[芥子]	S. 15. 6. Sāsapā.
4.	[石山]	S. 15. 5. Pabbata.
6.	[師子]	A. V. 34. Siha.
7–9.	[波斯匿] (Pasenadi)‡?	

* With the nidāna of the king Ratnakūṭa (?寶嵩) and the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha (?寶藏).

† Last part of the text describes the tortures in the various hells.

‡ Here we have three suttas on Pasenadi, the last of them being the story of his ten dreams (see p. 23). This may show that the last part is intended to be a part of the Dasaka-nipāta, although the sections 50–52 do not seem to be regular numerical texts.

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UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,
JUN 20 1914

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OF

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THE TOKYO PRINTING CO., LTD., NO. 81, YAMASHITA-CHO, YOKOHAMA, JAPAN.

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THE MAKURA-KOTOBA OF PRIMITIVE JAPANESE VERSE.

The following list comprises all the Makura-kotoba found in the *uta* of the Kojiki, the Nihongi and the Manyôshiu. A more detailed, more accurate, and more fully exemplified account is now given than was possible under pressure of time and circumstance in my Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts, published in 1906 by the Oxford University Press. The makura-kotoba form the characteristic embellishment of the early *uta* of Japan, and of all subsequent Japanese, as distinguished from Japano-Chinese, verse. Hence I have thought that the revised result of the very considerable labour undertaken for the purposes of my book in investigating the nature and meaning of these singular compounds, might find a place in the Transactions as an aid to students of Japanese poetry. The explanations are, of course, in a measure tentative, as indeed my book is, and members of the Society availing themselves of their greater opportunities will, it is hoped, amend what perhaps ought not to have been undertaken and certainly cannot be adequately accomplished out of Japan itself.

In the Kogi all the authorities seem to have been pretty exhaustively examined, and I have, in consequence, drawn largely upon the two volumes of the *Makura-kotoba toki* (in the smaller edition of the Kogi) for assistance in the execution of my task. I have also consulted [illegible] the

well-known but, to my mind, very untrustworthy *Riyakuge*. I have not studied the makura-kotoba in the *Kokinwakashiu*, nor those found in later anthologies; but it would be well if some scholar undertook such an examination, with a view to determining the medieval and modern uses of these epithetical and prefatial or complementary (*jo*) expressions.

The makura-kotoba, one, at least, of which will be found in almost every *uta* of the Manyôshiu, are commonly written with two, more rarely with three or more, *ji*. The *ji* may be used to render syllables only (*kana*); or in their natural sense (*mana*), as when *awokumo* is written 青雲; or as *kariji* (borrowed *ji*), in a sense different from the natural one, i.e. with identity of sound conveying a difference in meaning, as when 鴨, read *mana* to mean wild-duck, is read *kari* to signify the particles *ka mo*. Sometimes *mana* and *kariji* are combined as in *akanesasu* 赤根刺, when 根 is *kari* and the other characters are *mana*.

The makura-kotoba contain usually five syllables, but a few, like *soramitsu*, have only four, and a very few may have an additional syllable. The majority end in the postposition *no*, many in *nasu* (form, make), some in *mono*, the remainder variously. *No*, *nasu* and *mono* have, loosely, the value of the affix 'like' in English. Although essentially mere decorative and formal elements, the makura-kotoba must have had a substantial value in the *uta*, as read or heard by the Japanese of the eighth century.

Of the examples given the translations are sometimes amplified to bring out more fully the sense of the makura-kotoba they illustrate. The interpretations of the *uta*, especially of the *tanka*, given by the various commentators differ widely. I have, in the main, followed the Kogi in the versions I offer, very many of which are, consequently, open to criticism. There is, in fact, no finality in this matter. One caution I may add—the easier and more obvious meaning is, frequently enough, not that intended by the *yomeru hito* of the eighth or some earlier century, but an esoteric and more subt

One, dependent sometimes upon an allusion now only imperfectly intelligible.

The following abbreviations are used :—

K. means the Kojiki, and small roman numerals the *uta* so numbered in the 1st Appendix to Mr. Chamberlain's translation.

N. denotes the Nihongi, the figures the page in Ihida's edition (35 Meiji). Large roman numerals mean the corresponding 'book' (*maki* or *ken*) in the authorised editions; arabic figures after lay or *chôka*, denote the lay so numbered in my Primitive Texts; pl.n. is place name or names.

N.B.—The commas in the *uta* texts mark off the *ku* or verses of the *tanka*.

Adzusa-yumi (梓弓), bow of *adzusa*, whitewood (*Catalpa Kaempferi*, or perhaps *Prunus sp.*) Used with the pl. n. Hikitsu in Chikuzen—*hiki* to draw or string (a bow).

XI. Adzusayumi, hikite yurusazu, aramaseba, kakaru koki ni ha ahasazaramashi wo.

Like a bow drawn but not let fly (had I restrained my feelings), such pains of love had not been mine. (Keichiu).

XI. Adzusayumi, hikimi yurubemi, kozu ha kozu, koba so so wo nado, kodzuha koba so wo.

String (or draw), unstring (or let fly) your whitewood bow—come or come not, as you will—what prevents you, i.e., you are like a bowman who knows not whether to draw his bow or not. (The meaning of this *tanka* is not quite clear, the last two *ku* seem a mere repetition of the third.)

The m.k. is, itself, a true epithet, not a *jo*, and may be compared with ἀργυρότοξος. In my *Prim. Texts* I confounded (through a partial misprint) *yoru* 依 with *yoru* 夜 in giving the explanation of the use of the m. k. with Yora. The m. k. is also used with the name of the province Toyokuni—*toyo*=*toyomu*, resound, but here the m. k. is eked out by *hiki*, draw; thus *adzusayumi hiki* Toyo (kuni)=*a—h—toyomu*, twang of bow drawn and discharged; with the hill-name Yora, *adzusayumi* Yora no yama he....., here the use is phonetic, Yora being regarded as=*yoru*, pull [illegible] one when pre-

paring to shoot; a similar nse is found in the phrase *suwe ha yorinemu,* where *suwe* is bow-end, but here the words mean, at some future time we shall come together (draw near as the archer draws to him the bow ends in bending his weapon); with the hill-name Haruyama, *haru* stretch (or string) a bow; and with *oto,* sound, because in ancient bows the bow-ends were pierced or fashioned so as to make a sound when the bow was discharged. See Lays 3.29.31. 104. also K. li, lxxxviii, and N. 275. The m. k. is typical, in its uses, of these very peculiar epithets or quasi-epithets.

Aga-kokoro (吾情), my heart, feelings, used as a complement with the pl. n. Kiyosumi no ike (Pool of Kiyosumi)—*kiyo*= pure, clear; with Akashi no ura (Bay of Akashi)—Akashi here=bright, clear; with Tsukushi no yama (Mount of Tsukushi)—*aga kokoro tsukushi* meaning, with all my heart.

Ahaji-shima (淡路嶋), the island of Awaji, used phonetically with *ahare,* Oh, alas!

XII. Suminoye no, kishi ni mukaheru, Ahajishima, ahare to kimi wo, ihanu hi ha nashi.

Awaji's isle that fronteth Suminoye's shore, no day I do not cry, *ahare,* alas, my lord!—who has gone as exile or official to a distant province.

Aha-shima-no (粟島), like Awashima (isle of millet), used phonetically with *ahanu mono yuwe.*

XII. Nami no ma yu, kumowi ni miyuru, Ahashima no, ahanu mono yuwe, a ni yosuru kora.

(taking *yosuru* as=*ihi-yosuru*)—'Tis a girl still unmet (unaffianced) whom rumour allots me—'unmet' is *aha* (*nu*) linked with Aha (shima) in the *jo* which means—over the waves in the cloudy distance is seen Ahashima's isle.

Aji-mura-no (味村), *kariji,* like flocks of teal (*Anas formosa*), used with *sawaki* (*gi*), be noisy, tumultuous.

IV. chôka 54.....*ajimura·no, sawaki ha yukedo*..... though the tumult of men, like to that of flocks of teal, goes on.....

Aji-no-sumu, teal-haunted, used as a description of Susa no iriye (Creek of Susa in Kii). See *atekawoshi.*

Aji-saha-fu, where teal abound. Used with *mure,* crowd (contracted to *me*). See Lays 26. 27. Comp. *umasahafu.*

Aka-hoshi-no (明星), bright-star-like. Used with *akuru ashita,* opening-morrow; the m.k. denotes the morning star.

Akanesasu (茜刺, 赤根指). The scripts are *kariji. Ne* is a mere suffix, and *akane=akasa,* redness, brightness, *akanesasu* being equivalent to 'radiant.' It is used with *hi,* sun; *hiru,* daytime, noon; *tereru tsukuyo,* shining moon-night; *murasaki,*—in ancient times—a sort of scarlet or vermillion, (fig.) *kimi,* my lord, lover.

I. Akanesasu, murasaki nu yuki, shime nu yuki, nu-mori ha mizu ya, kimi ga sodefuru.

He goes with the chase on the red-flowered *murasaki* moor, on the prohibited moor, will, or let not, the watchers see him if he waves his sleeves to me. *Murasaki* is *Lithospermum sp.;* the forbidden moor, one reserved for a royal hunt; waving the sleeves is a love-token. By the 'watchers' are intended *subaudité* the guardians of the composer, the Princess Nukada, a concubine of the Mikado Temmu. The lover is Hitsugi no miko, his answer will be found under *murasakino.*

Akara-biki (赤羅引), *ra=ne* of *akanesasu, hiku* is *kariji* for *hikaru* contracted; the meaning, therefore, is simply ruddy, bright. Used as under—.....*akarabiku, hi no kururu make:* until the setting of the bright sun; with *shikitahe no ko,* fine maid.

XI. Akarabiku, hada mo furezute, netaredomo, keshiki kokoro wo, aga 'mohanaku ni.

Though I may not for a space clasp your fine form to me, shall not our love remain unchanged.

Aki-hagi-no, like autumn bush-clover. (*Lespedeza*), used with *shinahite aramu imo,* my love yielding to me softly as the autumn bush-clover (to the wind).

Aki-kashiha (秋柏), a sort of oak-tree; there are

various scripts, *kariji*, as the above may be. Used with Uruha, name of a river of unknown locality. Keichiu reads the m. k. as *asakashiha*, morning-oak, whose large leaves glisten with dew, hence applying to *n* (*uru*) wet, if Uruha be read Nuruha. Or *aki*=*akari*=*akara*=*kiyora* (bright), but this does not suit Uruha. If we read Uruha as Uruhi (and there is authority for such a reading), then *akarà kashiha*, bright oak, might go with *uruhi* (*urufu-uruhofu* be moist, wet)—Uruhi river minding of glistening oaks. Another explanation regards *aki* as 商 and *uru* as 賣 (Kotoba no Izumi).

Aki-kaze-no (金 風), like autumn wind. The script is *kariji* for 秋 風、 Used with Yamabuki no se (channel, or rapids of Yamabuki,—the *yamabuki* is Kerria japonica—the connexion being with *buki*=*fuki*, blow ; Chiye no ura (Bay of Chiye i.e., of a thousand creeks), *chi* being regarded as the homophon *chi*, motion of air ; compare *hayachi*, *arashi*, *tamashii*, *kaze* itself=*kami-shi* (*kanshi*,*kaze*).

Aki-kusa-no, like autumn grass or herbs. Used with *musubishi*, knotted ; bundles of grass or reeds were knotted and used as tokens or symbols for various purposes, memorials, pledges, waysigns, etc.

Aki-no-ha-no, like autumn foliage, used with *nihohi ni teru*, ruddy-bright like autumn foliage.

Akitsushima, island of rich ripe ears (of grain) or 蜻 蛉 *kariji*—dragon-fly (shaped) land. Used with Yamato. Lays 2. 141. N. 295. 343.

Aki-yama-no, like autumn (wooded) hills, used with *shitaberu imo* (Lay 29) my love (delightful to look upon as) the perishing leafage of autumn hills—Lay 136, with *iro natsukashiku*, lovely in tint as the autumn woods.

Ama-dzutafu (天 傳) sky-traversing. Used with *hi*, sun ; *irihi*, setting sun ; Hi (gasa no ura) Bay of Higasa. See Lay 17.

Amadamu (not in Manyôshiu) See K. lxxxii. lxxxiii ; N. 325. heaven-soaring, used with Karu (pl. n.) as homophonous

with *karu* (*gamo*)? the dusky mallard, or more probably with *kari* which may have had a variant *karu*, wild-goose.

Ama-gomori (雨隱), rain-bound, used with Mikasa no yama the Hill of Mikasa—*kasa*, a hat, being needed by those who are rain-bound.

Ama-kazofu (天數), the script is *kariji*, if authentic; but no sense can be got out of word or script. It may be a mistake for *sasanami*, or for *amakumo*, and as either might be applied to Ohotsu, that is to *oho*, vast, measureless (as the ἀνήριθμα κύματα, or as the clouds of heaven).

Ama-kumo-no (天雲), like the clouds of heaven, used with *tayutafu*, drift, heave; with *yukurayukura*, in a heaving, tossing manner, (real or figurative); *yuki no manimani*, as the clouds of heaven drift hither and thither; *yukikaherinamu*, as clouds of heaven that drift to and fro; *okuka mo shirazu*, bottomless, infinite.

XIII. Omohi-dete, subenaki toki ha, amakumono, okuka mo shirani, kohitsutsu so woru.

when I think of thee I know not what to do, I am filled with love for thee infinite as the cloud-realm of heaven.

The m. k. is also used with *tadoki* (*tatsuki*) *mo shirazu*, wayless, restless as the clouds, etc.; *yoso nomi mitsutsu*, while looking elsewhere, anywhere, as at the clouds, etc.; *wakareshi yukeba*, parting and going away, as the clouds are continually drifting apart. See Lays 22. 25. 37. 45. 48. 57. 58. 62.

Ama-no-hara, the sky-field, plain of heaven.

III. Amanohara, Fuji no shiba yama, ko no kure no, toki yutsurinaba, ahazu ka mo aramu.

amid the dark woods that now clothe the lower slopes of Fuji, whose peak reaches the sky-field, may I meet privily my mistress—but what if our meeting were prevented by change of season (when the leaves would be all fallen)!

Ama-teru-ya, O sky bright, used with *hi*, sun.

Ama-tobu-ya (天飛) sky-soaring. Used with *Karu (no michi)* as homophon of *karu* for *kari*, the wild-goose.

VIII. Chôka 102 Hisakata no, amanokahara ni, amatobu-ya, hire.....her wimple flying high in the wind by the channel of the river of sunbright heaven.....See Lay 27, also K. lxxxiv.

Ama-tsu-mitsu (天 水) water of heaven—rain.

II. chôka 22.....amatsumidzu, afugite matsu ni..... while waiting looking up for the rain, the water of heaven. See also Lay 234.

Ama-zakaru (天 離) used with *hina*, march or border-land, land beyond settled portion of territory, frontier-land. If applied to the syllable *hi* (homophon of *hi*, sun) it simply means, high in heaven; if to the whole word, remote as heaven (from City-Royal). See Lays 9. 55. 213. Also N. 75.

Ame-ni-masu (天 座).

VI. Amenimasu tsukuyomi wotoko..... : sky-seated moon-god.

Amoritsuku (天 降 付)=*ame-ori-tsuku*, came down from heaven upon; used with Kaguyama where the gods descending from heaven alighted. See Lay 33.

Arahikinu (浣 衣) cleansed vestment.

XII. Arahikinu, Torikahi kaha..... : the river Torikahi, minding of change (*torikahi*) of soiled for clean vestments.

Ara-kaki-no, of a rough fence (or ragged—but the *ara* is merely epithetical).

XI. Satobito no, kotoyose tsuma wo, arakakino, yoso ni aga mimu, nikukaranaku ni.

The village folk say there is no bond of love between us, 'tis true I look away from you (for I fear men's eyes) but hateful by no means are you to me. Here *arakakino*, house-fence, is used as a mere dividing barrier between *yoso*, without or elsewhere, and *uchi*, within.

Arare-nasu (霰 成) hail-like.

II. Chôka 24.....ya no shigekeku, ararenasu, sochi yori-kureba.....

as the arrows fly thickly hither-wards like driving hail

(the passage is a *variorum* reading). In this example the m. k. would seem to apply rather to *shigekeku* than to *sochi*.

Arare-utsu, hail-beaten, used phonetically with Arare matsubara, (piny moor) near Sumiyoshi.

Arare-furi, hail-pour. Used with Kashima no saki (Cape Kashima)—*kashimashi* means the crash and rattle of hail; Kishima ga take (Peak of Kishima), *kishima=kashima=kashimashi* (kashmash); Tohotsu Afumi—Further Ômi—*tohotsu* being taken as=*toshi* (*tashi, teshi*), *tosh-tash-tesh,* = latter of hail.

VII Ararefuri, Tohotsu Afumi no, Adokaha yanagi, kare-redomo, Mata mo ofu chifu, Adokaha yanagi.

Yonder willows by Ado's river in Further Ômi of *tosh-tosh* Mattering hail reminding—though polled, again, men say, those willows fresh branches show by Ado's waters. The inner meaning is that hope is ever renewed. The *uta* is a *sedôka*.

Arataheno (荒妙), like coarse, (unbleachen) hempen cloth. Used with Fuji, part of various place names.

I. chôka 13.....*arataheno, Fujihara ga uhe ni*..... on Fujihara, of coarse-cloth (*fuji*) web reminding—*fuji* is the wistaria.

Ara-tama-no (荒玉 *kariji*). A much disputed m. k. It is used with *toshi*, year; *tsuki*, month; *kihe*, elapse, and so must have reference to time and its divisions. Motowori thinks it a contraction of *atara-atara-na*, but this is only a guess. The Kogi gives *aratasama*. It may be a poetic contraction of *arata amaru, arata mashi*. In any case it means future, new, to come, in Lays 48. 49—*aratama no toshi furu made ni*, while year anew follows year; *aratamano toshi no wo nagaku*, long the thread (course) of successive years. See also K. xxviii.

Arichigata, name of a place unknown. Used phonetically with *ari-nagusamete=nagusamete*,. Officials on their way from and to City-Royal, often beguiled the tediousness of travel by composing stanzas in which the name of some place served as

a m. k.—stanzas, for the most part, regretting the girls they 'left behind' them!

Ari-kinu-no (珠衣) 珠 is said to be an error for 蟻 and this is a *kariji* use of the *ji*, the m.k. being really *orikinu*, woven garment, as opposed to *kahakinu* (garment of skin) or *ke goromo* (fur garment). Used with *sawi-sawi shidzumi, takara no kora* and *arite nochi ni mo.*

IV. Arikinuno, sawi-sawi shidzumi, ihe no 'mo ni, mono ihazu ki nite, omohi kanetsu mo. I can scarce bear to think of parting from my love, and of our last farewell words, and of her sighs that rusled with the murmur of the rustle of her dress.

XVI. Chôka 203.....*arikinu no takara no kora*..... maid fine as a woven garment. With *arite nochi ni* the use is merely phonetic. In K. xcix. we have *arikinuno* and *Mihe no ko ga*, maid of Mihe minding of the three folds (*mi ke*) of a woven garment.

Arima-suge, Arima sedge or reed or rush, used phonetically with *aritsutsu, arite nochi ni mo.*

XIII. Hito mina no, kasa ni nufu chifu, Arimasuge, arite nochi ni mo, ahamu to so 'mofu.

I long to meet thee some day—the *jo* is —the Arima reeds whereof 'tis said all men's hats are woven, the link is Arima-arite.

Ariso-matsu (荒磯松) shore-pine, used phonetically.

XI. Ajinosumu, Susa no iriye no, arisomatsu, a wo matsu kora ha, tada hitori nomi .....

all alone is she who waiteth for me—('tis where the pine trees fringe the shores of teal-haunted Susa's waters). The former part is the *jo*, the link is *arisomatsu—a wo matsu.**

Ariso-nami, shore-waves, used phonetically.

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* (In my copy of the Kogi the reference is wrong and I have not been able to find this *tanka*).

XIII. choka 147 ..... *arisonami, arite mo mimu to* ..... as long as I live may I see .....

Asa-giri-no (朝霧), like morning mist. Used with *oho ni ahimishi*, dimly seen (as in morning mist).

IV. Asagirino, oho ni ahimishi, hito yuwe ni, inochi shinubeku, kohi-wataru ka mo.

I saw her but dimly, as in a mist, yet ever shall I love her to the peril of my life. The m. k. is also used with *omohimadohite*, mind bewildered (as of one in a mist); so with *midaruru*.

XVII. choka 224 ..... *asagirino, midaruru kokoro,* my mind distracted as of one wandering in a morning mist.

Asa-hi-nasu (朝日成), like morning sun.

XIII. choka 163 ..... *asahinasu, maguhashi mo, yufuhinasu, uraguhashi mo,* beautiful to the eye as morning sun, beautiful to the mind as setting sun (but *ma* and *ura* may be merely intensitive prefixes).

Asa-hi-sashi, used with *magirahashi=mabayuki*, dazzled by morning sun; with *sogahi ni miyuru*, seen behind one's back, i.e., what is seen on turning round.

XVII. choka 222. *Asahisashi, sogahi ni miyuru, kamu nagara, na ni ohaseru, shirakumono, chihe wo oshi-wake, ama sosori, takaki Tachiyama* ..... High Tachi's peak that scaleth heaven and pierceth the manifold white clouds, well answering its name, divine in majesty, seen when one turns one's back upon (sunbright City-Royal).

Asa-hi-sasu, sunshiny, sunbright, sunlit.

X. Fuyu sugite, haru kitarurashi, asahisasu, Kasuga no yama ni, kasumi tanabiku.

Now, winter gone, cometh spring I ween, and the mists are hovering about Kasuga's sunlit hill. Kasuga is written 春日 spring-day.

Asaji-hara (淺茅原). There are Asaji ura and Asaji *yama in Tsushima, but the locality* of Asajihara is [redacted]

known. The m. k. is merely phonetic, used with *tsubara tsubara ; ji hara—tsubara.*

III. Asajihara, tsubara tsubara ni, mono 'mohaba, furinis[illegible] sato shi, omohoyuru ka mo !

Faring by Asajihara sorrowful thoughts rise distinct in m[illegible] mind, for it is of the old home I think, belike!—*tsubar[illegible] tsubara=tsumabiraka.* The 'old home' is a former City—[illegible] Royal, now abandoned.

The m. k. is also used with Wonu (Little moor) as the *asaji* (Imeperata arundinacea or Miscanthes sinensis) is common there; and with *chifu,* a reedy place. See also K. cx. and N. 387, where, however, the expression seems to be purely descriptive.

Asakaho-no (朝貌) like the morning-glory (*Pharbitis hederacea*).

X. Koto ni idete, ihaba yuyushimi, asagahono, ho ni ha sahidenu, kohi mo suru ka mo.

I dare not tell my love, my love like the morning-glory that as yet showeth not its blossom—or, perhaps, like the young rice that showeth no ear conspicuous as the morning-glory.....
.....

Asa-kami-no (朝髪) like morning-tresses, disordered and dishevelled on waking.

IV. choka 60 ..... *Asakamino, omohi-midarete* ...
....., like my dishevelled tresses on waking all scattered are my thoughts.

Asa-kasumi (日霞) morning-mist used with *yahe,* manifold, *kahi*—or *kabi-ya, honoka.*

X. Asakasumi, yahe yama koyete, yobu kotori, yobi ya na gakuru, yado mo aranaku ni.

Crossing the hills manifold as the veils of morning mist the young birds I hear calling—why are they calling, for no lodging for thee is here, love!

X. Asakasumi, kabiya ga shita ni, naku kahadzu, kowe dani kikeba, are kohime ya mo.

As I listen to the murmur of the frogs while watching in the watch hut amid the morning mists, I am full, belike, of longings for my love.

Kabiya is variously explained—a hut for the watcher of fires lit to scare off wild boars or deer from the crops; a hut for a watcher who drives off birds from grain-bait scattered in the waters of pool or lagoon; the hut of a man stationed to watch crops, who lights a fire to drive off mosquitos. By some the syllable *ka* is connected with *kirafu*, misty, to which *kasumi* would apply as a sort of epexegesis. The use of the m. k. with *honoka*, dim, obscure, is obvious.

Asamoyoshi (朝毛吉, 麻裳吉) both scripts are more or less *kariji; yoshi* is *yo shi; asamo* is smock of hempen cloth. The m. k. is used with the syllable *ki* (as in Kinohe) which represents *ki* 著 put on, don.

Asa-shimo-no (朝霜) morning rime, used with *ke* (*kenaba, kenubeki, keyasuki*) as equal to *kiye*, be put out, vanish, disappear, pass away.

XIII. Asashimono, kenubeku nami ya, toki nashi ni, omohi-wataramu, iki no wo ni shite,

I am full of sadness as I reflect upon the uncertainty of my life, any day I may pass away like the morning hoar-frost.

Asa-tori-no (朝鳥) like morning (flights of) birds, used with *kayohasu*, come and go, go and return, pass on.

II. choka 26 ..... *asatorino, kayohasu kimi ga* ... .; with *ne nomi nakitsutsu*, while just lamenting as the morning birds cry shrilly in early flight; with *naki nomi nakamu*.

IX. choka 117 ..... *hina wosame ni to, asatorino, asatachi shi tsutsu*, as he departs to govern a frontier-land, rising early in the morning like the birds that fly at day-break.

Asa-tsuyu-no (朝露), like morning dew. Used like *asashimono*.

Ashibi-nasu, like *ashibi*, shrub. *Ashibi* (*asebi*) is *Andromeda japonica*.

VII. Ashibinasu, sakayeshi kimi ga, horishi-wi no, ishi-wi no midzu ha, nomedo akanu ka mo.

Shall I ever tire of drinking of the waters of the stone-cribbed well, the well digged by my comely lord, comely as the *ashibi* (in blossom).

Ashi-ga-chiru, where the reed-blooms scatter; used with Naniha, as built on low reedy ground.

Ashihikino. A very obscure m. k. It is found in K. lxxviii, and N. 234 and in several *manyō choka* (49.50). The scripts are 足日木, 足檜木, 足疾, 足曳, 足引 &c. The last script gives a common and obvious but quite incorrect, though not altogether inapplicable, meaning, foot-dragging, i.e., wearisome, toilsome. The least unacceptable explanation seems to be *ikashi-hi-ki,* flourishing or abundant *hi* (chamaecyparis) trees. The m. k. is used with *yama,* hill; *wo no ke* (峰上) hill-top; *yatsuwo* (八峰) eight (many) peaks, or many peaked range.

VIII. Ashihikino, ko no ma tachi kuku, hototogisu, kaku kiki somete, nochi kohimu ka mo.

How can I ever cease to love the cuckoo's note since first I heard him sing as he hid him among the clustered *hinoki.* (It is doubtful whether *ashihikino* is here more than a descriptive epithet of *ko,* tree).

III. Ashihikino, ihane kogoshimi, suganone wo, hikaba katami to, shime nomi so yufu.

Though they surround her with a *shime* prohibitive cordon as hard to win through as to scramble up by holding on to the reeds yon craggy heights clothed with *hinoki* (yet will I win her). In this *tanka, suganone wo* seems to be a m.k. of *hikaba katami* (*katakaramu*), *u* or *e* (*ru*) being understood and *hiki* being intensitive prefix-verb.....*suganonewo hikite katakaramu to.*

XVII. choka 225 ..... *ashihikino wotemo kono mo ni* ..... on this flank and on that flank of the range covered with *hinoki.* So with *arashi* (written 山風).

Ashi-ho-yama, a hill in *Hitachi.*

XIV. Tsukubaneni, sogahi ni miyuru, Ashihoyama, ashikaru toga mo, sane miyenaku ni.

Not a blemish in her fine face may be seen—or (my love were less burdensome). Here the m.k. is applied phonetically to *ashi* (*karu*)—the gist of the *tanka* is to be found in the concluding couplet which appears to mean—truly no evil fault is visible in (her or him), or if any 'tis slight. (In my Primitive texts *ashigaru* (sic) was hastily taken to mean *ashi karu*, reed-duck,—the concluding couplet of the *tanka* being neglected; a fatal error in seeking the explanations of m.k. is not thoroughly to master the meaning and, where possible, the allusion of each example.

Ashi-kabi-no (葦若未), *ashinoureno* (末) shoot of *ashi* reed.

II. Aga kikishi, mimi ni yoku nitsu, ashikabino, a nayamu waga se, tsutometabubeshi.

'Twas true then what came to my ears, my brother, (sir), that you had hurt your foot. I beg you neglect it not. The m. k. applies phonetically to *a* (*shi*) *nayamu*, foot hurt, crippled; *ashinoure* may mean, the florescent top of a reed-stalk, or, possibly, a painful foot 足ノ憂.

Ashi-kaki-no, like a reed-fence. Used with (*furinishi*) *sato.*

VI. choka 77.....Oshiteru, Naniha no kuni ha, ashikakino, furinishi sato. Here the m.k. qualifies *sato* rather than *furinishi.* The land of wave-worn Naniha, from where reedy fence surrounds deserted palace. The m.k. is also used with *omohi-midarete*, and with *hoka*, without, the house-fence separating what is *hoka*, without, from what is *uchi*, within. See Lays 123. 155.

Ashi-no-ne-no (葦根), like root of reed, a phonetic m.k. of *ne* (*mogoro*)=*nengoro*,

VII. Ashinoneno, nemokoro 'mohite, musubiteshi, tama no wo to ihaba, hito tokamè ya mo!

A beadlace firm-thridden—our solemnly vowed love, shall men speak ill of our love?

Ashi-no-ure, see *sul ashikakino.*

Atekawoshi (*ajikawoshi, ajikayoshi*), phonetic, m. k. of *Chika no saki* (*Chika* voiced—*jika*). The value of *ateka* is unknown. See Lay 68 where it is a reading for *ajinosumu.*

Awa-yuki-no (沫雪) like frothy or watery snow, or frothy and snow, used with *ke*, vanish, melt away.

VIII. Awayukino, kenubeki mono wo, ima made nagarahenuru ha, imo ni ahamu to.

Have I not lived thus long a life fleeting as melting snow, so that I might meet thee. See also K. iv. vi. where it applies to *wakayuru*, being young, i.e., soft, tender.

Ashi-tadzu-no, like cranes among the reeds, or reed-cranes.

III. Kimi ni kohi, ita mo subenami, ashitadzuno, ne nomi shi nakayu, asa yohi ni shite.

Morn and even I do but utter cries of woe like the cries of yonder cranes among the reeds, for I am all foredone with love for thee, my lord.

IV. Kusakaye no, iriye ni asaru, ashitadzu no, ana tadzu-tadzushi, tomo nashi ni shite.

Companionless I am desolate as the cranes among the reeds picking up their food on the shores of the lagoons of Kusakaye. Here the m. k. is simply phonetic.

Awo-hata-no (青旗), the script is *kariji. Mana* script would be 綾織 *aya hata*, patterned web. *Aya* being read *awo*, the latter applies to Kadzuraki (pl. n.), *Kadzura* being a chaplet, often of green twigs. The m. k. is also used with Osaka yama, *osaka=osoki* (*osohi-ki*)=*uhagi*, over-dress. See Lays 55. 190.

Awo-kumo-no (青雲) like blue (or dark-blue) cloud.

XIII. choka 186 ..... *shirakumono, tanabiku kuni no, awokumono, mukabusu kuni no* ....., the land over which spread the white clouds, the land lying under the dark-blue cloud. Here the *awokumo* must mean the blue expanse of sky, against which the lower clouds show white (*shirakumo*).

XIV. Naga haha ni, korare a ha yuku, awokumo no, ide ko wagimoko, ahimite yukamu.

Your mother hath bidden me harshly go, love, but still, prithee, come out to meet me, come out under the blue sky.

Awo-midzura, a particular mode of dressing the hair, so as to fall equally on either shoulder, ornamented by a chaplet of green twigs (willow &c.)

VII. Awomidzura, Yosami ga hara ni, hito mo ahanu ha mo, ihabashiru, Afumi agata no, monogatari semu.

On the moor of Yosami shall not we meet, that I may tell you the tale of my doings in Further Afumi (i. e., Tôtômi). Yosami is in Mikawa—*yose-ami* is to interweave as one interweaves green twigs to make a chaplet for a *midzura* coiffure.

Awoniyoshi, the most puzzling of all the m. k. It is usually written 青丹吉, *kariji* of course. May we not take yoshi 吉 as *yo shi,* exclamative particles, and *awo ni* as dark earth, used to paint artificial eyebrows with? Or by changing *awoni* to *awomi,* greenness, the m.k. becomes applicable to *nara,* a kind of oak (*Quercus glandulifera*). Some regard *awaniyoshi* as *awo-ni-neyashi,* prepare clay for pottery—in N. under reign of Jimmu we read "the past year at the end of the 9th month he took *hani* (clay) from Mt. Kagu, and made eighty (very many) platters thereof." *Rokushô,* verdigris, is still known as *awoni,* Nara, again, is connected with (*fumi*) *nara* (*shi*), tread level for building on—as, for example, City-Royal. *Narasu* also means to clear (of timber, etc.), for building on. In some of the above ways the meaning of *awoniyoshi,* as applied to Nara, may be guessed at. See K. lviii, N. 287, 403, Lays 7, 9, 15, 24, 137.

Awo-yagi-no, like green willow. Used with Hararo: *kuhashi mayone.*

XIV. Awoyagino, Hararo kaha-to ni, na wo matsu to, semido ha kumazu, tachido narasu mo.

By the narrows of the Hararo river, of catkined (*hana* [illegible]

minding, I draw no water (I only seem to, so as to hide our rendezvous) I do but trample the shore flat with waiting impatiently for you.

XIX. chôka 247.....*awayagino, kuhashi mayone*..... arched eyebrow graceful as a willow-branch. In the Kokinshiu we find.....*awoyagino, ito tayezu* enduring as the thready branches (constantly renewed) of the willow tree.

Chichi-no-mi-no, phonetic m.k. of *chichi*, father. *Chichinomi* is an old name for the *ichô* (Ginkgo biloba). XIX. *chôka* 239.

Chidori-naku, where sanderlings pipe. A descriptive praise-epithet of the Saho river, and the Yoshinu river.

Chihayaburu (千磐破, 千早振, 血速舊). The scripts are all *kariji* probably. The first two mean thousand-rock-smasher, thousand-swift-shaker. If *chi* be taken as=*te* (*chi*) hilt, then the meaning would be thousand-hilt-brandisher. With *uji* (gens) the m.k. is used, taking *uji*=*iji* stoutness, stubbornness (in fighting?).

II. Tamakadzura, mi naranu ki ni ha, chihayaburu, kami ni tsuku chifu, naranu ki goto ni.

The *tamakadzura* fruiteth not, and 'tis, they say, because a god hath touched it, every tree so touched fruiteth not.

This *tanka* was composed when Ohotomo no Sukune (Ammaro no kyô) was wooing the Lady of Kose, who, it seems, distrusted him, comparing him to a *kadzura* or *kamoji* (Brachypodium japm) which, it must be supposed, bears an invisible grain. There are other *tamakatsu* (*dzu*) *ra*—玉柱 the tree in the moon; the word also means a sort of head-dress consisting of a chaplet of thridden pearls.

VII. Chihayaburu, Kane no misaki wo, suginu to mo, wa wo ba wasurezhi, Shika no sune kami.

He will not forsake me, the god who dwells in Shika (for I have always duly honoured him), therefore without fear have I passed even the dread cliffs of Kane beaten by the waves with the might of the thousand-smashing-gods.

Chi-haya-hito, used with Uji (river-name).

VII. Chihayahito, Uji kaha nami wo, kiyomi ka mo, tabi yuku hito no, tachi kate ni suru.

Hardly may the wayfarer leave the waters—are they not sweet!—of the billowy Uji stream, of thousand-swift-hero minding.

Chiri-hiji-no (塵泥) like dust and dirt, m.k....of *kadzu ni mo aranu.*

XV. Chirihijino, kadzu ni mo aranu, ware yuwe ni, omohi-waburamu, imo ga kanashisa.

Oh the sadness of my beloved, who lamenteth because of me (a mere exile am I), one of no account, just dust and dirt.

Fuji-goromo (藤服) vestment of coarse wistaria fibre. Used with *matohoku shi areba* and *naru to ha saredo.*

III. Suma no ama no, shihoyaki kinu no, fujigoromo, matohoku shi areba, imada ki narezu.

He cometh not—far apart are we still, like the threads of a coarse wistaria smock worn by some Suma salt-burner.

XII. Ohokimino, shiho yaku ama no, fujigoromo, naru to ha suredo, iya medzurashi mo.

Still my love is comely to me; though our love be of old date, yet is it not like the coarse vestment of a salt-girl (worn with age and use).

Fuji-nami-no (藤浪) like waves (festoons) of wistaria blossoms. Used with *omohi-matsuhari,* thought (love) enwrapped.

XIII. chôka 145. *Shikishima no.....fujinamino, omohi-matsuharu.....kimi.*

my lord embowered in my love as in festoons of wistaria blossoms.

Fuka-miru-no (深海松), like deep *miru* seaweed (*Codium sp.?*) Phonetic m.k. of *fukamete, fukameshi;* also of *minakuhoshi,* longing to see, (the two *mi-meru, minaku.*)

Fune-hatsuru (在根良) The script is erroneous—it should be 舟根竟 and this is *kariji* for 舟泊, where

ships anchor at end of a passage. The m.k. is used as an epithet of Tsushima.

I. Funehatsuru, Tsushima no watari, wata naka ni, nusa tori mukete, haya kaheri kose.

O thou who art mid-way on the passage to Tsushima where all ships anchor (on the way to Korea and China) make offerings to the Sea-Gods that speedy thy return may be.

Furu-goromo, an old garment. Used with Matsuchi no yama, *matsuchi* being taken as=*mata uchi,* beat and beat, as old garments are beaten in the process of cleansing; with *utsuteshi hito, utsuteshi=utsu suteshi,* hence the application here is the same as above. (The m,k. must not be read with *suteru,* reject, abandon, although it seems so applicable in

XI. Furukoromo, utsuteshi hito ha, akikaze no, tachi kuru tohi ni, mono 'mofu mono so.

The chill winds of autumn are beginning to blow and I am full of sadness, for I am desolate and deserted (like a cast-off garment)·

Compare *III. Imayari ha, akikaze samuku, fukinamu wo, ikadeka hito ni, nagaki yo wo nemu.*

Now the autumn winds will blow chilly—how shali one sleep alone through the long nights?

Furu-yuki-no (零雪), like fallen (or falling) snow. Used with *ke,* vanish, melt away, disappear, (*kenaba, kenugani, kenu, sara ni kenubeku;* with *ke* (*kihe,* elapse) as in *ke nagaku kohishi; shirokami made ni,* up to the time of white hairs; *yuki* (as phonetic m.k.); *ichishiro kenu na,* distinct, conspicuous; *shikite omofu no,* continually think of.

IV. Michi ni ahite, yemashishi gara ni, furuyukino, kenaba kenu gani, kohi 'mofu wagimo.

As I met thee all smiling on the way I felt as though my heart perished within me like falling snow, for I love thee, my lady (and I know not what those smilings mean.).

X. Furuyukino, sora ni kenubeku, kofuredomo, afu yoshi mo naku, tsuki so he ni keru.

Like snow that melts away ere touching ground I am like to

perish with love, yet never may I meet thee and the months pass by, pass by.

XVII. Furuyukino, shirokami made ni, ohokimi ni, tsukahematsureba, tafutoku mo aruka.

Is it not honour enough to serve my Sovran until the hairs of my head are white as driven snow.

X. Amawobune, Hatsuse no yama ni, furuyukino, ke nagaku kohishi, kimi ga oto so suru.

Is it the sound of my lord's chariot that I hear, my lord whom I have so long loved? The first three *ku* form a *jo* to *ke*, which, read with it, means, melt away—the melting of the snows that fall on the mountains of Hatsuse—minding of the mooring (*hatsu*) of fisher boats (*amawobune*) that find safe haven there—but, read with what follows, means *kihe* (elapse),—*ke nagaku kohishi*, for a long time past beloved.

VI. Waga yado no, kimi matsu no ki ni, furuyukino, yuki ni ha yukazhi, machi nishi matamu.

Here *yuki* has a double sense, 'snow,' with what precedes, 'go,' with what follows—as the falling snow bides on the master-pine by my mansion, so will I bide here nor go elsewhere (and here receive my lord).

X. Ume no hana, sore to mo miyezu, furuyukino, ichishirokemu na, matsukahi yaraba.

'Twill be plain as fallen snow should messages ply between us, even though the plum blossoms are not yet seen, yet—how to live without hearing of thee! The plum blossoms appearing while snow may yet fall are often compared poetically to a fall of snow.

X. Wazamino, mine yuki sugite, furuyukino, shikite omofu to, maose sono ko ni.

As I cross Wazami's hill—tell her as the snow falleth more and more so I love her more and more.

Fuse-ya-taki (廬八燎) or (屋), the burning of a hovel, used with *susushi kihohi, susumi-arasohi*, dispute eagerly, obstinately, *susushi* being regarded also as meaning, sooty, smoke-begrimed, as by the burning of a hut or hovel.

Fusuma-chi-wo (衾道), the name of a road or track on the way to Hikite yama, part of Hakahi yama.

II. Fusumachiwo, Hikite no yama ni, imo wo oki, yamachi wo yukeba, ikeru to mo nashi.

No more care I for life as I fare over the mountain ways, leaving my love behind me at Hikite, whose hill-name minds of our happy couch (*fusuma* is a bed-coverlet). The connexion of *fusuma* with *hiki*, draw, is obvious, but it seems probable that the expression is not a m.k. at all but merely a place-name. Keichiu takes *chi* as=*te* (手) part held when the whole drawn (*hiki*).

Fuyu-komori (冬木成. 冬隱), the first script is *kariji* winterbound, epithet of *haru*, spring. Another explanation is given, *fuyu* (生) *ke* (氣) *mori* (萌), which might be rendered, commencement of the working of the spirit of growth which is distinctive of springtime.

Hafu-kuzu-no (延葛夜), like creeping *kuzu* (Pueraria thunbergiana). Used with various phrases including *taye*, end, cease; *iya to nagaku, shita yoshi kohiba, yukuhe wo nami, hikaba yori kone, nochi mo ahamu to.*

XX. Hafukuzuno, tayezu shinubayu, ohokimino, meshishi nu he ni ha, shimeyufubeshi mo.

With a sacred rice-rope shall be guarded the moor-side that hath gladdened my great lord's eyes, whose memory shall be cherished for time endless as the creeper that traileth o'er the moor.

X. Fujinamino, sakeru haru nu ni hafukuzu no, shita yo shi kohiba, hisashiku mo aramu.

Deep hidden as the moorland creeper among the bushes of the heathside when spring is bright with wistaria blossoms hath my love long been for thee (longer I may not hide it). *Shita yo*= *shita yori* and means, from below, i.e., deep hidden in my being as the creeper among the bushes.

XII. Ohosaki no, ariso no watari, hafukuzuno, yukuhe wo nami ya, kohi wataranamu.

The course of my love, belike, will resemble that of the wayless

kuzu that coileth o'er the strand by the ferry of Ohosaki. (i.e. he knows not what hope to have).

XIV. Ashigarano, Hakone no yama ni, hafukuzuno, hikaba yori kone.....

Let me draw thee to me as one may draw a trail of the moor-creeper that windeth o'er the hills of Hakone in Ashigara.

XVI. Nashi natsume, kimi ni aha tsugi, hafukuzuno, nochi mo ahamu to, ahohi hana saku.

The pear-tree and the jujube, *kimi* grain (*kibi=Panicum miliaceum*, also Kimi, lord), and *aha* grain (*Setariaglauca*)—do not their very names tell us, sir, we shall often feast together again in course as surely as the coils of *kuzu* that ever trail o'er the moor-side, and, further, we hear the same story in the blossoming of the *ahohi* (*afu, ahu, aho*, meet). The *ahohi* is a sort of hollyhock. The *tanka* is said to be the work of a retainer entertained by his lord, upon whose table the above fruits, grains and flowers are displayed. The version is, in part, imitative.

Hafu-tsuta-no, like creeping creeper. This m.k., as applied to *wakare*, separation or departure, implies a reference to the frequent division, *wakare*, of creeping plants in spreading over rock or trunk. In my Prim. Texts I have adopted a rather more poetic intention, but the above explanation is more correct.

II. Chôka 17 ..... *hafutsuta no, wakareshi* ..... parting from thee I fare on.....minding of the partings (branchings—*wakare*) of the creeping creeper.

Hahasoba-no, like the *hahasoba* oak (*Quercus dentata*), a phonetic m.k. of *haha*, mother. Compare *chichinomino.*

Haho-mame-no, like creeping wild-bean (*Dolichos?*).

XX. Michi no be ni, umara no ure ni, hahomameno, karamaru kimi wo, hakare ya yukamu.

Alas that I must leave my lord around whom my arms have twined as the wild-bean twines among the tops of the roadside brambles.

Hama-hisaki, the shore *hisakaki* (Eurya chinenis).

XI. Nami no ma yu, miyuru ko shima no, hamahisaki, hisashiku narinu, kimi ni ahazu shite.

O for meeting not my lord for so long a time, long as the *hisaki* tree's name betokens that grows on the shore of the islet seen beyond the waves. The m.k. is really phonetic, *hisa—hisa.* There is a Koshima in Kii and another in Bizen. If either is meant, *nami no mayu miyuru* will be a *jo* to the place-name.

Hama-sudori, shore birds (dotterels, etc.).

XIV. Hito no ko no, kanashike shida ha, hamasudori, a nayamu koma wo, woshikeku mo nashi.

When I long for my beloved what care I if my horse waddles (*a* [*shi*] *nayamu*) like a shore-bird (i.e., in his ardour he will even gallop so as to lame his steed).

Hana-chirafu (花散相), blossom-scatter. Used with Akitsu no nu (moor of Akitsu, in Yoshinu, celebrated for its plum and cherry blossoms) and *mukatsu wo no.*

XIV. Hanachirafu, kono mukatsu wo no, Wona no wo no, hizhi ni tsuku made, kimi ga yo mo ga mo.

The meaning (according to Keichiu) appears to be—May my lord's days be as long in the land as would be needed to cut through Wona's headland and make an island of it—Wona of yonder blossoming hill-range (*iro*) minding.

Chirafu (*chiru*) does not always mean 'scatter' but sometimes, as here (Keichiu), make full show of, as in *sakichiru,* burst into fullest blossom. *Chiru* or *chirafu* ought, perhaps, to be so used with Akitsu nu.

Hana-guhashi (花細), flower-fine, i.e., most excellent. Used with *ashikaki,* reed fence, i.e., with *ashi,* reed, to denote, perhaps, a house-fence of fine tall, stout, fresh reeds.

XI. Hanaguhashi, ashikaki koshi ni, tada hito me, ahimishi ko yuwe, chitabi nagekitsutsu.

But one glimpse got I in passing through the fine house-fence, yet a thousand times have I sighed for her.

Hana-katsumi (花勝見) The script is kariji. The

m.k. means apparently an Iris or reed: it is used phonetically with *katsute mo shiranu*, certainly unknown, or know not.

IV. Ominaheshi, Saki saha ni ofuru, hanakatsumi, katsute-mo shiranu, kohi mo suru ka mo.

Love before unknown now surely possesses me! The *jo* to *katsute* merely brings in the m.k. *katsu* (*mi*)—*katsu* (*te*)—and means, the *hanakatsumi* that grows in Saki's marshland where the *ominaheshi* bloometh (*saki*). The *ominaheshi* is *Fatrinia Scabaeosaefolia.*

Hanezu-noiro (翡酢色). The script is *kariji.* The *mana* is 糧. Used with *utsurohi yasuki*, easy of transference or change. *Hanezu* is the garden-plum (*Prunus japonica*).

IV. Omohazhi to, ihiteshi mono wo, hanezuiro no, utsurohi-yasuki, waga kokoro ka mo.

I said I would not love, but I find my heart as easy of impression as the garden plum-blossom's tints.

Haru-hana-no, like spring blossoms. Used with *tafutoki*, fine, excellent, lovely; *utsurohi kahari*, fade and change, as the tints of flowers; *ya medzurashiki*, very lovely, handsome; *nihohi sakayete*, fragrant and blooming, bright and blooming; *sakari*, bloom, blossom, flourish.

Haru-kasumi (春霞), the haze of spring-time. Used with Kasuga no sato, *kasuga* being written, spring day; with Winohe written 井上, but 井 is taken as 居, be, be in, on, etc., with *oho nishi 'mohaba.*

X. Makimuku no, Hihara ni tateru, harukasumi, oho ni shi 'mohaba, nadzumi-kome ya mo.

As I ponder gloomily, never methinks will he struggle so far to meet me, yet he will come—the *jo* introduces 'dimly,' 'gloomily,' as though wrapped in a spring mist rising upon Hihara in Makimuku.

Haru-kazeno, like a wind of spring, used with *oto*, sound (*fig:* news).

IV. Harukazeno, oto ni shi denaba, arisarite, ima narazu tomo, kimi ga manimani.

'Tis on the winds of spring that she should be mine, he saith, if not now, yet I shall be his in due time.

Haru-kusa-no (春草), like spring herbs, used with *iy medzurashi*, very lovely, delightful; *shigeki waga koh* abounding my love.

X. Harukusano, shigeki waga kohi, oho umi no, he n yoru nami no, chihe ni tsumorinu.

Abounding my love as herbs leafy in spring, a thousand fold it increaseth like the tale of the waves that roll in upon the shore of the great sea.

Haru-kusa-wo, spring-grass which—*uma kuhi*, horses eat.

IX. Harukusawo, Umakuhi yama yo, koye ku naru, kari ga tsukahi ha, yadori sugu nari.

O'er Umakuhi's hill, where horses on spring herbs feed, the wild geese come flying, but no message bring they me, alas, for they pass on, afar to seek lodging. He is far away from City-Royal and would hear news of his home, but the wild geese mind him not, they seek their own home. Umakuhi is a hill in Yamashiro.

Haru-tori-no, wild-fowl in spring, used with *samayohi*.

II. chôka 24 ..... *harutorino, samayohinuredo* ..... ; though they wandered about like birds that fly round and round in spring time; with *ne nomi naki tsutsu*, while lamenting and wailing as wild fowl filling the air with their cries in spring.

Haru-yama-no, like the hills in spring, used with *shinahe sakahe*, sway in leaf and blossom; with *obotsuku naku mo*.

VIII. Midzutorino, kamo no ha no iro no, haruyama no, obotsukunaku mo, omohoyuru ka mo.

The meaning seems to be—My thoughts are gloomy (*obotsukunaku*), belike, as in the spring time the hills are gloomy under grey mists, grey as the plumage of the water-haunting wild-duck. He is away from his love.

Haru-yanagi, spring willow, used with Kadzuraki yama, and with *kadzura ni orishi*, pluck for chaplets, *kadzura* is a chaplet of green twigs, blossoms, seaweed, etc.

Hashi-mukafu (箸 向), paired chopsticks, used with *oto*, younger brother, as paired with *ani*, elder brother, or, possibly, *hashi* may be 橋, a bridge, which connects opposite banks, or again 愛, mutually affectionate, as brothers should be.

Hashi-tate-no (橋 立), like ladder set up. Used with Kurahashi (yama, kaha), either phonetically (*hashi-hashi*), or in connexion with *kura*, godown, for which ladders would be needed; with Kumaki, perhaps as resembling *kumiki*, a scaffolding (where ladders or steps would be wanted). See k. lxx (with *kurahashi*) and N. 2166 (with *sakashiki*, steep).

Hatsu-hana-no, like opening blossoms, used with *chirubeki*.

IV. Hatsuhanano, chirubeki mono wo, hitogoto no shigeki ni yorite, yodomu koro ka mo.

Things frail are opening blossoms, and soon are fallen, and many are the rumours of the world, am I to believe them? The allusion is to reports that his beloved is to be given away from him—rumours are as thick as fallen blossoms.

Hata-susuki, a grass, *Miscanthus sinensis*. Used with *ho*, ear (of grain), and as under.

X. Waginokoni, Afusaka yama ni, hatasusuki, ho ni ha sakidezu, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Like the tall moor-grass not yet in ear, that groweth on Afusaka's hill, whose name mindeth of meeting with one's beloved, must my love remain, alas, fruitless (or unknown).

XIV. Nihimurono, ko-doki ni itareba, hatasusuki, ho ni deshi kimi ga, miyenu konogoro.

As the time of caring for the young silkworms in their new shelter has come, my lord cannot now let the love of his heart be known, ripe as the tall moor-grass in ear; and for a while I may not see him (both lovers are too busy with tending the worms).

III. Hatasusuki, kume no wakugo ga, imashikemu, Miho no ihaya ha, are ni keru ka mo.

All desolate now the cave of Miho where famous of old for the young hero of the *kume-be* (warrior-guild). The m.k. is applied to *ho* of *Miho* (in Kii).

XIV. Kano koro to, nezu ya narinamu, hatasusuki, Uranu no yama ni, tsuki katayoru mo.

Must it be that I may not visit her, now that the moon is sinking behind Uranu's hill? (He is waiting for his chance when darkness shall give it.) The m.k. applies to Ura (nu) *ura=ure.*

Haya-kaha-no (速川), like a swift stream. Used with *yukuhe*, course, course of life. Lay 157, *yukuhe mo shirazu*, unknowing what course of life shall be mine. The m.k. compares the course of life to that of a swift stream.

Hikaru-kami (光神), the flashing god, thunder and lightning, epithet of Narihata wotome, the girl Narihata, whose name tells of flashing (*hikaru*) peal (*hata*) and roll (*nari*).

Hiku-ami-no (牽留鳥), *kariji*, in *mana* 引網, like a draw-net. Used with *nadzusahi komu*, come floating in. But *nihotorino* (q.v.) may be the true reading of this m.k. See III. *Chôka* 48.

Himo-kagami (紐鏡), cord-hung mirror (metal), used with Notoka no yama (locality unknown).

XI. Himokagami, Notoka no yama ha, taga yuwe so, kimi kimaseru ni, himo akezu nemu.

Notoka's hill—Never—loose hill—for whom speaketh the name—not surely for thee, when thou comest to me, shall my love be refused fast-bound! Notoka is regarded as=*na toki so*, loose not, and the m.k.—mirror whose cord (must not be undone)—is applied accordingly.

Himo-no-wo-no (紐緒), cords that fasten a vestment, used with *kokoro, itsugari-ahite.*

XII. Nani yuwe ka, omohazu aramu, himonowono, kokoro ni irite, kohishiki mono wo.

Why should I not think of thee with love? are we not as the twain cords that bind a vestment?

XIX. Chôka 230.....*himonowo, i-tsugarite*.....
binding (him) to her as vestment cords bind one's raiment.

Hinakumori.

XX. Hinakumori, Usuhi no saka wo, koyeshi dani, imo ga kohishiku, wasurayenu ka mo.

Though the frontier pass I cross be called Usuhi, yet shall I not forget my love for thee. The m.k.=*hita kugamori*=condense, as water into ice, hence the application to Usuhi as 薄氷, thin ice. But a simpler explanation, surely, is *hitakumori*, cloudy, as epithet of Usuhi=薄日, dimly radiant sun.

Hi-no-moto-no (日本), sunsource, orient, an epithet of Yamato; in fact, a translation of Nippon.

Hisa-kata-no (久堅, 方), *kariji* probably. Used with *ame, ama*, sky, heaven; *ame*, rain; *tsuki*, moon; *miyako*, City-Royal. Very different explanations are given of this difficult m.k. The one I prefer is *hi* 日, *sashi* 刺, *kata* 方, where the sun shines, sunbright, sunlit. Other guesses are *hisa* (*gu*), *katsu* (*ma*), a sort of Buddhist basket carried in the hand; *hi saka-tari* 日榮足, sunbrilliant, full-radiant; *hisa* (*go*) 匏 *kata* 形; gourd-shaped (as the domed sky is), and *hisa*, long, *kata* hard, firm and enduring.

IV. Amatsutsumi, tsune sesu kimi ha, hisakatano, kiso no ame ni, yori ni kemu ka mo.

Will not then my lord, who loves to keep house when skies are threatening, have been kept from me by yesternight's storm (that is, won't he visit her). Here the m.k. is used with *ame* (rain) as homophon of *ame* (heaven, sky).

XII. Hisa aramu, kimi wo omofu ni, hisakatano, kiyoki tsukuyomo, yami nomi ni miyu.

As I think of my lord to be so long away from me, it is as though darkness had just fallen upon a moonlit radiant night.

XIII. Hisakatano, miyako wo okite, kusamakura, tabi yuku kimi ha, itsu to ka matamu.

How long must I wait to see my lord who hath now gone from

sun-bright City-Royal, and fareth far as travellers fare reposing nightly on pillow of reeds? The above follows a *tanka* to Lay 146 but is really an independent *tanka*. See also K. xxvii., and N. 2160.

Hotaru-nasu (螢 成), firefly-like. Used with *honoka* (*ni kikite*), scarcely hearing, as uncertainly as fluttering fireflies are seen by night.

Hototogisu, the *hototo* singer, i.e., the cuckoo (*Cuculus poliocephalus*). Used with Tobata no ura—*tobu*=to fly;

X. Haru sareba, sugaru naku nu no, hototogisu, hotohoto imo ni, ahazu ki ni keri.

It seemed almost that I should go back, alas, without seeing my love! The m.k. is here merely phonetic—*hototo—hototo,* almost, probably, and is introduced by the following preface—(the cuckoo) that haunts the moor-side where the wasps buzz after spring hath departed (i.e., in summer when wasps are heard and the Japanese cuckoo is the dominant bird—in poetry at least).

Iha-hashi-no (石 橋), rock-bridge, either stepping-stones, or logs or planks laid across rocks or stones in a stream. Used with *ma-jikaki* (close-placed), also with *tohoki.*

IV. Utsusemino, hito me wo shigemi, ihabashino, ma-jikaki kimi ni, kohi wataru ka mo.

We are as neighboured as stepping-stones and many are the eyes of mortal men, love hardly dare we, my lord and I.

XI. Asuka kaha, asu mo wataramu, ihabashino, tohoki kokoro ha, omohoyenu ka mo.

I did not think our hearts would be so long divided, alas! as even the stepping-stones that on the morrow shall bear me from thee across Asuka's waters. Here the m.k. is applied to the whole of the concluding couplet. Possibly the first *ku* is a phonetic m.k. of *asu.*

Iha-bashiru (石 流) in rocky channel flowing. Used with Tarumi (a place in Settsu), *tagi,* rapids; with Afumi, Kamunabi.

VIII. Ihabashiru, Tarumi no uhe no, sawarabi no, moyedzuru haru ni, nari ni keru ka mo.

Spring hath come, belike, showing the new greenery of the bracken fern, above Tarumi, of rocky flow. Tarumi=falling water. With *tagi* the use is similar; with Afumi it implies the meaning of *afu* (*reru*) *midzu*, overflowing waters. Of the latter use there are various other explanations. With Kamunabi the use is explained by reference to *kamu* (*kami*) in *kaminari*, god-roar, i.e., thunder—thunder of rocky streams.

Iwa-fuchi-no (石淵), like a pool in a river-course. Used with *komorite*, conceal, seclude.

XI. Kamunabi no, wori tamu kuma no, ihafuchino, komorite nomi ya, waga kohi aramu.

How long must I conceal my love as the river pool is secluded by a fence of stone where the road winds to Kamunabi?

Ihahonasu (巌成), used with *tokiha*.

VI. Harukusa ha, ncchi ha chiriyasushi, ihahonasu, tokiha ni imase, tafutoki aga kimi.

Soon are the herbs of spring scattered and gone, but, excellent my lord, mayest thou endure as long the living rock shall be.

Ihaho-suge (石穂菅), *Carex stenantha*. Used as Suganone (q.v.) with *nemokoro* firmly, constantly (as if *ihahosugeno ne* (根). *Ne-mokoro*=root-like, rootedly.

Ihakuyeno, in *mana* script 石崩, rock-crumbling. The m.k. is phonetic—*kuye*—*kuye*.

XIV. Kamakura no, Mikoshi no saki no, ihakuyeno, kimi ga kuyubeki, kokoro ha motazhi.

Let my lord not fail (with doubt of my love) as crumble the cliffs of cape Mikoshi by Kamakura under the waves of the sea cape of Mikoshi in Kamakura.

Iha-tsuna-no (石綱), like rock-rope (*Hedera helix*), the common ivy, or a wild vine (*Parthenocissus cuspidata*). Used with *wochi-kaheri*, return, either the coils of the creeper on themselves, or, in time, season after season); with *hahe* creep.

VI. Ihatsunano, mata wochi-kaheri, awoniyoshi, Nara no miyako wo, mata minamu ka mo.

Should the days of my youth return to me and I be young again, as the creeper returns upon itself, should I even then live long enough to see well-laid Nara in all its pristine glory renewed? This paraphrase gives what appears to be the real meaning of this obscure *tanka*. The wild vine (*Parthenocissus*) affords a more exact rendering, perhaps, than 'ivy,' which is, according to Prof. Matsumura, rather *kidzuta* than simple *tsuta*.

XII. Tani sebami, mine he ni haheru, ihatsunano, hahete shi areba, toshi no kozu to mo.

Like the ivy (wild-vine?) that climbeth from narrow valleys to lofty peaks with never a break shall our mutual love prove constant, even if for a whole year we met not.

Iha-wi-tsura (*i-hahi*), some sort of slender trailer, or climber.

XIV. Irimaji no, Ohoya ga hara no, ihawitsura, hikaba nurunuru, wa ni na tahe so ne.

Thou holdest me by withes of love, tender as the slender creeper that coils o'er the plain of Ohoya on the Irima road; I pray thee bear gently on them, nor cease to love me!

Ihe-tsu-tori, the house-bird, the cock (*kake*) of which the m.k. is an epithet.

Iho-he-nami (五百野浪), five-hundred (innumerable) lines of waves. Used with *tachite wite*, up and down, standing sitting, starting staying (i.e., continually), so the innumerable waves of the sea are incessantly advancing, retiring, rising, falling, etc.

I-me-hito-no (射目人). Used with Fushimi pl. n.; *imehito* are archers posted to crouch (*fushi*) and watch (*mi*) the game.

I-me-tachite (射目立), the starting (or posting) of bow-armed beaters or trackers to rouse and watch the game. Hence

applied to Tomi no woka pl. n. *to-mi*=(*a*)*to mi*, to trail-track.

Imo-ga-himo (妹 紐), my love's (mantle) cords. Used with *yufu*, *musubu*, tie, knot, and *toku*, untie, unloose.

X. Imogahimo, toku to musubu to, Tatsuta yama, ima koso momiji, hazhimetari keme.

On Tatsuta's hill already are seen the earliest glows of autumn. The *jo* to Tatsuta, taken as *tatsu*, start on a journey, is a word play—girding or ungirding for starting on a journey (i. e., arranging one's dress in traveller's trim); *imogahimo* "my love's vestment-cords," minding of the process.

Imo-ga-ihe-ni (妹 家), to my love's dwelling-place. Used with Ikuri no mori, grove (with shrine) of Ikuri. The application is to *iku*,=*yuku*, go to, the verb being completed into a phrase by the m. k.

Imo-ga-kado (妹 門), my love's dwelling. Used with Iriidzumi gaha (river-name), *iri idzu* (入 出)=go in, out. Complementary m. k. like the last.

Imo-ga-me-wo (妹 目), my love's eye (for person, form).

VIII. Imogamewo, Tomi no saki naru, akihagi ha, kono tsuki goro ha, chiri kosu na yume.

O bush clover of autumn that groweth on Tomi's hill, shall I not soon see my love, therefore let not your blossoms fall and scatter just this month, I pray you. The m. k. is read with *tomi* as=*to*(*ku*) *mi*(*ru*), *imogamewo tokumiru*—*saki* is error for *woka*.....

XII. Imogamewo, mimaku Hori ye ..... *imogamewo mimaku* is a sort of *jo* to Horiye, *hori* meaning to love. Horiye, ,artificial waterway, dug-out channel, is a place-name—Horiye that mindeth me of my love whom I would fain see .....

Imo-ga-keru, my love weareth ..... used with Mikasa Hill—*Mi kasa* meaning a fine hat. Mikasa Hill, whose name mindeth me of the fine hat my love weareth.

Imo(ra)gari(to) (妹 許), where my love is, used with Imaki pl. n. read as 今 來

X. Imogarito, uma ni kura okite, Ikoma yama, uchikoye kureba, momiji chiritsutsu.

Saddling my horse I cross Ikoma's hill, where already the autumn leaves lie ruddy on the ground. The m. k. here goes with Ikoma, out of which *yuku* (*iku*) is extracted to complete the phrase *imogarito yuku*, towards where my love is fare I.

Imo-ga-sode, my love's sleeve, used with Makimuku (hill-name)—*imogasode, makimuku*..... roll up or back my love's sleeve (or, rather, entwine my love's sleeves with mine).

Ina-mushiro (稻 筵), mat made of rice straw. Used with *kaha*, river, as homophon of *kaha*, skins, anciently used instead of matting.

XII. Tamahokono, michi yuki tsukare, inamushiro, shikite mo kimi wo, mimu yoshi mo ga mo.

The gist of this *tanka* (the concluding couplet) is, "O that again and again I might see thee"; the *jo* is—tired of travel and spreading a mat (to rest on) by the spear-way's road side—and the m. k. is applied to *shikite* (spreading) as homophon of *shikite, shikushiku*, again and again. See also N 2475.

Ina-no-me-no (稻 目), for *ina no mure no.*

X. Ahimimaku, akitaranedomo, inanomeno, ake yuki ni keri, funade semu imo!

Though I cannot see thee to my desire, yet now red dawn showeth, ruddy as ripening rice-field (*inanomeno*), and I must leave thee to fare over the sea, my love!

Inu-zhi-mono, dog-like, used with the phrase *michi ni fushi*, lie down by the road-side.

V. chôka 66 ..... *inuzhimono, michi ni fushite ya, inochi suginamu*, lying down by the way-side like a dog and letting my life end.

Iri-hi-nasu (入 日 成), like setting sun, used with *kakuri*, hide, be hidden, pass from sight.

Isana-tori (鯨 魚 取), where men catch great fish (whales), used with *umi* sea ; *hama* strand, and the place-names Hijiki no nada (offing of Hijiki, and Afumi no umi, sea, i.e., lake of Omi (Biwa). See Lays 16, 19, 30, 40, 78, 93.
The whale was a coveted source of food, and the flesh is still eaten on some coasts of Japan. *Isa*=great, and *na* is an old word for 'fish' (compare *sakana*).

Ishitabuya (石 飛). See K. iii where the m. k., explained in the Kotoba no Izumi as *ishi no tobu ga gotoki*, is used with *ama hase tsukahi*, sky-swift herald, swift as a flying stone. The explanation does not remove the obscurity.

Isayakaha (不 知 也), phonetic m.k. of *isa*, not so, no.

XI. Inukami no, Tokonoyama naru, Isaya kaha, isa to wo kikose, waga na norasane.

Say 'tis not so (i.e., hold our love secret), nor utter my name, I pray thee, as yon Isaya bids thee, that flows by Toko's hill in Inukami.

Iso-kahi-no (磯 貝), like shore-shell, used with *kata-kohi*, unmated, lonely love (when one is absent of the pair)—like the solitary valve of an empty shell.

Iso-matsu-no (磯 松), like shore (fringing) pine, used with *tsune*, ever.

XX. Hashikeyoshi, kefu no arozhi ha, isomatsu no, tsune ni imasane, ima mo miru goto.

May our excellent host of to-day be long lived as the shore pine and remain for many a day as we now see him.

Iso-no-kami (石上), a place-name used with Furu (*furu*).

IV. Isonokami, Furu to mo ame ni, tsutsumame ya, imo ni ahamu to, ihite shi mono wo !

Shall the rain that rains down from the sky hinder me? Nay, I have promised to meet her. Here Furu is a place in Isonokami, it is also homophonous with *furu*, to pour, fall (as rain, snow, etc.,). See N. 2470, 2549.

I-yuki-ahi-no (身 行 相), despite the script *i* is merely a *verbal prefix*. The meaning is—the meeting of travellers

going and returning (from and to City-Royal). Used with *saka*, hill-pass.

IX. Iyukiahino, saka no fumoto ni, saki woworu, sakura no hana wo, misemu ko mo ga mo.

Would she were with me, my love, that I might show her the wealth of blossoms on the wild cherry trees that cluster at the foot of this (Tatsuta) pass, where ever wayfarers meet forthgoing and home-returning.

Iyu-shishi-no, like wounded deer, used with *kokorowo-itamu*, heart-stricken, and as under.

XIII. chôka 196 ..... *iyushishino, yuki mo shinamu to, omohedomo* ..... though I think, I shall die like a wounded hart as it wanders on.....

Isu-kuhashi (勇 網). See K. x and N. 1132—*isuku-hashi, kujira sayari* (a snare set to catch a woodcock) has caught a mighty whale (i.e. a foe deemed weak has been found strong). In brief, the phrase resembles 'caught a Tartar.'

Kadzu-no-ki-no (*kajinoki*), the *Broussonetia* or paper mulberry.

XIV. Ashigari no, [*wa wo*] *Kakeyama no, kadzunokino, wa wo kadzusane mo, kadzusakazu to mo.*

Of this *tanka* only a more or less conjectural version is attainable—if you love me, take me, however hard the task, take me. In the first two *ku*, 'if you love me' is implied by word play—*wa wo kake* (*omohi*), love me—, while the m.k. is used phonetically with *kadzusane, kadzusakazu* (=*kadowakasu*, abduct, elope with). The *kake* is extracted from the hill-name Kake (in Ashigari).

Kadzura-gake, an old name of Lycopodium clavatum, a ritual plant, therefore proper as a *homegotoba*. It is used, accordingly, with *kaguhashi kimi*, my very elegant lord, with whom I fall in love at first sight (*mi-someru*).

Kahadzu-naku (河 蝦 鳴), murmur of frogs, but 蝦 is *gama*, toad. Used as descriptive *homegotoba* with Idzumi (a village name) and Kamunabi, Mutsuta and Yoshinu (river-names).

Kaha-yagi-no (川楊), river-willow. Used with *ne-mo-koro* (*nengoro*), *ne* taken as *ne* (根).

Kagami-nasu (鏡成), mirror-like, i. e., bright, precious (mirrors being much valued in ancient Japan).. Used with the syllable *mi* as *mi* 見, see, in Mitsu (name of a strand); also with *aga 'mofu imo*, my treasured girl whom I love, and as under.

XVIII chôka 233 ..... *kagaminasu, kaku shi tsuke mimu, omokaharisezu* ..... and so without change of countenance (in unaltered health) would I fain ever see him as one sees each morn the bedside mirror.

Kagirohino (玉限 for 蜻, 玉蜻, 蜻火, 珠蜻, 炎, 蜻蛉). *Kagirohi*, as the scripts show, is an old name for *seirei* or *tombo*, dragon fly, but probably it is merely a lengthened form of *kagiru* or *kageru* (comp. *chiri, chirahi; tsukuri tsukurohi, utsuri utsurohi*) connected with *kage*, shiningness. It may be taken as meaning shining, dazzling, glowing, glittering, gleaming, etc., As m. k. it is *homegotoba* of *yufu* evening; *iha* (—*kaki—fuchi*) rock, as containing the seeds of flame, shown when steel-struck; *honoka*, dimly, shimmeringly; *haru*, spring; *kokoro moyetsu*, heart a-flame; *tada hito me nomi*, only a glance at; *hi*, sun, day.

X. Imasara ni, yuki furame ya mo, kagirohino, moyuru haruye to, nari ni shi mono wo!

Is this again a fall of snow? Is not the radiant glow of spring time now with us! See Lays 12, 28, 92, 123; also K. lxxvi, and *tamakagiru* infra.

Kaji-no-oto-no, like sound of oar (or scull). Used with *tsubara tsubara*, clearly, distinctly, as splash of oar.

Kaki-ho-nasu (垣保成), fenced off.

IX. chôka 120, *tanka; kakihonasu, hito no yokogoto, shigemi ka mo, ahanu hi maneku, tsuku mo henuramu.* By fence of multitudinous slanders are we kept apart, and now many the months, and many the days do we meet not alas!

Kaki-hiku-ya, strike and play (the lute or harp), used

with the pl. n. Yura no to, read as *yura no oto*, soft or tinkling sound. See K. lxxiv. N. 1269.

Kaki-kazofu, count, enumerate. Used with Futagami, Twain Peak (or Twain God) Hill—*futa* is 'two' hence *kaki-kazofu, Futagami yama*—may be rendered The Hill of (as one counts one, two) Two Peaks.

Kaki-koyuru (垣越) to pass, cross the house-fence, used with *inu*—a mere verbal epithet of which the value is not very apparent. Perhaps *koyuru* is assimilated to *hoyuru*, bark.

VII. Kakikoyuru, inu yobi kosete, togari suru kimi, awo-yama no, ha shigeki yama he, uma yasume kimi.

My lord has called his dogs and ta'en them with him to shoot game on Awoyama (or on the green hills). Oh, let my lord halt his horse by the hill-side, for the woods are thick and dark—(and so dangerous for horsemen).

Kaki-tsubata (垣津旗), the script is *kariji*. The *Iris laevigata*, used with *nidzurafu*, be ruddy-hued; *saki*, bloom. This Iris is known as *kahobana* (fair) face flower.

Kako-zhi-mono (鹿兒自物), like the young of the deer. Used with *aga hitori ko* (XX. 262), my only child, one only, as hart is sire of one only.

Kamo-zhi-mono (鴨自物), like wild-duck.

I. chôka 13 ..... *kamozhimono, midzu ni uki-wite* .....
... like wild duck floating on the water.

Kamu-kaze-no, of divine wind (influence), used of Ise where the chief gods have their seat.

XIII. chôka 172 ..... *kamukazeno, Ise no umi no* .....
of the sea of divine-breathed Ise (i. e., god-dominated, impregnated) Another explanation of *kamukaze* is 神下瀬 where 瀬 is *kariji* for *se=ba*, *kami kudari se—kudari* contracted into *ka*, place where the gods alighted when they came down from heaven. See also K. xiv. N. 1161, 2387.

Kara-kaji-no (柄楫), *Karakaji* appears to mean a scull (oar or paddle?) with handle—or perhaps *kara* simply

means Korean (or Chinese). The m.k. is used with *oto* sound, in allusion to the splash of the oar. Kara (gara) may also be the *kara* of *karakasu, karausu.*

Kara-koromo (韓衣), Korean (style of) vestment. Used with Kinara (*kinarasu*=put on, wear); Tatsuta (*tatsu*—cut out, shape a garment); and *suso no ahazute.*

XI. Asakage ni, aga mi ha narinu, karagoromo, suso no ahazute, hisashiku nareba.

I am become as the shadow of the morning, for long it is since I met thee (*ahazu*)—'tis as though the folds of a Korean vestment (worn at court) were not drawn together (*ahazu*).

Kariganeno, *karigane=kari,* wild goose, *kari ga ne=* the cry of the wild-goose. Its use with *ki-tsugi.*

VI. chôka 84 ..... *kariganeno, kitsugi kono goro* .... is not clear. The passage itself is probably corrupt. Taking it as it is, perhaps the best meaning is, now when the wild-geese come—or then scream is heard—in successive flocks.

Kari-komo-no (苅薦), like confusedly fallen masses of reaped reeds, used with *midaru* (disordered); *kokoro mo shinu ni,* my heart yielding as reed haulm (to sickle).

XI. Imo ga tame, inochi nokoseri, karikomono, omohi-midarete, shinubeki mono wo!

I live but for my love, I am like to die as love—entangled as reed-haulms bound in sheaves (for mats, roofs, fences, etc.)

XIII. chôka 148.....*karikomono, kokoro mo shinu ni* ..... my heart all yielding as reed to the sickle. See also K. lxxix where the sense seems to be—however the hail may rattle among the dwarf bamboos, after I shall have embraced her let men plot as they may, fine indeed was my embracing of her as I embraced her, as we lay together, entangled (entwined) as reaped reeds for mats are in their sheaves, as embracing her I embraced her.

Kashi-no-mi-no (橿實), like oak acorn. Used with *hitori alone, as the acorn is,* never being found triple as the

chestnut is. See *XI. chôka* 106 ..... *kashinomino, hitori ka nuramu*.....lonely as solitary acorn shall I sleep alone.....

Kasumi-tatsu (霞立), where mist (or haze) rises. Used phonetically with Kasuga no sato—*Kasuga* is written 春日, spring-day, when mists are common.

Kata-mohi-no (片埦), like open (lidless) jar. Used with *soko*, bottom, extreme.

IV. Omohiyaru, sube mo shiraneba, katamohino, soko ni so are ha, kohi nari ni keri.

I cannot chase away my love which—or so deep is my love that t—is become measureless and I know not what to do—*soko*, bottom, implies 'measureless,' and the m.k. gives the word a concrete sense to aid the metaphor.

Kaze-no-'to-no, sound of the wind, used with *tohoki*, distant—*Kazenotono, tohoki wagimo*, my love far from me as the wind may be heard; the sound of the wind being heard at great distance.

Ke-koromo-wo, fur—or feather—made garments worn when hunting &c. Used with *haru* (春), spring, as homophonous with *haru* (張), to stretch skins for making garments—perhaps simply, 春, because such garments were worn in spring (and winter) as hunting seasons.

Kefu-kefu-to (今日今日), today today, used with Asuka pl. n. *asu*=tomorrow (the morrow which in turn becomes to-day).

Kimi-ga-ihe-ni (君家), in, or to, my lord's house. Complementary m.k. of Sumisaka (pass of Sumi)—*Sumi*=住, to dwell in.

IV. Kimigaiheni, aga Sumisaka no, ihe-ji wo mo, are ha wasurezhi, inochi shinazu ha.

Never till I die shall I forget the way to my lord's house that leadeth by Sumi's pass—minding me of sojourning (*Sumi*) under my lord's roof. Addressed to Hitomaro by his wife.

Kimi-ga-keru (君服), what my lord wears. Used with Mikasa no yama, the hill Mikasa—*mi-kasa*=royal or fine hat.

XI. Kimigakeru, Mikasa no yama ni, wiru kumo no, tateba tsugareru, kohi mo suru ka mo.

Ever mist after mist lieth on Mikasa's hill—of royal canopy minding—shall our love be so?

Kimo-mukafu (肝向), fronting the liver (*jecur*). Used with *kokoro*, heart (=chief of the five viscera).

II. chôka 17 ..... *kimomutafu, kokoro wo itami* .....
... Sorrowful my heart chief of my life organs. So, too, K. lx.

Mimoro no, sono Takaki naru, Ohowiko ga hara, Ohowiko ga, hara ni aru, kimomukafu, kokoro wo dani, ahi mohazaramu.

Shall my heart not be full of tender thoughts of thee (thou that dwellest) on the Plain of Ohowiko by yonder Takaki in Mimoro, the plain (*hara*) of Ohowiko that mindeth of the *hara* (interior of body) where lieth my heart fronting the five organs of life (or the liver only)?

Koma-tsurugi (狛劍), Koma (Korean) straight two-edged sword. The hilt had a ring (*wa*) at the end, hence the phonetic use of the m. k. with the pl. n. Wazami ga hara.

XII. chôka 24 ..... *komatsurugi, Wazami ga hara* ...
..... So in.

XII. Komatsurugi, waga kokoro yuwe, yoso nomi ni, mitsutsu ga kimi wo, kohiwatarinamu.

'Twas my heart spoke, I scarcely saw thee, yet ever since have I loved thee.—Here the m. k. is a mere verbal ornament to the syllable *wa* of *waga kokoro*. The translation is somewhat conjectural.

Kamo-makura (鳫枕), a pillow of reeds, used with *ahi-makishi ko*.

VII. Komomakura, ahi-makishi ko mo, areba koso, yo no fukuraku mo, aga woshimi seme.

Were my love still living, still should I know the misery of the waning night (when he would have to leave her).

The m. k. is used with *ahi-makishi*, embrace, or roll up (as *reeds to make a pillow*). In N. 2549 (*chôka*) the m. k. is

applied to the pl. n. Takahashi, *taka* being regarded as homophon of *taku=tsukanu*, to bind together (as sheaf, roll).

Komoriku-no (隱口), used descriptively with Hatsuse (pl. n.). Various explanations are given of this m. k; *komorikuni*, secluded, hill-surrounded land; *komoriku*, where *ku=tokoro; ko* (木) *mori* (盛) *ku* (tokoro=*ko tachi shigeku mori*, where trees are standing in thick abundance. Hatsuse might be *ha*, leaf, *tsu*, genitive post-position, *se=ba* place—leafy, i. e., wooded tract. See K lxxxviii, lxxxix. N. 2346, 2603.

Komorinuno (隱沼). If the script be *mana* the meaning is, hidden pool or swamp (under overgrowth of reeds?). The m. k. is used with *shita* as=*ura*, inwardly, deeply; and with *mizu hisa ni shite*.

IX. chôka 125 ..... *komorinuno, shitabahe okite, uchinageki* ..... lying low as a reedy pool she broke into weeping.

XIV. Ajinosumu, Susa no iriye no, komorinuno, ana ikidzukashi, mizu hisa ni shite.

Scarcely can I draw breath for grief for that so long hast thou been hidden from (unseen by) me—hidden like the reedy swamp of Susa by wild-fowl haunted.

Komo-tatami (薦疊), *komo* reed-matting. Used with *Heguri, he* being taken as *he*, layer, fold, piece.

XVI. Idzuku so, ma soho horu woka, komotatami, Heguri no Aso ga, hana no he wo hore.

Would you learn where to find a hill whence to get good red ochre (for colouring Buddhas, ships, etc.,), dig deep in Heguri no Aso's great nose.

Heguri no aso was not a *geko* (teetotaller), but had a *zakurobana* (pomegranate nose). He coloured it between A. D. 729 and 765.

Ko-no-kure-no (木暗晩), shadowy trees, i. e., when trees in full leaf and blossom give a deep shade. Used with *u no tsuki*, hare, or fourth month, by which time the trees are in full foliage; also with *shigeki-omoki*.

XIX. chôka 245 ..... *konokureno, shigeki omohi wo, ni akirame* ..... clear away crowded cares, thick as the leafage of full-foliaged trees.

Kora-ga-te-wo (兒等手), a girl's hand, used with Makimuku (hill-name), *maki* meaning to clasp.

VII. Koragatewo, Makimuku yama ha, tsune ni aredo, suginishi hito ni, yuki makame ya mo.

Ah, yonder still towereth Makimuku's hill, of a girl's hand-clasp minding, but shall I ever again clasp her's who hath passed away?

The m. k. is also used with Toroshi no ike (the pool of Toroshi) *toro* being regarded as homophonous with *toru* take, hold.

Koromo-te (衣手), sleeve of an outer vestment. Used with Hitachi (name of a province). The meaning of the application of this m. k. is not quite clear. Some say it involves an allusion to the story of a hero who on an expedition against Eastland rebels laved himself in a fount of pure water and so wet (*hitashi*) his sleeves. *Hita* may mean the fold or plait of a garment or sleeve, or be a contraction of *hitataki* (flutter fins, wings, or sleeves). Hitachi may also be explained as 日立, sun's rise; the usual script 常陸 gives no help.

Koromote-no, of a sleeve. Used with Tanakami (hill-name), either by assimilation of *te* and *ta* (both 手), or with *ta* as homophonous with *ta*, an intensitive prefix, *ta-naga*= very long, or with *na* as in the next instance; with Naki (river-name) where *na* is regarded as a contraction of *naga;* Takaya (in Yamato) where *taka* is said to be a contraction of *ta*(*he a*)*ka* for *akatahe*, shining fine stuff of which sleeves may have been made; Mawaka no ura (Bay of Mawaka) where *ma* is the εὐ of *ma-te, ma-sode, ma-kaji* etc., (implying fullness, completion) — *ma sode* = *ma-koromote ; kaheru* as homophonous with *kaherugaheru*, again and again, waving sleeves again and again, as farewell or welcome. All these

explanations seem to us far-fetched enough, but the m. k. appealed to familiar experience, and their use is quite in accordance with the spirit, perhaps of later, rather than of primitive, Japanese *uta*.

Koromote-wo, used with *wori* (*tamu*) fold back, as in *Koromote wo woritamu no sato ni*, to the village approached by a path turned back on itself like the sleeve of a garment, i. e. a winding path; *ashige no uma*, reed-grey steed, *ashige* being regarded as=*osoki* (*osohi-ki*)=*uhagi* an over-vestment, of which, of course, sleeves are predicable. See also *IX. chôka* 110; *XIII. chôka* 157.

Koto-hiushi (牡 牛). In the Wamyôshô this word is explained as=big-browed bull. It may mean *kokoda mono ohi ushi*, carrier of a great burden,—in China the bull is a symbol of strength as the horse of swiftness. The m. k. is used with Miyake no ura (Bay of Miyake), and Miyake is regarded as= *mika-ke*, abundant-haired. Compare the common expression 'one hair of nine bulls' (i. e., one in a million). Perhaps the real meaning is, sacrificial bull, and the m. k. is connected with Miyake through *mika-ke*. The connexion, however, on any of the above explanations is obscure enough.

Koto-kami-ni N. 2546. Written 琴 頭, m. k., of *kiwiru* 來 居, and *Kotokamini kiwiru* is a *jo* to *kage* (Kagehime), the appearance or presence of the deity at the head of the flat harp, (if the script be not *kariji* on being summoned by the *kami-yori ita*, god-assembling clapper board. The usual version of this *uta* does not seem to be quite correct.

Koto-saheku (*gu*), mumble, *baragouiner*. Used with **Kara** no Saki—Kara=Korea where people speak unintelligibly (i. e., to Japanese ears).

II. chôka 17, 24.

Kumori-yo-no (陰 夜), clouded night, used with *tadoki shirazu*, helplessly, bewilderedly; *madoheru hodo ni* bewildered, dazed; *aga shitabahe*.

XIV. Ashigara no, mi saka kashikomi, kumoriyono, aga shitabahe wo, kochidetsuru ka mo.

Crossing the awful Pass of Ashigara in the darkness of night, I cannot refrain from calling upon my love from the depths of my heart.

Kumo-wi-nasu (雲居成), cloud-like, the *wi* is probably a mere suffix. Used with *tohoku*, distant; *kokoro isayohi*, heart swayed to and fro (like drifting clouds); *kokoro mo shinu ni* heart yielding, as clouds to wind, etc.

Kurenawi-no (紅), scarlet or crimson colour. Used with *iro*, love, colour—scarlet being a specially bright colour,—with *utsushi kokoro*; with Asaha no nu-ra.

IV. Mono ihi no, kashikoki so, kurenawino, iro ni na ide so, omohi shinu to mo.

'Tis a terrible world this, for talk; even if dying of love let it not be seen in flush of face. Here *iro*, love, is epithetised 'scarlet' as *iro*, colour.

VII. Kochitakuha, kamo kamo semu, kurenawino, utsushi kokoro ya, imo ni ahazaramu.

Full of woe (*kotoitaku*), what to do, what to do I know not my heart is dyed pure red with love, yet am I not to meet my love? Here the m. k. as an *iro* is applied to *utsushi* as 寫, as though *utsushi kokoro* were written 顯心.

XI. Kurenawino, Asaha no nu-ra ni, karu kaya no, suka no ahida no, a wo wasurasuna.

Forget me not even for a time as short as any sheaf of reeds cut on the moors of Asaha—of light-tinted (*asa*) scarlet (*kurenawi*) minding.

Kusa-kage-no, grassy or reedy shade. Used with Arawi no saki (Cape Arawi) and Anu pl. n. The use of this m. k. is quite obscure. In the *Kotoba no Izumi* we find a guess connecting the expression with *ara* through *are*, waste, sterile, (as soil or plants under a thick jungle of reeds and grass). *Anu* would then=*a(re)nu*, and Arawi=*ara* (for *are*) *wi* (a sort of reed or rush).

Kusa-makura grass-pillow, used with *tabi*, wayfaring, *tako* (*tago*) hand-basket to hold food, borne by wayfarers.

XIV. Aga kohi ha, masaka mo kanashi, kusamakura,
Tago no Irinu no, oku mo kanashi mo.

As to my love more and more sad shall I be, dear, till the depth of my woe shall be as the depth (remoteness) of the moor of Irinu in Tago—of wallet minding that travellers use who sleep on grassy pillows.

Kushiro-maku (釧著), or *kushiro tsuku*, wear, wind on arm armlet or bracelet. Used with Tafushi (name of a pass), *ta*=arm (or *tafushi*=forearm, or wrist?).

Kuzu-no-ne-no, like Pueraria root (or stem). Used with *iya-toho-naga ni*, to a far distant time (as the stems of the kuzu trail far and wide).

Ma-kane-mochi (眞鉄持), holding a right *kanna* (plane, or smoothing tool). Used with Yuge no kahara—*yu*(*mi ke*)*ge* (*zuru*), smooth or shape bow.

Ma-kana-fuku right metal-blow (smelt iron). Descriptive m. k. of Nifu (hill where iron ore was found).

Ma-ki-hashira right-wood-pillar, used with *futoki kokoro*, heart stout as a pillar, *ma ki* is *hinoki*, much used in construction.

Makisaku (眞木), *saku* may be, split (into balks, planks etc., for building), or *sakihafu*, favourable, fit for. Used with *hinoki*—wood right for splitting, or fit for (building purposes). See *I. chôka* 13; N. ii. 10.

Ma-ki-tatsu (眞木立), where right timber stands. Used with *arayama*, the wild hills, thick with *hi* trees.

Ma-ki-tsumu (積), where *hinoki* timber is collected, to float on rafts down the Idzumi river, of which the m. k. is a quasi-epithet.

Ma-komo-karu (眞蔗苅), reap right rushes (i. e., for matting). Used with Ohonuhara, plain where rushes (for mats, etc.) are abundant.

Makura-dzuku (枕付), close-set pillows, used with

tsumaya, spousal hut, where the pillows would be placed close together.

Ma-kusa-karu right—(proper)—grass-reap, used with *ara-nu*.

I. Makusakaru, ara nu ni ha aredo, momijibano, suginishi kimi ha, katami to so koshi.

'Tis but a desolate moor where reeds and grasses are gathered. Yet thither go I in memory of my lord, who, perishing like the leaves of autumn, hath passed from this world. 'My lord' is Hinami no miko, who was wont to hunt on the moor.

Ma-kuzu-hafu (葛延), where *kuzu* trails, descriptive m. k. of Kusaga and Wonu pl. nn. The *kuzu* (Pueraria) is common on moor and mountain.

Managotsuchi (愛子地), the script is *kariji*. Used phonetically with *ma na* (*no*).

VII. Toyokuni no, Kiku no hama he no, managotsuchi, ma naho ni shi areba, ika de nagekamu.

The gist of this is—if my love should come (as promised) and that quickly, why should I lament (but will my love come)?—the *jo* to *managotsuchi* (seasands) read with it is—the seasands of the strand of Kiku in Toyokuni (Bungo), and the m. k. itself is applied phonetically to *ma naho—ma na*.

XII. Koromote no, ma Waka no ura no, managotsuchi, ma naku toki nashi, aga kofuraku ha.

My love knows no pause, short even as the interval between the grains of sand of the fine sands of the bay of Waka of parted sleeves reminding. Waka is in Kishiu.

Mashi-midzu-no (塞水), most excellent (cool) water, used with *kokoro no keya ni=isagiyoki kokoro*, heart fresh and pure as cool, sparkling water.

Ma-so-kagami (眞素鏡), right pure (bright) mirror, according to the script, but there are various modes of writing this m. k. Used with *mi* (*ru*), see, and compounds; *teru*, shine, and compounds; *kiyoki tsukuyo*, clear moonlit night; *togishi kokoro*, polished (i. e., bright, loyal) heart; *toko no he sarasu*,

not leaving the alcove (bed-place) where the mirror would be constantly hung up; *kakete*, hang up, but as used in its auxiliary sense, see *XIII. chôka* 151 and K. lxxxix; with Futagami yama read as *futa*, lid (of the mirror-case), see *XIX. chôka* 247; with *omokage*, face, figure, as seen in mirror (*kagemi*). See also *III. chôka* 32, *IV.* 59.

Ma-suge-yoshi (眞菅吉), the script *kariji* is partly *kariji* (吉), used phonetically with Soga no kahara—*suge-soga*.

Ma-sura-wo-no (丈夫), perhaps *masa-ara-wo*, right fierce man=hero. Used with Tayuhi no ura (Bay of Tayuhi), *Ta* being taken as=*ta*, hand, (of hero).

Ma-tama-do-no, like right fine arms (both), used with *tamade* fine arms, *VIII. chôka* 102 ..... *matamade no tamade sashikahe* ..... interlacing arms fine as fine arms.

Ma-tama-dzura (眞玉葛), right-fine-creeper. Used with *tayemu no kokoro.*

XII. Taniha (Tamba) ji no, Ohoye no yama no, matamadzura, tayemu no kokoro, aga 'mohanaku ni.

I love thee with heart unfailing as the coils of the creeper on Ohoye's Tamba's track.

Matamiru-no like seaweed (Codium sp. ?), phonetic m. k. of *mata yuki kaheri*, again go and come.

Ma-tori-sumu right-bird-haunted. The m. k. is descriptive of Unate no mori; *ma-tori*=eagle.

VII. Matorisumu, Unate no mori no, suga no mi wo, kinu ni kakitsuke, kisemu mono ga mo.

Would she were here to put on me the mantle she hath patterned with the berry of the lily that grows in the eagle haunted grove of Unate: *suga* is described as *uyamasuge* (=*bakumondo*=Liriope graminifolia) and *kakitsuke* as *suritsuke* =rub in, dye.

Ma-tsuchi-yama (又打山, 亦打山), a hill in Yamato; the name is taken as=*mata uchi yama* (beat repeatedly), and is an imperfectly phonetic m. k. of moto tsu hito

(*mata-moto*), and a more perfect one of *matsuramu imo*, my love who will be expecting me.

XII. Tsurubamino, kinu toki arahi, Matsuchiyama, moto tsu hito ni ha, naho shikazu keri.

The concluding couplet is: He is as nought beside him I loved (i. e., having quarrelled with her old lover she is discontented with the new one). The *jo* to the m. k. is—Matsuchi hill minding of the many beatings of cleansed garments dyed with the dye of the oak (Q. Serrata).

Matsu-gaheri (松反), renewal of the Pine tree. The application of the m. k. to *shihi* is very obscure—perhaps it is to *matsu*, or the evergreenness of the pine may simply give emphasis.

IX. Matsugaheri, shihi nite are ya mo, mitsukurino, naka sugite kozu, matsu to ihe yako.

The meaning of this obscure *tanka* seems to be: Is it not a scandal for him to say I have sent him no message? Tell him, 'messenger,' that half the moon's course is over and still I await him. The lover had complained of not hearing from her—to which this *tanka* is an indignant answer. For *Mitsukurino* see *sub. voce.*

Matsu-kahe-no (松柏), pine and oak, both evergreen hence the m. k. is used with *sakaye*, flourish.

XIX. chôka 24 ..... *matsukaheno, sakaye imasane, tafutoki aga kimi*—may my honoured lord aye flourish, I pray, like those evergreen trees, the pine and live-oak.

Mayo-biki-no like painted eyebrow, used with *yoko*, in Yokoyama, the domed outline of which is regarded as resembling an artificial eyebrow.

Ma-wo-komo-no true—reed (or rush) mat. Used with *fu nomi chikakute.*

XIV. Mawokomono, fu nomi chikakute, ahanaheba, oki tsu ma kamo no, nageki so aga suru.

If I meet you not eye to eye as close as the reeds of a mat, I shall heave sighs deep as the long breathings of an ocean wild-fowl.

Matsu-ga-ne-no (松根), like pine root or trunk. Used with *toho, tohonaga, hisashi* as implying length or duration of time; so with *tayuru koto naku,* without end; *kimi ga kokoro ha,* (i. e., with *kokoro*).

XII. Kamusabite, ihaho ni ofuru, matsugancno, kimi ga kokoro ha, wasure kanetsu mo.

Surely none can ever forget the nobleness of my heart steadfast as a mountain.

Midzu-kaki-no (水垣), partly *kariji* script. *Midzu* is a *homegotoba* as in *midzu no mi araka,* written *mana* 瑞, and explained as *urahashiki kiyorakanaru* pure (holy) and beautiful. More fully written we have it as *midzumidzushi,* or with the *tsu* non-*nigoried.* It is used with *hisashiki toki yu.*

IV. Wotomeraga, Sodefuru yama no, midzukakino, hisashiki toki yu, omohiki ware ha.

The gist is given by the concluding couplet—for a long time have I loved you; the *jo* being—long as hath endured the noble (holy?) fence of the fane of Sodefuru yama (in Yamato) minding of the waving of sleeves (*sode furu*) by young maidens (*wotomeraga*).

XIII. (a *hanka* to *chôka* 150).

Midzukakino, hisashiki toki yu, kohi sureba, aga cbi yurubu, asa yohi goto ni.

Long have I loved, and I am wasted with love so that every morning and evening I find my girdle too large for my poor body.

Midzu-kuki-no (水莖), *midzu=midzumidzushi.*

The m. k. is used with the pl. n. Midzuki, and also with Woka as=*woka,* knoll, regarded as *waka,* young, as a bright (green) stem (*kuki*) would be.

VII. Amagirahi, hikata fukurashi, midzukukino, Woka no minato ni, nami tachi wataru.

The southwest wind is blowing and the sky is darkening and the waves roll surging in the haven of Woka,—of young (*waka*) shining stems (of spring) reminding. Woka no minato is in

Chikuzen. There is also a place (in Ômi) called Midzukuki no Woka.

Midzu-tade (水蓼), There is a plant so-called, Polygonum flaccidum, but *midzu* may be merely a *homegotoba* of *tade*, the water-pepper. Used with Hodzumi (in Yamato)—*ho*, florescence, ear of grain, *tsumu*, to pluck—hence the application of this complementary m. k. *midzutade ho wo tsumu.*

Midzu-tamaru (水淳), where water collects, used with Ikeda, *ike* meaning a pool. The following curious *tanka* illustrates the application of the m. k.

XVI. Hotoke tsukuru, ma soho tarazuba, midzutamaru,
Ikeda no Aso ga, hana no he wo hore.

As right red-stuff lacks for your Buddha image, excavate Ikeda no Aso's flaming nose (pomegranate or 'groggy' nose). See also under *komotatami.*

Midzu-tori-no (水鳥), like water-fowl (or sea-bird). Used with *kamo*, wild-duck,—that water-fowl wild-duck; *ukine*, sleep while afloat; Awoha no yama—*awoha*=green (or dark) plumage, as of the wild duck—also, green foliage; *tachi no isogi*, hasty upflight, as of wild fowl in the early morning; *tatamu yosohi*, preen feathers when about to rise into the air.

VII. Namitakashi, ika ni kajitori, midzutorino, ukine
yasubeki, naho ya kogubeki.

How now, helmsman, the waves are high, let us rest the night here, sleeping afloat as the wild-fowl rest, we can well scull forth the morrow.

VIII. Aki no tsuyu ha, utsushi nari keri, midzutorino,
Awoha no yama no, iro-dzuku mireba.

The changing hues of the wooded slopes of Awoha—I see them in these prints of dewy autumn leaves upon woven cloths (apparently a diversion or accomplishment of the season). *Awoha* may mean either green or dark foliage or *plumage.*

XIV. Midzutorino, tatamu yosohi ni, imo no ra ni, mon ihazu ki nite, omoni kanetsu mo.

I cannot bear the sorrow as I make ready for departure while the wild-fowl preen them before taking their morning flight (complaint of a Tsukushi garrison soldier ordered to his post).

Midzu-tsutafu (水傳), water-laved.

II. Midzutsutafu, iso no ura mi no, isotsutsuzhi, moku saku michi wo, mata minamu ka mo (*moku*=*shigeku*).

Would I might again gaze upon the embowered path that runs round the islet, washed by the waters of the pool, all aglow with rock azaleas.

Mi-hakashi-wo (*wo*=*yo* or *no*). Complementary m. k. of Tsurugi no ike—the pool of Tsurugi or the Sword—the complete sentence would mean the sword my lord girdeth on him.

Mi-kamo-nasu (水鴨成), like mandarin ducks, m. k. of *futari-narabi-wi*, be in pairs or couples, as married folk are. See *II. chôka* 50.

Mi-ke-mukafu (御食向), humbly offer as food to the Sovran. Used with Kinohe no miya (shrine or palace of Kinohe), *ki* is homophon of *ki*, saké; with Ahaji no Shima—*aha* is millet; Ajifu no hara, the moor of Ajifu, reedy (*aji*) place, but here *aji* is taken homophonously as *aji* teal; Minafuchi yama, *mina* is an edible shellfish—Melania sp.—saké, millet, teal and shellfish were part of the *mi ke*.

Mi-kokoro-wo (御心), the royal heart—*mi kokoro wo Yoshinu*, Yoshinu that delighteth (*yoshi*) the royal heart.

Mi-komo-karu where men gather (reap) fine reeds (for roofing, matting etc.). This seems to be a purely descriptive epithet of Shinano, but another explanation is given by the Kogi based upon an unlikely etymology of Shinano.

Mi-kushige-no (御櫛), fine-comb-box (toilet-case). Used with Futakami yama, Futa=*futa*, lid (of the case)—Futa-kami's hill, of fine comb-case lid minding.

Mi-moro-tsuku (三 for 御,諸 for 室,著), the probable meaning is, to construct a sacred house (shrine) for a god. Used with Kase yama, Miwa yama, it may be merely descriptive. Motowori takes the m. k. as wrongly written for 生緒, itself (partly *kariji*) meaning hempen thread or yarn. This would explain the connexion with Kase—*Kase*=spool, and *tsuku* would be 繫 *kaku*, wind on. The suggestion, however, does not suit Miwa, which is sometimes regarded as *miwaku*, a boiling spring, and therefore likely to be a god's seat. Mi-wa=sacred saké, also saké brewing-tub and *miwaku* fermenting of saké liquor. The simplest explanation is that the m. k. is descriptive, in fact not a m. k. at all—*Mimorotsuku Kase yama*, Mt. Kase where men have built a god's house. There are, of course, various other explanations. See K. xci. xciii.

Mi-nawa-nasu (水 沫 成), like foam on water.

V. Minawanasu, moroki inochi mo, takunaha no, chi hiro ni mo ga to, negahi kurashitsu.

Frail as life is, daily and all day I pray for its prolongation for a time to be measured by a thousand-fathom white cord of mulberry bark. This is one of the *hanka* to *V. chôha* 69 (on parental love) and life is desired on account of children, not for its own sake. For *takunahano* see *sub voce*.

Mina-no-wata (蜷 腸), pulp or flesh of the *Mina* shell (Melania sp.) Used with *ka-guroki kami*, *V. chôka* 64 ..... *minanowata, kaguroki kami ni, itsu no ma ka, shimo ni furikemu* ..... the time will come when hoar-frost shall show upon tresses, now black as pulp of *melania* shell. See also *XII.* 168.

Mi-na-se-kaha (水 瀬 河). Despite the script the meaning is said to be *mina(ki)se kaha*, a river of which the scanty stream runs unseen under its bed of stones (common in winter). Used with *shita yu are yasu*—.

IV. Kohi ni mo so, hito ha shini suru, minasekaha, shita yu are yasu, tsuki ni hi ni ke ni.

Of love men die, indeed, and I (my love who hide) like river-flow unseen 'neath wintry stony bed, month by month and day by day I perish. There is a river Minanose in Sagami.

Miru-no-goto, like *miru,* seaweed (*Codium* sp.?).

V. chôka 67 ..... *mirunogoto wawake sagareru,* in tatters like seaweed hanging down.

Misago-wiru osprey-haunted, used with *isomi,* shore-tract; *ariso,* pebbly strand; *su* (*ni wiru fune*), osprey-haunted islet (or sand bank) whereon a ship is beached.....The script 美沙居 is *kariji, mana* is 鵠鳩居.

III. Misagowiru, isomi ni ofuru, nanorisono, na wa norashite yo, oya ha shiru to mo.

My *na* (name) contained in *nanoriso* (a seaweed)—tell that name, and let thy parents know (our love)—*nanoriso* that groweth by the shore where ospreys throng. See sub voce *nanorisono.*

Mi-sora-yuku, that passeth o'er the great sky. Used with *tsuki,* moon; *kumo,* cloud.

VII. Misorayuku, tsukuyomi wotoko, yufu sarazu, me ni ha miredo, yoru yoshi mo nashi.

Though nightly I see the moon-god in his orb sailing through the sky, yet never can I approach him (i. e., win his grace)—the *tanka* is said to have been addressed to a man of rank compared to the moon-god.

Mi-torashi-no.

I. chôka 3.....*mitorashi no, adzusa yumi;* the white wood bow his royal hands do grasp; *torashi* is honorific causative.

Mitsu-kuri-no (三栗), of three chestnuts (in one burr, *iga*) applied to Naka, homophonous with *naka,* middle.

IX. Mitsukuri no, Naka ni megureru, Sarashi-wi no tayezu kayohamu, soko ni tsuma mo ga.

Unfailing are the waters of Sarashi-wi midmost the land of Naka—of middle nut of chestnut burr reminding—would I had a spouse there to whom my visits might be as unfailing as to those waters (which fail not). *Sarashi-wi,* cleansing (bleaching) well, or fount, or source. Naka is in Hitachi.

Mitsumitsushi (or *midsu*—)brilliant, heroic.

III. Mitsumitsushi, kume no wakugo ga, i-furikemu, iso no kusa ne no, karemaku woshi mo.

Alas, now the very rock-reeds (of Miho) are dead and withered, brushing which the young hero of the host forced his way to the Eastland. See also *XVIII. chôka* 227 ..... *chokume nushi to.*

Mi-wo-tsu-kushi (水 戻 衡 石), *kariji; mana* is 澪 標, mark or post showing a waterway or channel. The m. k. is used phonetically with (*kokoro wo*) *tsukushite.*

XII. Miwotsukushi, kokoro tsukushite, omohe ka mo, kaka ni mo motona, ine ni shi miyuru.

She will be eating her heart out with grief at home, I trow—of what avail is it for me to see her in dreams only? (He is faring to some provincial post and dreams sadly of his wife left at home.)

Mina-soso-ku (gu) (水 注) water-immersed. Used in K. cii. with *O (mi) no wotome, o=uwo,* fish (*na*) that swim deep in water, *mi.* Not in Manyôshiu.

Miya-ki-hiki (宮 木 引) bring down palace-timber. Used with Idzumi kaha, down which rafts of *hi* logs were (and still are) floated.

Miyahitono See K. lxxxi. and N. 2287, a m. k. of *ayuhi,* travelling leggings such as were worn by court-folk (*miyahito*) on their way to the posts allotted them in the provinces. Not in Manyôshiu.

Mi-yuki-furu (三 雪 降) full fall of snow. Used with Koshi (comprising the three Yechi provinces), a land of much snow; with *fuyu,* snowy winter; and Yoshinu, snowy hills of Yoshinu.

Mochi-dzuki-no (望 月) as full moon—used with *tatakashi,* perfect as full moon; *tareru omoha,* face perfect as full moon; *iya medzurashi,* most lovely, as full moon is. See *II. chôka* 22, *IX.* 124.

Mochi-tori-no *like bird* enlimed. *V. chôka* 62 .....

Mochitorino, kakarahashi mo yo ..... entrapped, caught in, as a bird enlimed.

Moda-[mo-]arazu (默 不 有), not being silent, used (half-phonetically) with *iho* (五 百) regarded as *ifu* (*ihu-iho*), say, speak.

VII. Modamoarazu, i-ho shiro wo-da wo, kari midari, ta-buse ni woreba, miyako shi omohoyuru.

In this watch-hut roofed with rough rice-straw in the midst of five hundred *shiro* of sheaf-strewn paddy-land how I dream of City-Royal! The composer is the Lady of Sakanohe, and her longing to be with her daughter in City-Royal causes her to fret at being obliged to remain in her country-house, which she designates as a field-hut.

Momiji-ba-no (黄 葉), like the sere leafage of autumn. Used with *chiri*, scatter, like the falling leaves of autumn; *sugi*, pass away; *utsuri*, change, fade, as autumn foliage. See *XIII. chôka* 174, 192 ..... *Tsukushi no yama no, momijibano, chiri-sugi ni shi to, kimi ga tadaka wo.*

Oh to see again the person of my lord who hath vanished and passed away like the autumn glow from Tsukushi's hill!

Momo-tsu (dzu) tahi, pass by a hundred (very many) places—islands, bays, etc. Used with Yaso no shima, eighty, (i. e., a multitude of) islands; Minu, a province reached only after passing by many places, i. e., distant.

Momo-fune-no (百 船), of a hundred (multitude of) ships. Used with *hatsuru*, to end a voyage (and beach or anchor ship)—*momofune no, hatsuru minato*, haven where multitudes of ships end their voyage (or passage).

Momo-shi-ki-no (百 磯 城, 百 石 木), as applied to *ohomiya* (palace) may be taken to mean vast, well fortified, built of innumerable stones and timbers. But no certain explanation of the m. k. can be given. See *III. chôka* 33, *VI.* 74, 75., also K. ci.

Momo-shinu-no, of abundant *shino* (dwarf-bamboo, or bamboo-grass), an epithet of Minu taken as *ma-nu*, true

moor where such bamboo grass is common. See *XIII. chôka* 85.

Momo-tarazu, falling short of a hundred (*momo*). Used with the syllable *i* (meaning also fifty) of *ikada*, raft, of *i-tsuki*, fifty (cluster of) *tsuki* trees (kind of elm, *keaki?*); with *yaso*, eighty, very many. *I. chôka* 13 ..... *momotarazu, ikada wo tsukuri* ..... In *XIII. chôka* 157 *momotarazu* is written, but *ashihikino* (q. v.) seems to be intended.

Momo-yo-gusa, phonetic m. k. of *momo yo* (*idemase*).

XX. Chichi haha ga, tono no shirihe no, momoyogusa, momoyo idemase, waga kitaru made.

Momoyogusa, herb of a hundred ages or years, may be a kind of Pyrethrum. Until my return, be that a hundred years hence, may she await me in all her beauty, like the *momoyo* that groweth behind her parents' mansion. *Idemase=ohashimase.*

Mono-no-fu-no, like weapon wight, warrior. Used, accompanied by *yaso*, with Ujikaha (near Kyôto), the River Uji minding of all (*yaso*=eighty) the families (*uji*) of warriors (*mononofu*); *yaso tomo no wo*, all the warriors of the regiments of guards; *yaso uji hito*, all persons of family; *yaso no wotomera*, all the maidens of gentle birth; and with *yaso no kokoro, uji* and Ihase no mori—grove of Ihase, *Iha* root of *ikamu*, crowd, fill, as warriors do a camp. *Mononofuno* is thus mainly a sort of epithet of Yaso, eighty, all, and can only be explained, not translated.

VIII. Mononofuno, Ihase no mori no, hototogisu, ima mo nakanu ka, yama no to-kage ni.

Amid the shady recesses of the hills, in the grove of Ihase—of encamped hosts minding—not yet, belike, singeth the cuckoo. See also *I. chôka* 13, *III.* 52, *IV.* 59, *VI.* 77, 92.

Mura-kimo-no (村肝, for 群肝), viscerum totalitas. Used with *kokoro*, heart, as one of the *gozô*, five viscera, i.e., heart, lungs, stomach, liver and kidneys.

I. chôka 8 ..... *murakimono kokoro wo itami*, sorrowful my heart among my life-organs.

Murasaki-no (紫), like the *murasaki* flower—*Lithospermum officinale* (Matsumura). Used with Kokata no umi p[illegible] n., koka=*koki*, deep-tinted (as the m. flower—the British L[illegible] officinale—has yellowish flowers, but the Japanese variety has [illegible] purplish blue florescence); with *nihoheru imo* my love delightful[illegible] as the *murasaki* flower.

XVI. Murasakino, Kokata no umi ni, kadzuki tori, tama kadzuki deba, aga tama ni senu.

Should the diving birds that haunt the waters of Kokata—of rich purple minding—bring up pearls (as the pearl-fishers do), of what pearls they bring up will I make my beadlace belike.

I. Murasakino, nihoheru imo wo, nikuku araba, hitodzuma yuwe ni are kohime ya mo.

Had I found you not fair, my love, fine as the murasaki flower, now that you are another's, I might not love you, but still I do. *Hito dzuma* has here rather its original than its later signification (Kogi). The tanka is addressed to the Princess Nukada by Hitsugi no Miko.

Mura-tama-no, in *mana* 群玉.

XX. Muratama no, kuru ni kugi sashi, katame to shi, imo ga kokori(ro)ha, ayoku name ka mo.

Firm as the fixed pivot of a door-hinge was her vow of faithfulness, but alas I fear for her constancy. Here the m.k. (collection of pearls=beadlace) applies to *kuru* (pivot) as homophon of *kuru* 轉, wind or twine round (as a beadlace round neck or arm?) Some commentators see in *muratama no* an Eastland form of *nubatamano* (q. v.) and apply it to *kuru* as=*kuro*, black.

Mura-tori-no, like flocks of birds, used with *mure-tachi*, assemble and depart; *asatachi*, depart at dawn; *idetachi*, go forth: in all expressions the allusion is to the morning flight of birds. See *IV. chôka* 92, *IX.* 117, *XIII.* 166.

Nabiki-mo-no (靡藻), like drifting sea-weed.

XI. Murasaki no, Nadaka no ura no, nabikimono, kokoro ha imo ni, yori ni shi monowo.

y heart is borne towards my love as the sea weed is borne y the waves on the strand of Nadaka in Murasaki (in Kii).

Na-guhashiki (名 細), celebrated, famous, *homegotoba* of Yoshinu, Samine no shima and Inami,—perhaps a contraction of *hanaguhashi* beautiful—see *sub voce.*

Naguru-sa-no (投 左 for 箭), a bow-shot's length, used with *tohoki,* distant. See *XIII. chôka* 189.

Naha-nori-no (縄 法), *kariji,* ropy? sea-weed; used phonetically with *na ha katsute norazhi* (the name—*na ha*—must not be uttered; *nahanorino, hikaba tayu to ha* ..... breaking if strained—as easily as the *nahanori* when the sea weed gatherer draws it into his boat.

Naku-ko-nasu, like puling child. Used with *shitahi,* love (as a very young child does its mother); *koto dami tohazu,* unasking aught (a very young child is speechless); *ne nomi shi nakayu,* but weep and wail (as an infant does); *yuki tori saguri,* go seeking after (as an infant when crawling after something it desires) said of a persistent suitor. See *III. chôka* 49, *V.* 61, *XIII.* 173.

Naku-tadzu-no, like screaming crane.

IV. chôka 55 ..... *akegure no, asa giri kakuri, nakutadzuno, nenomi shi nakayu* crying with the cry of the crane amid the morning mists when night gives way to day.

Naku-tori-no, like screaming wild-fowl, used with *ma naku toki nashi* incessantly.

Nama-yomi-no, explained as 生 善 肉, fresh, fine flesh. Used with Kahi (no kuni), Kahi=*kahi,* shellfish, *Haliotis, Turbo* &c. See *III. chôka* 37.

Nami-no-ho-no like crest (or flower) of wave, used with *itaburashi,* surging, menacing.

XIV. Oshite ina to, ine ha tsukanedo, naminohono, itaburashi mo yo, kiso hitori nete.

No, no, I will not, last night you failed me and I am angry as angry waves. (She refuses her lover's request). There is

some connexion between *oshite ina to* (no, I will not) and *[illegible] ha tsukanedo* (though I am not pounding rice—the girl is lo[illegible] class), but it is too obscure to be worth what would be a lo[illegible]g explanation—the quibble is mainly phonetic, *ina-ine.*

Na-nori-so-no (名乗藻), the script is *kariji,* us[illegible]d phonetically with *na nori* (名告) and its derivatives;

Misagowiru, isomi ni ofuru, na ha norashite yo, oya h[illegible] shiru so mo.

See under *misagowiru. Nanoriso* is a sea-weed (*nami-nari-s[illegible]* wave-riding-weed?), perhaps Sargassum enerve.

Nara-shiba-no, phonetic m. k. of *nare ha masa=azu.*

XII. Mikari suru, Kariji no wonu no, narashibano, nare ha masarazu, kohi koso masare.

Narashiba is Quercus glandulifera. The concluding couplet seems to mean—though oftener I see you not, yet my love increases; and the *jo*—the oaks (*narashiba*) of the little moor of Kariji, of royal hunt (*kari*) reminding, merely introduces the phonetic m. k. *narashiba—nara=nare.*

Naru-kami-no, used with *oto,* sound.

XI. Amakumono, yahe kumo kakuri, Naru kami no, oto ni nomi ya mo, kiki-watari namu.

Is it not just the roar of the thunder-god hidden by the manifold clouds, the clouds of heaven that is borne to us?

Natsu-kusa-no, like summer herbs or grass. Used with Nushimagasaki (Cape Nushima, in Ahaji), *nu* being regarded as contraction of *nayu,* droop, as herbs do in summer; *omohishinayete,* with drooping spirits (*II. chôka* 16) —or, perhaps, tender feeling. See also K. lxxxvi. of which the sense seems to be—tread not on the crumbled shells of the strand of Ahine, but with the break of dawn pass on—the m. k. *natsukusa* as m. k. of *ahine* (sleep) implying a feeling of closeness (as summer herbs grow thick and close. It is difficult to do more than vaguely indicate the sense in which such a m.k. as this is used.

Natsu-so-biku (夏麻引), The script is, no doubt,

kariji. In *mana* it may be 魚釣竿挽, *na tsu(ri)sawo hiku,* fish-angle,—rod-ply. *So,* however, may be hempen line, not rod (*sawo*). The m. k. thus written seems to signify—haul in the rope (sustained by floats) from which hang a number of fishing lines. The application would then be intelligible of the m. k. to *unakami,* sea-border, seashore; to Unahi (海之合 where land meets sea) it must be similar. See also *XIII. chôka* 148, where the passage is defective—perhaps *natsusobiku* is applied phonetically to (*omohi*)*nadzu*(*mi*).

Nayo-take-no, like swaying bending bamboo. Used with *towoyoru kora, miko &c,* graceful and slender girl, princess ..... See *II. chôka* 20.

Niha-ni-tatsu, in garden grown, used with *asa* hemp, in *asate kobusuma,* coverlet of hempen stuff; i. e., as though made of hemp grown in the demesne.

XIV. Nihanitatsu, asate kobusuma, koyohi dani, tsuma yo shi kosene, asate kobusuma.

Coverlet of hemp in my demesne grown, if but for this one night I would my love came to me, O coverlet of hempen stuff. (If correctly interpreted, this is a rare instance of quasi-personification).

Nihatadzumi, collect in pools as falling rain.

II. Mitatashishi, shima wo miru toki, nihatadzumi, nagaruru namida, tome so kanetsuru.

When I look upon the island made (by our prince) in the garden lake, the tears flow from me in floods, nor can I stop their flow.

This is one of twenty *tanka* composed in memory of Hinami no miko.

Niha-tsu-tori, the yard (forecourt) bird, m. k. of *kake,* cock.

Nihi-muro-wo (新室).

XI. Nihimurowo, fumi shidzumu ko ga, tatama narasu mo, tama no goto, terasseru kimi wo, uchi he to mawose.

A *sedôka.* How the armlets tinkle on my brave fellows there

who beat down the earth with their feet to erect thereon the pillars of yonder new dwelling! Tell him who shines among them as a jewel to enter the mansion. It is the father who bids his daughter and her folk tell her bridegroom to take possession of his newly built dwelling place (or spousal pavilion?).

Niho-tori-no, like the grebe (Podiceps minor), m. k. of *futari-narabi-wi,* consort in pairs, as grebes do, emblem of spousal love, a Chinese notion; of Okinaga kaha, *oki(iki)naga,* long-breathed, as diving grebes are; Kadzushika (in Kadzusa), *kadzu(ku)* meaning, to dive; *nadzusahi,* float, swim; and *ashi-nure koshi wo.*

XI. Omofu ni shi, amari ni shikaba, nihotorino, ashinure koshi wo, hito mikemu ka mo.

Too great his love has been, and so hath he pursued his way to me (careless of the storm), wet-footed as a *niho* bird. Hath one ever seen such fervour of love? Motowori substitutes *a nayanu koshi,* with crippled foot (so that the lover had to walk painfully like a *niho* bird)—certainly a better trial of the lover's 'fervour.'

Niko-gusa-no, like *niko* (plant or flower).

XIV. Ashigari no, Hakone no nero no, nikogusano, hanadzuma nare ya, himo tokazu nemu.

Is she a new bride that I must forbear from loving her, fine as the Niko flower that bloom in the heights of Hakone in Ashigari.

Nochi-se-yama, a hill in Wakasa; the m. k. is used phonetically with..... *nochi to ahamu to* ..... (thinking) hereafter to meet thee.

Noto-kaha-no, the River Noto; phonetic m. k. with *nochi mo ahamu* (see preceding m. k.), *noto* and *nochi* being regarded as sufficiently homophonous.

Nubatamano, *Nubatama* is the black-berried *Pardanthus chinensis.* The m. k. is used with *kuro,* black (as pardanth berry); *kami,* tresses; *yo,* night; *yufube,* dusk; *ime* (*yume*), dream (in darkness of night-time); *tsuki,* moon

shining in dark sky)—*nubatama no yo watari tsuki*, moon wandering over sky as pardanth-berry black. See Lays 23, 24, 39, 60, 153, 154, 240. Also K. iv. v. and N. 2395.

Nutsutori (野鳥), the moorland bird, i. e., *kigishi* = *kishi*, pheasant.

XII. chôka 178 ..... *nutsutorino, kigishi ha toyomu, ihe tsu tori, kake mo naku* ..... The heath-bird, the pheasant, makes the welkin ring with his cry, the house-bird, the cock, with his crow.

Nuye-kotori (*nuyetorino*), the *nuye* bird, perhaps some sort of owl 鵺—used with *uranage*, inwardly, deeply sad.

I. chôka 4 ..... *nuyekotori, uranage woreba.* As I felt sad with the sadness of (the cry of) the *nuye* bird. The m. k. is also used with *katakohi tsuma*, unmated mate, i. e., left in (unloved) loneliness like a *nuye* bird.

V. chôka 67 ..... *nuyetorino, nodo yobi woru ni* ..... uttering throaty (lamentable) sounds like the nuye bird.

Ochi-tagitsu, fall in torrent or cascade, phonetic epithet of Tagi no Miyako (in Yamato), Tagi=*tagi*, cascade.

Ofuwoyoshi k., cix. used with *shibi*, tunny-fish; the meaning seems to be, O monstrous fish!

Ohobune-no (大船), like a great ship. Used with *tanomu*, rely on, trust to, (as sailor or wayfarer to a ship); Watari, (hill-name)—*watari*, to cross, pass over, (sea, river, etc.) as ships do; *tayutafu*, toss, roll; *yuta ni araramu*, will toss up and down; *yukurayukura*, much as with *tayutafu* (*tayuta*) (*fu*) and *yuta* (*yuda*); Katori no umi (Lake Ômi or Biwa).

II. chôka 26 ..... *ohobuneno, tayutafu mireba, nagusamuru, kokoro mo arazu*, tossed like a ship at sea, so to say my heart knowing no comfort.

XI. Unabara no, michi ni norite ya, aga kohi worite,
ohobune no, yuta ni aruramu, hito no ko yuwe ni.

over the sea-plain faring I think of my love, and like the ship that bears me am tossed with useless grief, for another hath her!

XI. Ohobune no, Katori no umi ni, ikari oroshi, ikanaru hito ka, mono 'mohazaramu.

I would I were never anxious about any girl! The *jo* "casting anchor in the bay of Katori, of a great ship's helmsman (*katori*=*kajitori*) minding. *Ikari* and *ikanaru* are linked phonetically—*ika-ika*. See also Lays 17, 22, 26, 27, 59, 70.

Oho-kimi-no (大 王), like, or of, great chief, lord, or sovran. Used with Mikasa (hill-name).

VII. Ohokimino, Mikasa no yama no, obi ni seru, hosotani kaha no, oto no sayakesa.

O the pleasantness of the murmur of the little river that girdles the foot of the hill of Mikasa—of my Sovran minding. Mikasa=*mi-kasa*, canopy of state (or royal hat). Comp. K. cvi. cviii. (where the m. k. is merely descriptive).

Oho-kuchi-no, huge-mouthed. Used with Makami no hara (a moor in Yamato).

VIII. Ohokuchi no, Makami no hara ni, furu yuki ha, itaku na furi so, ihe mo aranaku ni.

O snow that fallest on Makami's moor, of some huge-mouthed wolf (*ohokami*) minding—fall not so sharply, no shelter hath he (i. e., her returning lover). Note the personification.

Oho-tomo-no (大 伴), Great or Grandguard (a clan or guild-name.) Used with Mitsu, Takashi, pl. nn—*mitsu takashi* (*takechi*), meaning brilliant, valiant, heroic, heroic with the heroism of the Ohotomo clan, as to the glories of which see especially *V. chôka* 68, *XX.* 263.

I. Ohotomono, Takashi no hama no, matsuganeno, makite nuru yo ha, ihe shi shinubayu.

Making the foot of a pine tree my pillow, on the strand of Takashi (or Takechi)—name that recalleth the glories of the Ohotomo clan—I dream of home.

Oho-tori-no (大 鳥), great bird. Used with Hakahi (hill-name) in Yamato. Ha (*ha*) is feather, hence the use of the m. k. or *ha-kahi* (*ha-kaharu*) may refer to the furnishing of moulted feathers for arrows, in which case the m. k. may

denote the eagle (*washi*), or lastly *ha-kahi* may=wings or plumage.

Oho-wi-gusa, a variety of Scirpus lacustris, phonetic m. k. used with (*oho*) *yoso ni mishi yo(ri)ha,* after having looked elsewhere, anywhere.

Oho-yuki-no, great snow storm.

II. chôka 24 ..... *ya no shigekeku, ohoyukino, midarete kitare* like a great storm of snow was the thick cloud of arrows that flew in hurtling showers.

Oki-ni-sumu, ocean (offing) haunting—m. k. of *kamo,* wild-duck (which migrates across the ocean).

Oki-tsu-mo-no (奥藻), as sea-weeds of the deep. Used with Nabari (name of a hill), with *nabaru=kakuru,* hidden, as sea-weeds are in the deep; *nabiku,* yield, as sea-weeds to the sway of wave or tide.

Oki-tsu-nami (奥浪), waves of the offing (deep sea). Used with *shikite,* incessantly, continually, as the waves that rise and fall.

XI. Nagusamuru, kokoro ha nashi ni, okitsunami, shikite nomi ya mo, kohi watarinamu.

My heart is ever unsolaced; for the torments of love are incessant as the roll of the waves of the deep sea.

XIII. chôka 132 ..... *okitsunami, kihohi-kogiri-ko, ama no tsuribune,* come sculling in, vying with eachother like the ever-sweeping waves of the deep sea, ye fishermen in your angling boats.....

XIX. chôka 252 ..... *okitsunami, towomu mayobiki,* ..... painted eyebrows rounded like sea-billows.

Oki-tsu-tori (奥鳥), wild-fowl of the deep sea, that haunt or fly over the deep sea. Used with *kamo,* wild-duck; Ajifu no hara, moor of Ajifu, *aji*=teal (*ajikamo*).

XVI. Okitsutori, Kamo chifu fune no, kaheri-koba, Yara no sakimori, hayaku tsuge koso.

When the ship called the 'Wild-Duck' shall return—that bird of ocean,—let the watcher on Yara send me swift tidings thereof.

Oku-yama-no, inland, or wild hills, wild-land beyond the neighbourhood of City-Royal. Used with *ma-ki,* right wood, i.e., *hinoki* (Chamaecyparis).

XI. Okuyamano, maki no itato ha, oshihiraki shiwu y[illegible] (yoshiyayoshi) ide kone, nochi ha ika semu.

Open the door, love, of wild-hill right-wood made, and come to me now, later were too late!

Oshiteru-ya (押光, 臨照). An epithet of Naniha. Some commentators derive Naniha from *nami-haya* wave-swift, where swift the waves roll in; others from *nami hana* wave-flowers, the white crests of the waves. The m. k. may follow the scripts as shining, sparkling, or may be a contraction of *oshitateru,* surge, toss etc., See Lays 48, 77, 79, 259, 261. See also K. liii. N. 434.

Sa-bahe-nasu, like fifth month flies. Used with *sawaku* (*gu*), be tumultuous, noisy (as flies that buzz in summer).

III. chôka 25 ..... *miko no mikado no sabahenasu, sawaku toneri ha* ..... the Court pages (or folk) thronging the *miko's* palace like flies in summer. So in Lay 69 ..... *sabahenasu, sawaku kodomo,* children frolicking noisily like fifth month flies.

Sada-no-ura-no, the Bay of Sada in Tosa. Used as phonetic epithet of *sada=shida=wori,* time, period.

Sadzu-hito (*no*), a general name for hunters and fishers, (*umi-sachi biko, vama-sachi-biko*), applied as m. k. to Yutsuki ga take, a peak in Yamato—*yutsuki=yudzuka=yumi-dzuka,* part of bow held in hand of hunter.

X. Kagirohino, yufu sari kureba, sadzuhitono, Yutsuki ga take ni, kasumi tanabiku.

When the evening glow begins to fade, far and wide the mists spread about the peak of Yutsuki--of bow by hunter grasped reminding.

Sa-goromo-no, right-garment or gaberdine. It is a m. k. complementary to *Wo-tsukubane,* a two-peaked hill in

Hitachi—*koromo no wo tsuku*, meaning to attach the cords fastening the folds of the vestment.

Sahidzuru-ya, used with Kara-usu. See under *koto-saheku* (*gu*).

Saka-tori-no (坂鳥), wild-fowl or birds of the hill-passes. Used with morning, because in the early morning birds are seen flying over the hill-passes.

Saki-dake-no (辟竹), as (halves of) split-bamboo. Used with *sogahi ni neshi*.

VII. Waga seko wo, idzuku yukame to, sakidakeno, sogahi ni neshiku, ima shi kuyashi mo.

My love, whither hath my love wandered? Shall we turn our backs on each other like the halves of a split-bamboo? (There has been a coolness, let it not endure.)

Saki-kusa-no. This m.k. is written 三枝, three stalked, and is used with *naka*, between, midmost (of three)—like the middle of the three branches of the *saki* herb, which may be *azegusa* or *sagiso* (an orchid, *Habenaria radiata*).

Saku-hana-no, like full-blown flower. Used with *utsurohi*, fade, change, as the spring blossoms do.

Sakura-bana (櫻花), wild cherry blossom. Used with *Sakaye wotome*, girl blooming as the cherry blossom.

Sanakadzura (*sanekadzura*).

Sanekadzura (挾根, 核, 挾名, 真玉葛, 五味), a magnoliaceous creeper or trailer (*Kadzura japanica*). Used with words denoting extent of time or its limitation. With *nochi mo ahamu*, will meet hereafter; *tayemu no kokoro waga 'mohanaku ni*, no thought have I of loving thee with a heart that shall fail thee.

XII. Yufutatamu, Tanakami yama no, sanekadzura, arisarite shi mo, ima narazu to mo.

Though we may not meet now, yet shall we meet, though long the time may be as coil of creeper on Tanekami's hill. For *yufutatamu* see *sub. voce*.

Sane-kaya-no (萎草). The precise meaning of *sane* in these compounds is not easy to determine. *Sane* may mean a pip or seed, or true or *ma-ne* right (well) stalked. The script here=pliant (*sa-nahe*) stemmed herb or grass (reed). *Kaya* apparently is, or is akin to *Miscanthus sinensis*. The m. k. is used with *makoto nagoyaka*, truly soft, yielding.

XIV. Woka ni yose, waga karu kaya no, sanekayano, makoto nagoyaha, nero tohena ka mo=nemu to ihanu ka mo.

Wilt thou not yield to me cruel one, with the true gentleness of the well-haulmed reeds that I reap me—nor say me nay on the hill-side.

Sane-sashi. See K. xxv. where it is an epithet of Sagami (the province). Perhaps it refers to Fuji—true-peak-showing (*sa-ne-sashi*).

Sa-ni-dzurafu (狭 for 眞丹頬), right-ruddy complexioned. Used of *waga ohokimi*, my great lord or sovran; *kimi*, lord, lover, thou; *imo*, sister, sweetheart; *wotome*, girl; *iro*, colour; *momiji*, autumn glow; *himo*, cord of vestment. *Dzurafu*, (*tsuru*) seems merely to verbalize *sa-ni*, true red (*ni*=earth, red earth, red colour).

Sashi-nami-no (指並), In *IX. chôka* 90 this seems descriptive merely, ... *sashinami no tonari no kimi* ....., the gentles dwelling in the adjoining row of houses.

Sashi-noboru, hardly a m. k. *II. chôka* 20 ..... *sashinoboru, Hirume no mikoto,* His Highness Hirume who ascends up to heaven.

Sashi-susumu (指進).

VI. Sashisusumu, Kurusu no wonu no, hagi na hana, chiramu toki ni shi, yukite tamukemu.

Used with Kurusu (moor of). None of the explanations of this m. k. are at all satisfactory. It is written 指進, but what this has to do with Kurusu, written 栗栖, it is impossible to say. If *kuru* be taken (as written) as *kuri*, chestnut, it might be read as *sashi susamu*, denoting the prickly

character of the chestnut burr (iga). Some commentators regard the m. k. as a script error (possible enough in cursive) for *Muratama*, and read this in connexion with *kuru* (the pivot of a door-hinge on which the hinge turns, or to wind round, as a beadlace (*muratama*) round the arm, or *Kuru* may be 來, come. The *tanka* means, fallen alas are the flowers of the *hagi* on the moor of Kurusu, which I would have offered to the god. 'I' is the Dainagon Ohotomo Kyô.

Sasu-dake-no (刺竹), used with *miko*, prince; *oho-miya*, palace; *toneri wotoko*, page or servant of the court; *ha komorite ari*. The meaning of the script is, planted bamboo slip, but it may mean merely an erect stalk, as of *kibi*, anciently *kimi*, millet, and at a later period have become attached to *kimi*, lord etc., and so extended to cognate expressions.

X. Sasudakeno, ha komorite are, wago seko ga, wa gari ki sezuba, aga kohime ya mo.

My beloved who liest there midmost the standing millet hidden, (or comest unseen) even if thou comest not to me, shall I not love thee? This appears to be the meaning of the *tanka*, and in it *sasudake* must mean standing millet (a thick leafy crop). In my Primitive Texts I give a different but conceivable explanation of this m. k. In the above *tanka are=arahare*.* The translation in conjectural.

Sasu-yanagi (刺楊), planted willow slip, which grows freely, hence the application to *adzusa* (Catalpa) which grows freely also. *XIII. chôka* 183 ..... *sasuyanagi, neharu adzusa* ..... (*yumi* being intended)—taking in his royal hand the bow of *adzusa* which groweth freely as the planted willow. The explanation is tentative.

Sa-wo-shika-no, true-male-deer, used with Irinu, the moor or forest waste of Irinu, within which the true male-deer was parked (*irinu*).

* Note.—May *sasudake* refer to the young branches stuck in preparatory rice-plots to guard them from harm?

Sa-yuri-bana, true-lily-flower, phonetic m. k. of *yuri*=*yori*=*nochi.*

VIII. Wagimokoga, ihe no kaki tsu no, sayuribana, yuri to ihereba, ina chifu to nitsu.

The gist is—if she sayeth, hereafter (we shall meet), 'tis as though she said, never. The *jo* is—the true lily that bloometh within the fence of my love's dwelling—the connexion is *sayuribana yuri-yuri*=*nochi.*

Sazare-nami (小浪), wavelets, ripples. Used with *iso,* shore; *ma naku* unrestingly, incessantly (as the ripples that follow each other without rest), *shikite kohi tsutsu,* while loving ever; *yamu toki mo naku,* never ceasing; *tachite mo wite mo,* standing or sitting, going or staying, i. e., always.

III. Sazarenami, iso Kose-ji naru, Notose kaha, oto no sayakesa, tagitsu se goto ni.

Oh the pleasantness of the murmur of the waters, wherever the rapids flow of Notose's river by Kose's track—minding of strands by rippling wavelets beaten (*iso* Kose=*iso kose*—break on the shore).

Shidzu-tamaki (倭文手纏). The script is partly *kariji,* 倭文, meaning hempen cloth. The true meaning is 賤, low, mean, and the m. k. is read with *kadzu mo aranu,* of no account, and *iyashiki,* mean, worthless; *tamaki* is an armlet of beads or pearls.

IV. Shidzutamaki, kadzu ni mo aranu, waga mimochi, ikade kokodaku, aga kohi wataru.

Less than nothing am I, mean as a shabby armlet, yet how great my love!

Shiho-bune-no, like sea-going ship. Used with *narabete,* (ships) beached or moored side by side.

XIV. Wokusa wo to, Wogusa suke wo to, shihobuneno, narabete mireba, Wogusa kachimeri.

Seen together, like sea-ships beached in harbour, I say that he pleaseth more than he of Wokusa. (There is implied in the two place-names being differentiated merely by a nigori, a quasi-

equivalence on the part of her wooers in the mind of the lady who indites the tanka.

XIV. Shihobuneno, okareba kanashi, sa-netsureba, hitogoto shigeshi, na wo mo doka shimu.

To leave you like a ship in haven were misery, to love you were to give cause for men's tongues to wag—what shall be done, dear? Of this obscure tanka there are several explanations of which the one now given appears the most natural. *Okareba* may be 置 or 起.

Shikishimano, scarcely a m. k. ..... *Shikishima no, Yamato no kuni* ..... Yamato where Shikishima is. In the Kojiki ..... *Sumeramikoto no Shikishima no ohomiya ni mashimashite ame no shita shiroshimeshishi*—the Sovran resident in his great palace of Shikishima ruled the under-heaven (the whole land). Shikishima, usually written 磯 城 嶋, was the seat of the Palace under the Mikado Kimmei (about 540 A. D.) and became a name or epithet for the province, and afterwards for the whole land.

Shiki-tahe-no (敷 妙). There are other scripts. A spread-out thin stuff for sleeping on. Used with words connected with sleeping, bedplace, etc., *sode, tamoto, koromo, makura, toko,* sleeve, gaberdine, pillow, alcove; also with *ihe,* dwelling place; *kurokami,* jetty tresses (as dishevelled in bed at dawn), but here it may be a script-error for *nubatama* (q. v.) See Lays 17, 26, 29, 30, 49, 58, 70, 82.

Shima-dzutafu (嶋 傳), coast, pass by (many) islands. Used with *a-haya* (*ashi-haya*=ποδώκης) *no wobune,* swift ship.

VII. Shimadzutafu, a-haya no wobune, kazemamori, toshi haya henamu, afu to ha nashi ni.

As the crew of a swift-keeled ship that coasteth many an island wait for fair wind and fine weather, so have we amidst the storms of slander for years waited and yet found no safe moment for meeting each other. This is the real meaning of the *tanka* here necessarily paraphrased.

Shima-no-nu-no, the moor of Shima (Yamato), perhaps a tract engirdled by the winding river of Yoshinu. It is a phonetic m. k. of *shibashiba—shima shima.*

X. Kunisura ga, haru na tsumuramu, shimanonuno,
shibashiba kimi wo, omofu kono goro.

The moor of Shima where one gathers the spring salads of Kunisura,—again, again (*shibashiba*) do I now think of thee!

Shima-tsu-tori, the island bird, the cormorant. Used with *u-kahi,* cormorant keeping, *u-kahi 'ga tomo ha,* cormorant-keepers. See also K. xv. and N. 1184.

Shinaderu (級照), a *Kariji* script. The m. k. is used with *kata,* as though meaning, 肩 shoulder, (or 方 perhaps) in Kata-asuha-kaha, and in Tsushima Sanukata. The meaning seems to be *shinatsuru,* slope, be sloping (as shoulders slope or a hill slopes up or down).

Shi-naga-tori. This m. k. may mean either *shiri*—or *wo-naga,* long-tailed or long rumped bird, or *shi-naga,* long-breathed bird (as diver-birds are), such as the *nihotori* (q. v.). Used with Wina pl. n. (*wi-nami*), i. e., with syllable *wi* 居率, be, be with, as in the expression *narabi-wi,* be together, as pairing waterfowl. In *IX. chôka* 104 we find *shinagatori, aha ni tsukitaru, adzusa* ..... Here the connexion with *aha* is very obscure, the explanation that *aha* must be taken as contraction of *uha-ha,* upper plumage, is quite unsatisfactory. But there seems to be no other.

Shinahi-nebu (靡合歡本), the *Albizzia julibrissin.*

XI. Wagimokowo, kiki Tsuga nu he no, shinahinebu, a
ha shinubi yezu, ma naku shi, 'moheba.

Wagimokowo kiki is a *jo* to Tsuga, *shinahi nebu* is phonetically linked with *shinubi* in both its meanings. O swaying *nobu* tree that flourisheth on Tsuga's moor, never can I win rest, for ever my thoughts dwell upon my love. Tsuga implies *wagimoko wo kiki-tsugi* (ever hearing his love's name) and *shinubi nebu, shinubi* yezu (can win no rest).

Shina-zakaru. The meaning of this m. k. is obscure. In N. under Jomei, 11th year, we read that a pagoda of nine stories, *koshi* 重, was erected on the banks of the Kudara. *Koshi* is also represented by the characters 層 級. Lastly, Koshi is the name of a province (comprising the three *Yechi*). The m. k. is applied to *Koshi;* it may mean, further and further removed (from City-Royal), or, taking *shina=saka*, by many a pass removed. The last explanation is perhaps the best.

XVII. chôka 216—in one reading ..... *shinazakaru Koshi wo osame ni*, for the purpose of administering the distant (?) province of Koshi.

Shinunomeno, (*me=mure*) shinu, written, small bamboo, is a variety of *Arundinaria Simoni.* The m. k. is phonetic of *shinubi*, endure, conceal, etc., *shinu-shinu.*

XI. Akikashiha, Uruha kahahe no, shinunomeno, shinubite mireba, ime ni miyekeri.

The gist of this *tanka* is—as I thought of my love longingly I saw my love as in a vision. The m. k. is introduced by a *jo*—O the waste of bamboo-grass (*shinu*) by the river-side of Uruha. For *akikashiha* see *sub voce.*

Shira-kumo-no (白 雲), white-cloud-like. Used with *omohi-sugubeki—sugu*, pass away like white clouds; Tatsuta, *tatsu*, rise, as white clouds may; *tayenishi imo.*

IV. Asa ni hi ni, Irodzuku yama no, shirakumono, Omohi-sugubeki, kimi ni aranaku ni.

Like the white clouds that morn and even dwell on Irodzuku's hill doth my love ever pass to my lord—*irodzuku* means love (lit. colour) stained.

XIV. Shirakumono, tayenishi imo wo, aze scro to, kokoro ni norite, kokoba kanashike.

Like a white cloud, hath my fickle love gone from me What shall I do? Of my heart she is ever mistress and I am full of woe—*aze scro=nani to seyo.* See also *Lays 86, 107.*

Shiramanago (白 細 砂), white (shining) sands. Used with Mitsu, pl. n.; also ..... *shiramanago, kiyoki hama* ... . bright strand of shining sand.

Shira-mayumi, white spindle-tree (Euonymus europoea) of the white wood whereof bows were made, as of *adsusa.* Used with Haru yama—*haru* being taken as 張, bend a bow (*yumi*); with Hida no Hosoya (pl. n.), Hida=*hi*(*ku*)*ta*(*mu*), bend, draw a bow.

Shiranami-no (白 浪), white waves—used with *hama,* shore, where the white waves roll in; *ichishiroku,* plain to see as the white-crested waves; *omoshiru kimi.*

XII. Kami no goto, kikoyuru tagi no, shiranamino, omoshiru kimi ga, miyenu kono goro.

Not seen for days my lord as well known to eye as to ear the roar of the white waves of the thunderous rapids.

Shiranu-hi (白 縫 *kariji* for 不 知 火), strange flames or fires unknown. Used with the pl. n. Tsukushi. The principal explanations, none quite satisfactory, are these: (1) that the allusion is to N. 1653 where we read that the Mikado being at sea off Tsukushi saw a flare on the coast which served as a guiding beacon during the night—on inquiry it was found that no man knew of the flare (*hito ga shiranu hi*); (2) that the bright blaze of a bush-fire is alluded to (see *II.* 24, vv. 55-60), and (3) that the bright sparkle of the *nu* jewel was manifested. *Nu* seems to have been a kind of coral which may have been common off the Tsukushi coast. Comp. the jewel-spear (*nu-boko*) of Izanagi and Izanami on the bridge (or ladder) of heaven. See also *V. chôka* 6.

Shiranu-kuni, unknown or foreign land, or land unknowing (or not obeying) the Mikado. In *I. chôka* 13 we have the passage ..... *shiranu kuni yori Koseji* ..... in which *shiranu kuni yori* (return to obedience?) is a mere complementary preface to Kose—*kose*=pass along, traverse.

Shira-sugeno (白 菅), white (bright) or plumed suge,

(reed, rush, sedge). Used descriptively with Manu pl. n.—pool, bay etc. of Manu, also phonetically in

XI. Ashitadzuno, sawaku (gu) iriye no, shirasugeno, shira-remu tame to, kochitakaru ka mo.

The text must be corrupt of this *tanka* which may be rendered tentatively—

That my love be known would I ever declare it, as the cranes ever cry among the reedy lagoons. The phonetic link is *shira(suge)—shira(remu)*.

Shiratama-no (白玉).

XIX. shiratamano, migahoshi kimi ..... my jewel-bright lord whom I long to see.

Shira-to-horu, m. k. of Onihita yama or Nihitayama (in Kōdzuke). The meaning is given in the script 白鞴掘 (if correct)—where men dig out fine white hones. To the armourer of old Japan a good hone would be a treasure.

Shira-tori-no (白鳥), white bird, used with Sagisaka yama, *sagi* meaning stork ; with Tobayama, *tobu*=fly ; Manu no kuni, a tract in Settsu, perhaps because storks were abundant there.

Shira-tsutsuzhi (白管自 part *kariji*), white or fine azaleas. Used phonetically with *shiranu koto mochi.*

X. Ominaheshi, Saki nu ni ofuru, skiratsutsuzhi, shiranu koto mochi, ihareshi waga se.

The sense of this *tanka* is very obscure. It seems to be, that as to our knowing not (my love) all the world knows it, dear! The *jo* to the m. k. is—the white azaleas that grow on the moor of Saki—of flowering (*saki*) *ominaheshi* (q. v.) minding.

Shira-tsuyu-no (白露), white (shining) dew. Used with *Ke, Kihe*, vanish, perish, as the white dew of morning so soon does.

X. Aki no ta no, ho no 'he ni okeru, shiratsuyuno, kenu-beku are ha, omohoyuru ka mo.

Alas I am perishing of love as the white dew perishes that lies upon the rice-ears of the fields of autumn.

Shira-yuki-no (白雪), white snow.

X. Yonabarino, nu ki ni furi ohofu, shirayukino, ichi-shiroku shi mo, kohimu are kamo.

Is it not plain, alas, (though I tried to hide my feelings) that I love, plain as the snow that whelms the moors and woods of Yonabari.

Shiri-kusa-no (知草), phonetic epithet of *shirinu.*

XI. Minato ashi ni, mazhireru kusa no, shirikusano, hito mina shirinu, aga shita omohi.

Now all men have got to know (*shirinu*) of my inmost thoughts (of love). The *jo* is—the *shiri* (know) grass that grows among the reeds of the harbour. *Shirigusa* is said to be the same as the *i*, Juncus effusus.

Shiro-tahe-no (白妙, 白布, 白細布), white bleachen stuff (hempen, mulberry fibre, silk, etc., used with parts of dress; *koromo*, gaberdine; with *sode*, sleeve; *tamoto*, sleeve; *koromode*, sleeve; *tasuki*, sleeve-bands; *hire*, scarf, wimple; *himo*, dress cords; *obi*, girdle. There are also the phrases *shirotahe no kumo*, cloud; *shirotahe no ha*, plumage, where the word is descriptive—*shirotahe no kimi* (君) is an error for *shikitaheno* (q. v.). See K. xcvi.

Shishi-zhi-mono (鹿自物), deer-like. Used with *i-hahi fushi*, *i-hahi-wogami*, creep and crouch, crouch and pray, the attitude being compared with that of a stag on his knees. So with *hiza-wori fushi*, knee-bend-crouch.

VI. chôka 89. *Isonokami Furu no mikoto ha.....shishi-zhimono, yumiya kakomite .....* His Highness of Furu in Isonokami, escorted by archers as a prisoner, like a deer enclosed by bowmen (hunters).

In N. 2552 the m. k. is used with *midzu kukegomori*, like a stag standing (at bay?) in a pool of water.

Shita-bimo-no, phonetic m. k. of *shita* (*yu*), deeply, inwardly. *Shita-bimo* are fastening cords of undergarments.

XV. Mono 'mofu to, hito ni ha miyezhi, shitabimono, shita yu kofuru ni, tsuki so he ni keru.

To understand this *tanka* read—*shitabimono shita ga kofuru ni tsuki so he ni keru mono 'mofu to hito ni ha miyeshi.*

Concealed my love, month after month has gone by, and yet I have not let it be seen of men—but I can hide it no more.

Shizhi-kushiro. Used with *yomi*, Hades.

The probable meaning of this m. k. is abundance (*shishi*) of *kushiro=kusuri, kishiru* (*kabi* or *kahi shiru*), i. e., *saké*, rice-liquor. Its use with Yomi would be as with *yomi*, good, excellent. It is also an epithet of *uma*, delicious. *Kushiro* also means an armlet—*shizhikushiro*, would then give the sense—fine as the appearance of wearing abundance of armlets or beadlaces.

Suzu-ga-ne-no, sound of horsebells—used with *hayauma*, swift (or government relay) horse.

VI. Suzuganeno, hayauma umayano, tsutsumi wi no, midzu wo tamahe na, imo ga tada te wo.

Give me water, pretty maid, with thine own hand, give me water from the stone-cribbed well of the post-house where swift horses wait with their sounding bells.

Suga-no-ne-no (菅 根), root (stem?) of *suga* (rush or sedge). Used with *nagaki haru hi*, a long spring day, long in time as a sedge root spreading far underground; *omoki midarete*, confused with thoughts (of love etc.,) as roots or haulms of sedges or rushes grow in confused tufts; as phonetic with *ne* (*nokoro*)=*nengoro;* with *tayu*, break off end, as root or stem of rush or sedge which easily snaps when pulled.

Sugi-mura-no, clump of *sugi* (Cryptomeria or Japanese cedar-tree), a phonetic epithet of the verb *sugu*, overpass, cross.

III. Isonokami, Furu no yama naru, sugimurano, omohi-sugubeki, kimi ni aranaku ni.

Alas my lord is no more, on whom my sad thoughts dwell—the *jo* is ever—on Furu's hill in Isonokami stand the clustering cedars (*sugi*), the phonetic link is *sugimura-sugubeki.*

Suka-no-yama, the name of a hill in Yetchiu, used as phonetic m. k. of *sukuaku*, little, less

XVII. Kokoro ni ha, yurubu koto naku, Sukanoyama, sukunaku nomi ya, kohi watarinamu.

My heart never slacketh not in love. Shall I ever love thee less as the days pass?—removing *ya* to the end.

Sora-mitsu (虚見津). Used with the name of the Home province, Yamato. The usual explanation of this m. k. is *sora* (*yori*) *mitsu*, seen from the sky;—another is *sora-mi* (*ma*) *tsu*, sky-sacred place—both these explanations refer to the holy spot (*tsu*) where Nigihayabi touched earth at the conclusion of his voyage adown the sky in the celestial rock-boat (*iha-fune*), i. e., the land of Yamato. I rather take it as sky-shining, applied to Yama, (part of Yamato). But one can only guess.

Tachibana-no, the orange tree. Used with Miyori (a village in Suruga) or rather with the first syllable *mi* read as *mi*, fruit. There is a place, called Tachibana, in Musashi.

Tachibana-wo, the orange-tree, complementary m. k. with Moribe no sato (a village of unknown locality)—*tachibana wo mori*, to watch (guard from depredation) orange trees.

Tachi-komo-no, *komo* is Eastland for *kamo* wild-duck—*tachikomono tachi no sawaki*, (*gi*), upflight (of wild fowl) noisy as whirr of rising wild-duck.

Tachi-no-shiri (剣後), point of sword-blade (comp. *yazhiri*, arrow-head); *tachi no shiri saya ni* forms a *jo* to Irinu (*iri*) in.

VII. Tachinoshiri, soya ni Irinu ni, kuzu hiku wagimo, ma-sode mochi, kisetemu to ka mo, natsu kuzu hiku mo.

This is a *sedôka*. The sense seems to be—Is it to win fibre to weave a garment for her husband that I see yonder girl with both sleeves drawn back (or with both hands) gather [illegible] *kuzu* stems, *kuzu* growing on *Iri's* moor, minding of [illegible] (*iri*) in its scabbard (*saya ni*) the point of a [illegible] *shiri*? The m. k. is also used with [illegible]

X. Tachinoshiri, tama maku tawi ni, itsu made ka, imo wo ahi mizu, ihe kohi aramu.

How long must I wait in this watch-hut in the rice-field just sown, not seeing my love and longing for my home.

Tawi=ta=rice-field, *tama maku* means rice-sown, and also, homophonously, bejewelled. In the latter sense it is read with *tachi no* (*saya no*) *shiri*, the point or end of the scabbard or sheath of the sword.

Tada-watari (直渡), wade across (a river), used with *Anaha yuki* and *Anashi kaha.*

IV. Yo no naka no, me ni shi araba, tadawatari, Anashi no kaha wo, watari kaneme ya.

Though but an ordinary woman (a woman of this [poor] world), even across the Anashi river would she wade or follow him (who had divorced her), but the task was too hard for her strength, alas! The point of the *tanka* is that *Anashi=ashinayamu*, crippled, is connected with *tada watari*, the attempt to do which the river-name should have prevented.

XIII. chôka 193 *Tamahokono, michi yuki hito ha, ... yama yuki nu yuki, tada watari, kaha yuki watari ...* ..... Along the spear-way faring hath he ..... o'er hills, o'er moors fared, o'er rivers waded etc.

Tadzu-ga-naku, descriptive of Nagoye—where the scream of the cranes is heard (Nago=*naku*). Comp. K. lxxxiv.

Tahami-dzura, some kind of creeper or trailer, used with *kiku*, pull, draw.

XIV. Ahaworono, Woroda ni oharu, tahamidzura, hikaba nurununu, a wo koto na tahe.

Draw me softly to thee as a tender creeper that groweth in Woroda, by the knoll of Aha, nor cease to devise lovingly with me. In the above *wo=woka*, knoll, *ro* is a postfix, *oharu* (*ofuru*), grow, *a wo koto na tahe=are ni kotodohi wo* [illegible] *koto nakare.*

[illegible] shining, loftily-brilliant. Used

with Hi no miko, Hi no mikado. See Lays 12, 13, 14, 22, 25, 32, 34, 38; also K. xxviii. lxxii. xcix. c. ci.

Taka-kura-no, high-throne, high seated ..... Used of Mikasa no yama, *mi kasa* being the royal canopy under which the Sovran sat (*mi kura*) on state occasions.

Taka-mi-kura, high-royal-seated, used with Ama no hitsugi (Heaven's sun's line), *XVIII. chôka* 226.

Taki-gi-koru, faggot-cut, used with Kamakura yama—*kama*=bill for cutting faggots.

Taku-busuma (栲衾), a *fusuma* (coverlet) of *takumno* (white mulberry-bark cloth). Used with Shirayama, Shiraki (Silla, Shinra, in Korea)—*shira*=*shiro*, white (bleachen).

Taku-dzuna-no (栲綯), like cord of mulberry bark fibre. Used with Shiraki; *shirohige*, white beard; *nagaki*, long (space or time). See Lays 49, 262.

Taku-hire-no (栲領巾), scarf or wimple of *taku*. Used with *shirahama nami; kakemaku hoshiki; Sagisaka yama.*

XI. Takuhireno, shirahama nami no, yori mo ahezu,
araburu imo ni, kohi tsutsu so woru.

She will not come to me, yet all the while I love her, cruel one! she will not come to me as the waves come to the strand white as any bark-cloth wimple.

III. Takuhireno, kakemaku hoshiki, imo no na wo, kono
Se no yama ni, kakeba ika ni aramu.

How if I wrote this mountain's name (Se) with thine (imo), whom I would fain have speech with. Imo + se is Imose, another hill name, *imose* also means *fuufu*, spousal pair. The m. k. is used here with *kake*, to throw on, put on, also to utter, proffer (words). The use of the m. k. with Sagisaka yama—*sagi*=stork—is obvious.

Taku-naha-no, rope or cord of bark-fibre, used with *chi hiro.*

V. hanka to *chôka* 69 *Minawanasu, moroki inochi wo* etc. see sub voce. *minawanasu.*

Tamadzusa-no (玉 梓), precious or fine *adzusa* (Catalpa), used with *Tsukahi*, message or messenger. Anciently, according to Motowori, a messenger bore a rod or branch of *adzusa* with beads (*tama*) fastened to it, and hanging a hank of bark-fibre by the door meant a declaration; next, when a message was sent, the bearer was furnished with a like wand or branch, and, finally, when writing came to be used, the term *tamadzusa* was applied to a letter. Another explanation is—*tama*, precious, fine, *tsu*, genitive post position, *sa* 章 a communication, *tama* being a *homegotoba*. In Michinoku paper *tamadzusa*, folded in various ways, are used by lovers, and in Sanuki knotted wisps of straw are so employed. The modern *kusa no mi no sane* (present of fruit wrapped in herbs) reminds one of the *tamadzusa*.

III. Tamadzusa-no, imo ha tama ka mo, ashihiki no, kiyoki yamahe ni, makeba chirinamu.

The beads of the life-thread of yon fine maid are all unstrung and scattered belike, now that on yonder well-wooded hill her ashes lie all abroad.

Here *tamadzusa* means, no doubt, *tamadzusayumino*, girl treasured as a fine *adzusa* bow. There is, however, a plant, *tamadzusa* Trichosanthes cucumerioides. See Lays 27, 45, 59.

Tama-hayasu (玉 映), gem-brilliant, used with *muko*, bridegroom or son-in-law, elegant as a polished gem.

Tama-hoko-no (玉 桙), fine spear or halberd. Used with *michi* road; *sato hito*, village-tract resident.

Motowori applies the m. k. to *michi* as=*mi te*, fine haft or hilt. Dr. Aston sees in the expression a phallic allusion. The application to *sato* can only be explained by connecting *sato* with *michi*, as a village would always lie on a road. Or *sato* might read *ma-to*=*mi-tsu* or *mi-chi*. Lastly, the *tamahoko* might refer to the phallic (?) stones set up at the entrance to villages. See Lays 15, 27, 28, 30, 31, etc.

Tama-jihafu, with the script 霊 幸 the m. k. might be *rendered, conferring blessings*. It is used with *kami*, deity.

XI. Tamajihafu, kami mo are wo ba, utsute koso, shiyeya inochi no, woshikeku mo nashi.

I am in the hands of the gods who sustain the lives of men, but I do not desire to live, (for I am sick with love), and pray ye, O gods, to end my days.

Tama-kadzura, empearled or fine chaplet, used with *kage ni miyetsutsu; kakenu toki naku.* Written *kariji* 玉 蘿.

II. Hito ha yoshi, omohi yamu to mo, tamakadzura, kage ni miyetsutsu, wasurayenu ka mo.

Though men may cease to remember thee, oh may I not fail to keep thee in my mind and ever see thy face present to me. The m. k. cannot be rendered, it applies to *kage* in its sense of *omokage,* face (crowned by chaplet). The above is the complaint of an *ohokisaki* (queen) on the death of the Sovran.

XII. Tamakadzura, kakenu toki naku, kofuredomo, nani so mo imo ni, afu toki mo nashi.

Though I love her ever, my love, without ceasing a moment, how is it I may not meet my sister, my love. *Kake* has a twofold meaning, one with *tamakadzura,* to put on, wear (a chaplet), another as connected with *toki* (time), *Kakenu toki naku,* with never a break. See Lays 39, 48.

Tama-kadzura, fine creeper or trailer, used with *tayezu, tayuru koto naku,* never-ceasing; *hahete,* creeping. In the Kotoba no Izumi I find—

Katsura 桂, cassia tree (Cercidiphyllum japonicum;

„ 葛, a creeping *Dolichos*;

Kadzura, a wild-vine (Brinkley & Le Maréchal), *Agropyrum costatum* (Matsumura);

Udo-kadzura, Ampelopsis leeoides (Matsumura), and

Katsura, a chaplet, garland, coiffure (sort of wig ?).

Tama-kagiru (玉 限), the script is said to be an error for 玉 蜻, itself *kariji* for *tama kagiru* (*kagirofu, kagayaku*). See *kagirohino,* also Lay 146.

Tama-katsuma (玉 勝 間), the script is kariji. Katsu-

ma is explained as=*katama*, a small basket with lid (*futa*) and body (*mi*), the parts, therefore, fit in meeting, hence the use of the m. k. with *ahamu*, will meet. The m. k. is also found with the names Abeshima yama and Shimakuma yama; with the former through *abe* (*ahe*, *afu*), with the latter through the syllable *ma*, viewed as=*me*, a mesh in wicker work, and so in a *katsuma*. These explanations are far-fetched enough, but they satisfied Motowori.

Tamakiharu, variously written. One meaning is, to wear armlets, and with this the m. k. is used with Uchi, pl. n., reading *uchi* or *ude*, arm. But it might be explained as *tama-kiharu*, (*tama* for *tamashii*), vitally-limited, and Uchi as *utsu*=*utsutsu*, real life of the present world; in this sense it seems certainly to be used with *inochi*, life, *yo*, age, generation. Other explanations are made possible by the facile etymology of old Japanese.

I. hanka to *chôka* 3. *Tamakiharu, Uchi no ohonu ni, uma namete, asa fumasuramu, sono kusa fuka nu.*

on the great moor of Uchi will ride together on our horses and trample down this morn the lush growth of the moor (i. e., we will start the hunt). The m. k. is not rendered in this version.

X. Tamakiharu, Waga yama no he ni, tatsukasumi, tatsu to mo u to mo, kimi ga manimani.

Here, according to Motowori, Waga is an error for Haru, in which case the m. k. would be used phonetically.

The meaning is ever, standing or sitting (i. e. ever and always), thy will is mine. *Tatsu-to mo u to mo*=*tachite mo wite mo*—*tatsu* is prefaced by the first three lines—the mists on Waga (or Haru) hill that rise. See also Lays 3, 64, 69, 70, 136, and K. lxxi, N. 1934, 1946, 2175.

Tama-kushige (玉 櫛), fine comb-box (toilet-case). Used with *aku*, *hiraku*, open, be open. Being lidded the comb-box could be 'opened' (as the box of Urashima was, see Lay 105).

IX. Tamakushige, akemaku woshiki, atara yo wo, koromote 'karete, hitori ka mo nemu.

Ah, wretched night to dawn that opens—of Urashima's fatal

casket minding—and makes us part our sleeves, how can I lonely sleep?

With Mimuro and Mimuroto no yama, the use of the m. k. is with the syllable Mi=body (of casket or box); with Futagami with reference to *futa* (lid, of the *kushige*); with *oku*=*soko* with reference to the interior or depth of the *kushige*—*oku ni omofu wo, mi tamahe wagimo*—look thou my sister, my love, into the love that lies at the very bottom of my heart (as at the bottom of the casket of Urashima).

VIII. Tamakushige, Ashiki no kaha wo, kefu miteba, yorodzu yo made ni, wasurayenu ya mo.

Never, should we live a myriad years, shall we forget the view this day has given us of Ashiki's river—of Urashima's casket minding. Here Ashiki is taken as=浅笥 (comp. 麻笥, 飯笥 &c.), *ke* or *ge* being a small wicker-work case, hence the use of *kushige* as a sort of phonetic epithet. The *tanka* was composed on the occasion of certain officials stopping at a relay-post on the banks of Ashiki river (in Chikuzen) on their way to the Tsukushi garrison (Dazaifu), which was a sort of exile. In this article I have ventured to treat *kushige* as an allusion to the famous casket of Urashima.

Tama-kushi-no (玉櫛), phonetic m. k. of *tamashihi kemu.*

IV. Wotomeraga, tamakushigenaru, tamakushino, tamashihi kemu mo, imo ni ahazu areba.

Not to meet thee is to quench the life in me. The phonetic m. k. cannot of course be rendered; its *jo* is—the fine comb of the lady's fine comb-box.

The m. k. means, fine comb, the phonetic link is *tama*—*tama.*

Tama-kushiro (玉釧), fine armlet. Used with *(u)de ni maki mochi;* wear wound round the arm; *makineshi imo,* my love inwound in my arms.

IX. chôka 120 ..... *kuchi yamazu, aga kofuru ko wo, tamakushiro, te ni maki mochite, masokagami, tada me ni*

mineba ..... My love whom I love, my lips ever trembling with love, fain would I take thee in my arms, and look into thy mirror-bright eyes, but I may not look and .....

XII. Tamakushiro, makineshi imo mo, araba koso, yo no nagakeku, ureshikarubeki.

Were she still alive, my sister, my love, to embrace, as arms are embraced by bracelets, the length of the nights would be delightful—but now, desolate and lonely, the long nights are a long misery.

Tama-mo-karu, where men harvest fine *mo* seaweed. Used with *oki-he*, the offing or deep sea; *Karani no shima, Minume* (where *mo* is abundant).

XI. Tamamokaru, wide no shigarami, usumi ka mo, kohi no yodomeru, aga kokoro ka mo.

But weak defences against the flood, methinks, are wattled groins and wickered ropes of stone (*iseki* or *wide*) where men fine *mo* weed gather—my heart as weak, belike, 'gainst the floods of love. *Mo* is some sort of sea-weed, littoral or other, dulse, fucus, ulva?

Tama-mo-nasu, like fine *mo* weed, used with *ukabe*, float; *yori neshi*, reposing as wave-borne seaweed thrown on the strand; *nabiki-neshi*, sleep against, embraced by, close to (as *mo* by the shore). See Lays 13, 16, 17, 23.

Tama-mo-yoshi. This m. k. may be read *tamamo yo shi*, fine seaweed O! and is so used with Sanuki taken as=沉着 *shidzuki*, a seaweed or rooted in deep water; the sense would be—Sanuki where fine *mo*-weed grows from the sea-bottoms; or *yoshi* may be read as 吉, excellent. The difference is not great. *Yoshi* again may be *yosu*, *yosuru*, when *tamamoyoshi Sanuki* would mean, Sanuki (on whose strand) fine *mo*-weed drifts.

Tama-no-wo-no (玉緒), a string of pearls or gems, a beadlace. Used with *nagaki*, long (as a beadlace is); in the Kokinshiu with *mizhikaki*, short, as a beadlace may be, *tama-nowo no mizhikaki kokoro omohi;* with *tayu*, cease, end; omohi-

midarete, thought confused, bewildered, as the beads are scattered when they fall and lie about in confusion when the *wo* is broken; *tayete midare; tayete wakareba; ahida mo okazu; tsugite ha ihedo.*

XII. Kimi ni ahazu, hisashiki narinu, tamanowono, nagaki inochi no, woshikeku mo nashi.

For long days have I not met thee, for life long as string of beadlace (or perhaps endless, as such a string would be) I have no desire.

XI. Ametsuchi no, yori-ahi no kihami, tamanowono, tayezhi to omofu, imo ga atari mitsu.

Till heaven and earth should come together again I deemed our bond of love should endure as beadlace unbroken—now I can but gaze upon her home.

VII. Uchihisasu, miyaji wo yuku ni, aga mo ha yarenu, tamanowono, omohi midarete, ihe ni aramashi wo!

Faring towards sunbright City-Royal (to meet him) my smock hath been rent on the rough path, and like scattered pearls of a broken beadlace my thoughts are all disordered and fain would I be home again. For *uchihisasu* see *sub. voce.*

XI. Ikinowoni, omoheba kurushi, tamanowono, tayete midarena, shiraba shiru to mo.

To the very thread of my life is my life sad, I am all undone like a snapt beadlace, let the world know my case an it will!

XII. Tamanowono, ahida mo okazu, mimakuhori, aga 'mofu imo ha, ihe tohoku arite.

Close as pearls upon a string I would my visits to thee might be, my sister, my love, but far from me is the home thou bidest in.

XI. Tamanowono, utsushi kokoro ya, toshi tsuki no, yuki kaharu made, imo ni ahazaramu.

Like a fragile beadlace is my life, the days and the months slip by and I do not meet thee, belike!

Tama-tare-no (玉垂), beads pendent. The application

seems to be to the syllable *wo* regarded as 緒, string or thread (on which beads, pearls etc. are strung) in *Wochinu* (moor of Wochi; in *wosu*=*misu* (blind of thin bamboo-strips).

XI. Tamatareno, wosu no sukekini (yo?), irikayohi kone, tarachine no, haha ga tohasaba, kaze to mawosamu.

Thou canst visit me, love, creeping in under the bamboo-blind. Should my noble mother ask me aught, I will say 'twas the noise made by the rustling wind.

Tama-tasuki (玉手次). This m. k. is usually explained as, precious or fine sleeve-bands (to fasten the sleeves back when the wearer is occupied in any way). Another explanation is that *tama*=*taba*, *taba tasuki* (把襷), bind-back-sleeve. The m. k. is used with Unebi no yama—*unebi* taken as= *unashi*, neck (the bands would pass over the shoulders and be fastened behind the neck?); *kaku*, *kakuru*, throw, cast [the bands over the shoulder to tie (*tabane*) the two together behind the nape of the neck]. See Lays 4, 9, 24, 27, 40, 57.

Ta-motohori (徊徘), *ta* is intensive prefix, *motohori*= *mahari*, go about. Used with Yukimi no Sato (village-tract name)—*yuki* meaning to go (to a place).

XI. Tamotohori, Yukimi no sato ni, imo wo okite, kokoro sora nari, tsuchi ha fumedomo.

In Yukimi's village have I left my dear—the very name bids me go forth and see her (*yuki mi*); my heart is all in the air (i. e. flying toward her), though my feet stand on firm earth. Yukimi may also mean a quiver.

Ta-muke-gusa (手向草 for 種), god-offerings, used with *nusa tori okite*, taking offerings to place before a god.

XIII. chôka 138 ..... *Wotomerani, Afusaka yama ni, tamukegusa, nusa tori okite* ..... taking and placing offerings before the deity of Afusaka hill—whose name of meeting with a maid remindeth.

Tarachineno (帶乳根, 垂乳根, 足常), these scripts seem all *kariji* and very misleading. The m. k. is used with *haha* mother. *Tarachi* is *tarashi*, perfect, and must be regarded

as merely a *homegotoba* (comp. Tarashi hiko, Tarashi hime etc.), while *ne* is an honour-suffix (we have Yamatarine, Shimatarine etc). The m. k., thus explained, is a true epithet, meaning excellent, noble, εὐγένης, πότνια. Milk-giving, nursing, cannot be sustained as a probable rendering.

Tatamikeme, is an Eastland form of *tatamikomo,* used with *Murazhi no iso* (in Suruga). Some commentators apply it to the initial syllable *mu* only, as a contraction of *amu* (weave, as a mat or net).

XX. Tatamikeme, Murazhi no iso no, hanariso no, haha wo hanarete, yuku ga kanashisa.

Oh the sadness of one's mother being banished to the lone island off Murazhi—of rush-matting minding. (*Murazhi* may be taken as=*muroshiki,* spread within a dwelling—as matting is. Again *mura* is a numerative of things that can be rolled up, like matting. The m. k. may also be read *tadamikefu,*= *tadamukafu,* and be descriptive, not a true m. k. at all.) *Tatamikomo* lit. means a mat made of rushes. In K. xxxi. xc. we find *tatamikomo, Heguri no yama,* where the m. k. is used with *he,* a fold or thickness. See also N. 1634.

Tatanadzuku (畳有 for 若), used with *awokakiyama, awokaki gomori.* The word=*tatanahari nadzuku* (*nami-tsuku*) and appears to mean, with the above expression, green-wooded many-ridged hills.

II. chôka 23 ..... *tsuma no mikoto no, tatanadzuku, nikihada sura wo* ..... His lady wife's soft-pliant form ..... Here reading *ya ha* for *sura* the m. k. may be applied to *yaha*(*raka*).

Tatanamete (楯並), used with Idzumi no kaha (the river Idzumi).

XVII. Tatanamete, Idzumi no kaha no, mi wo tayezu, tsukahematsuramu, ohomiya dokoro.

May men serve the Sovran at the great palace (of Kumi) as long as the waters of the Idzumi flow. Kuni was the City-Royal of the Mikado Shômu, though only, from 724 to 728. (Satow).

Tata(tate)namete, make a shield-fence, is used with the initial syllable *i* of Idzumi as=*i*, *iru*, 射, to shoot at, i. e., the shield-fence over which one shoots at the foe, or with *idzumi* as=*idomi*, shout defiance at the enemy, as may be (more or less safely) done from behind the shield-fence.

Tatanedomo (難立), so the script, but 不 appears to have been lost. Used with pl. n. Okuna—, probably the script should be *okanedomo* 起.

XVI. chôka 211 ..... *tatanedomo, Okuna ni itari, Tsukanedomo, Tsukunu ni itari.*

I come to Okuna, though I cannot stand upright (*oku*), nought construct I (策 *tsuku*), yet to the moor of *Tsuku* come I ..... "I" is the crab of the *naga uta* 211.

Tatsu-kiri-no, rising-mist, used with *omohi sugubeki; ichishirokemuna.*

III. Asukakaha, kaha yodo sarazu, tatsukirino, omohi sugubeki, kohi ni aranaku.

How can one regret over much the ancient memory enduring as the mists that ever rise from the pools of the Asuka river. This is a *hanka* to *chôka* 39 and the 'memory' is of the deserted City-Royal, Kiyomihara (time of the Mikado Temmu).

XI. Kaha chidori, sumu saha no he ni, tatsukirino, ichishirokemuna, ahi-ihi-someteba.

If we meet and begin to devise of love, will not our case be as plain to all men as are the white mists that hover o'er the marshes which the river-dotterels haunt.

Tatsu-nami-no (立浪), surging waves; used with *shibashiba wabishi*, lament again and again (as the waves again and again roll in upon the strand).

XII. Kimi ha kozu, are ha yuwe nami, tatsunami no, shibashiba wabishi, kakute kozhi to ya.

He cometh not to me, nor may a girl seek her lover, ah! will he not come? again, again, like the ever-surging waves, I ask, miserably.

Tatsuta-yama, the (famous) hill of Tatsuta (龍田).

used phonetically with *tachite* (*tatsu*) *mo wite mo*, standing or sitting, i. e., constantly.

Tatsu-tori-no (立 鳥) birds rising in flight.

XIV. Wotsukuba no, shigeki ko no ma yu, tatsutorino, me yu(ni)ka na wo mimu, sa-nezaranaku ni.

The gist of the tanka is in the concluding couplet—I would fain but look at thee with mine eyes, if I may not clasp thee to me—*me* is a contraction of *mure*, flock, and, thus read, the *jo* is—the flock of birds rising up from among the thick woods of Tsukuba.

Ta-waraha-no (手 小 童).

IV. chôka 59 ..... *tawarahano, ne nomi nakitsutsu, tamotohori, kimi ga tsukahi wo, machi ya kanetemu.*

I shall have wandered wailing belike, as a hand-led child, impatiently awaiting the coming of thy messenger.

Tawayame-no (手 弱 女), arm-feeble-woman.

IV. chôka 80 *Nagisumi ni,....., tawayameno, omohi tawamete*, with faint feelings as of a feeble woman, at Nagisumi .....

Teru-tsuki-no, like shining moon.

XII. Aratama no, toshi no wo nagaku, terutsukino, akanu kimi ni ya, asu wakarenamu.

The morrow must we part indeed for many a year and month—my love whom I never tire of beholding as one gazes unwearied upon the shining moon.

Tobusa-tate (鳥 總 立), the script, which must be *kariji*, means, to set fowler's nets, but the m. k. seems really to signify, to ply a wood-axe.

III. Tobusatate, Ashigara yama ni, funa-ki kiri, ki ni kiri yukitsu, atara funa-ki wo!

Taking my axe I went out to cut ship-timber on the hill of Ashigara, to cut ship-timber I went, alas that timber—(I found it already felled). The commentators say that the inner sense is that a girl whom the poet would fain have made his own he found another man had already wooed and won.

The Kotoba no Idzumi describes *tobusa* as an offering to the hill-deity of the tree-top, which is fixed in the stump.

According to the Kogi (the author of which was a Tosa man) in that province an axe is still known as *tobusa*.

Tobu-tadzu-no (飛鶴), flying crane, used, phonetically, with *tadzutadzushi*—troubled, anxious.

Tobu-tori-no (飛鳥), flying-bird. This m. k. has given great trouble to the commentators in its application to Asuka. The following explanation is as good as any other. Asuka is regarded as=*ashikaru*, light of leg, as a bird may be said to be; the application is then obvious; or *asuka* may have been the name of a high-flying bird. The use of the m. k. with *haya kaheri kone* presents no difficulty—come back, I pray thee, swiftly as a flying bird. See Lays 23, 26, 86.

Toho-tsu-hito, one far away, far removed, as a traveller on a journey is far away from his home-folk. The m. k. is used with the place name Matsura—*matsu* being taken as *matsu* 待, wait, await, expect, as the home-folk do the wayfarer. A similar use is that with *matsu no shita ji yu*, from the path under the pines, *matsu* 松=待 wait, etc. An extended application is shown in the following *tanka*.

XII. Tohotsuhito, Kariji no ike ni, sumu tori no, tachite mo wite mo, kimi wo shi so 'mofu.

Ever are my thoughts full of love for thee—the *jo* to the fourth *ku* is—sitting or rising (i. e., ever) as the birds rise that haunt the pool of Kariji of wild-geese (*kari*) minding which are far travellers. See *XIII. chôka* 183.

Toho-tsu-kami, far-off, i.e., sublime deity, used with *waga ohogimi*, my great lord or Sovran, as far removed from men as a god is. See *I. chôka* 4.

Toho-tsu-kuni, far-off-land, m. k. of Yomi, under-world, Hades—*tohotsukuni, Yomi no sakahi ni*—to the borders of Yomi, that far-off-land. See *IX. chôka* 123.

Toki-kinu-no, clothes unravelled, unpieced (taken to pieces for washing). Used with *omohi-kohi-midarete*, bewildered, distracted, (with grief, love, etc.)—in disorder like the parts of a vestment unpieced for cleansing.

Toki-tsu-kaze (時風), time-winds, tide-winds.

XIII. Tokitsukaze, Fukehi no hama ni, ide-witsutsu, agafu inochi ha, imo ga tame koso.

I go forth upon the strand of Fukehi, where ever the time-winds blow, and offer prayer to the gods that my days may last at least until I see my love once more *Agafu=aganafu.*

Tokoro-dzura (冬瓠藤), a creeping plant, the Japanese yam, *Discorea japonicus*, or perhaps *D. tokoro.* The m. k. is used with *iya tohoshiku, tadzuneyukereba.* A country name is 'old man of the moor,' alluding to the white appearance of its decaying coils of the stem in autumn. With *tokoshiku* the use seems to be phonetic, *toko-toho.*

IX. chôka 112 ..... *wo tachi torihaki, tokoro-dzura, tadzune yukereba* ..... his dagger he girded on him and hied him wildly away as 'twere to dig the wild yam upon the moorland. (In my Prim. Texts the translation is slightly different, the present version is the more correct one.)

Tokoyomono, a thing of the Eternal Land.

XVIII. Tokoyomono, kono tachibana no, iya teri ni, wago ohokimi ha, ima no miru koto.

Ever bright as the precious fruit of the orange tree brought from the Eternal Land, may my great lord flourish as I now behold him.

Toko-zhi-mono (床自物), alcove-like-thing.

V. chôka 66 ..... *kusa tawori, shiba tori, shikite, toko-zhimono, uchikoifushite,* plucking herbs and branches and spreading them on the ground and throwing myself down on the litter (as on couch in alcove.)

Tomoshi-hi-no (留火), the script should be 燈火, flame or flare of light. The m. k. is used with the pl. n. Akashi—*akashi*=shining, bright (as flare of flame).

To-nami-haru (鳥網張), set fowler's nets.

XIII. chôka 134 ..... *tonamiharu, Sakate wo sugi* ... . pass Sakate, of hill-pass (*saka*) minding where fowlers spread their nets.

Tono-gumori, the gathering of clouds, rain-clouds.

XII. Tonogumori, Amefuru kaha no, sazare nami, ma naku mo kimi ha, omohoyuru ka mo.

Oh incessant is my love for my lord as the beating of the little waves on the banks of the river of *Amefuru*—minding of gathering clouds that presage rain (*ame furu*).

In *XII chôka* 153 the expression is purely descriptive—*tonogumori ame ha furikinu,* the gathering clouds have dissolved in rain.

Tori-ga-naku (鳥 鳴), cock-crow. Used with Adzuma Eastland). The common explanation of Adzuma is well-known and need not be repeated here. The m. k. means, essentially, the cock's (or any other bird's) morning call to rise—*waga kado ni, chidori shibashiba okiyo okiyo to* ..... by my door the dotterels cry and cry, arise, arise!

Tori-zhi-mono (鳥 自 物), like birds—used with the phrase *asa tachi imashite,* about to set out in the morning when wild-fowl make their earliest flight; with *nadzusahi yukeba,* as they fare on floating together like (pairing) wild-fowl.

VII. Torizhimono, umi ni uki-wite, okitsu nami, sawaku(gu) wo kikeba, amata kanashi mo.

Tossing on the sea like a sea-bird, and listening to the roar of the waves, thoughts too sad throng upon me (he pines for his home and family).

Tsubasa-nasu, wing-like.

II. Tsubasanasu, arigayohitsutsu, miramedomo, hito koso shirane, matsu ha shiruramu.

The meaning of this *tanka* seems to be—Though our Prince's winged soul be ever flying bird-like in the sky and fain would we behold it, we wait and know it not, alas! Only the pine groves know it!

Tsuga-no-ki-no (樛), a conifer Tsuga Sieboldi, or possibly, *tsuge* (Buxus) may be intended. Used, phonetically, with *iya tsugi tsugi ni,* in ever unbroken line or succession.

Tsugi-ne-fu (次 嶺 經). Other scripts are 繼 苗 生,

積根生. The meaning may be (a) when the peaks (*ne*) are ranged (*fu*) or crossed in succession (*tsugi*); (b) where tree-trunks (*ne*) are so ranged, or woods crossed. The m. k. is used with Yamashiro—Yamashiro whereof the name minds of serried hills—or thick woods (or of hills or woods crossed or traversed on the way from Yamato to Yamashiro).

XIII. chôka 180. *Tsuginefu, Yamashiro-ji wo* ..... See also K. lvii, lxi, lxiii and N. 2144, 2155. Possibly the m. k. applies to the *yama* only of Yamashiro. The second of the above scripts seems to regard *ne* as a contraction of *nahe* (saplings?).

Tsukanedomo, phonetic m. k. of pl. n. Tsukunu (moor of Tsuku).

XVI. chôka 211 ..... *tsukanedomo, Tsuku nu ni itari.* Though I build nothing (taking *tsuku*=策), yet I get to *Tsuku* ..... See sub *tatanedomo.* But *tsuku* may also be taken as 到, arrive at—perhaps the latter sense is the one intended; it would give more point to the quibble.

Tsuki-kusa-no (月草, 鴨頭草), apparently the blue-flowered Commelyna communis, abundant in Japan.

XII. Momo ni chi ni, hito ha ihedomo, tsukigusa no, utsushi kokoro wo, are motame ya mo.

A hundred, a thousand ways men may slander me, yet no feeble (impressionable) heart is mine, unstable as the blue of the moon-flower; *utsushi=utsurofu.*

Tsukigusano, kari naru inochi, naru hito wo, ika ni shirite ka, nochi ha ahamu chifu.

I would fain meet thee, and that soon, for I know not my tale of days fleeting as the moon-flower's hue. The m. k. is also used with *kenubeku kohi to,* love that may soon pass.

Tsumagomoru (嬬隱), spouse-seclude, used with the syllable *ya* as 家, house, in pl. n. Yakami, Yanu. In K. I. we find *tsumagomi* with the same meaning. Even at the present day a bride or spouse is known as *shinzô* (新造) i. e., new-built,—

recalling the time when a new hut or chamber was constructed for the use of a bridal pair.

Another explanation is—*te* (手) *no tsuma* (端) *ni komoru*, enclose within hand-grasp, *ya* being taken as *ya* arrow. In N. 2549 we find *tsumagomoru, Wosako wo sugi*, passing by Wosako, where *wo sa* (小 箭) may mean a small (hunting) arrow. *Sa-ho*, however, may mean *ma ho* (a secluded place? comp. *mahora*).

Tsuna-te-hiku (縄 手 引), rope-hand-haul. Used with *umi* sea, whence boats are hauled ashore.

Tsunashi-toru, where men take *tsunashi*, a kind of herring (Clupea zunashi). Descriptive of Himi no ye, the creek of Himi. See *XVII. chôka* 225.

Tsune-shiranu, strange, uncommon, used with Hitokuni yama—*hito*=他, other—Otherland Hill.

VII. Tsuneshiranu, Hitokuni yama no, Akitsu nu no, kaki-tsubata wo shi, ime ni mishi ka mo.

O iris flower that blooms on the moor of Akitsu by Hitokuni's hill—of strange lands (hito kuni) minding—have I seen it in a dream (he has had a vision of his mistress, and compares her to the iris flower—according to Keichiu the tints of the iris recall her beauty). See post *tsutsuzhihana.*

Tsunusahafu, abundant, creeper or ivy-mantled, taking *tsunu*=*tsuta* as ivy (or any creeper). Used with the pl. n. Ihami no ura, i. e., with *iha*, rock, where ivy, or other creeper, is abundant. See Lays 17, 46, also N. 2151, 2603. Or the m. k. may be *tsunu sa-hafu*, (where) creeping plants abundantly creep. According to Matsumura *tsuta* is properly Parthenocirsus tricuspidata.

Tsurugi-tachi, A straight, two-edged sword-blade (Korean?). Used as *homegotoba* with *mi*, self, person—sworded one, equivalent to later *samurahi; na*, as old word for *ha*, edge (compare *katana*, one-edged sword), homophon of *na*, thou; with *togishi* (*togu*, sharpen, whet, keen, pure), *togishi kokoro*, heart of keen and unflawed loyalty.

XX. Tsurugitachi, iyoiyo togubeshi, inishihe yo, sayakeku ohite, ki ni shi sono na so.

Ever bright as a keen sword blade has our name (Ohotomo) come down to us from the past.

IX. Tokoyohe ni, sumubeki mono wo, tsurugitachi, shi ga kokoro kara, oso ya kono kimi.

O he might be still dwelling in the Eternal Land, but foolishness was in the heart of yonder wight. Here the m. k. is used with '*shi*'=wight—minding of two-edged sword (for 'the wight,' i. e., Urashima, is regarded as entitled to wear a sword).

The *tanka* is one of the *hanka* to Lay 105, the Ballad of *Urashima.*

XIII. chôka 140 ..... *tsurugitachi, saya yu nukidete, Ikako yama* ..... Here the first two *ku* are a complementary *jo* to Ikako regarded as *i-kaku*, i. e., *kaku*, strike, begin fighting; the whole would then mean, drawing sword from sheath and striking (*ikaku*=Ikako).

The rare use of the m. k. with the syllable *hi* in Hitsuki no miko, preserves the word *hi* as denoting an ancient form of sword (compare *hiyasu*, cut down with sword). See also Lays 23, 29, 105. Some other explanations of the use of this m. k. will be found in the Kotoba no Idzumi.

Tsutsuzhi-hana, Azalea bloom, used with *nihohi, nihohe*, be flourishing, bright, fragrant, &c., *tsutsuzhihana nihoheru kimi*, my lord fragrant (blooming, elegant) as an azalea blossom. So we have *kakitsubata nidzurafu imo*, my love, rosy as the iris flower, *murasakino nihoheru imo*, my love bright as the *murasaki* flower.

Tsuwe-tarazu (杖不足), less than a *jo* (ten feet). Used fwith *yasaka no nageki*, sighs eight foot (not ten foot) deep Comp. *momotarazu*. See *XIII chôka* 196.

Tsuyu-shimo-no (露霜). Dew and rime or hoar rost. Used with *oku*, lie, be on. Dew and rime alternately

pass into each other, hence with *oku* the m. k. may really mean, as either dew or rime lie on ...

II. chôka 16 ..... *tamamonasu, yorineshi imo wo, tsuyushimono, okite shi kureba* .....

As I leave behind (*okite*) my love who had been sleeping close to me as the drifting *mo* weed is wave-borne to sleep. Here *okite* is used in a secondary sense, the use of the m. k. being with its primary sense.

The use, therefore, is purely verbal and is based wholly on the equivoque. The m. k. is also used with *aki* (autumn) ..... *tsuyushimo no, aki ni itareba,* ..... coming to autumn-tide, dewy, rimy ..... ; with *kenaba, kenubeku, ke, sugi* in the sense of passing, vanishing—*keyasuki aga mi,* myself that so easily pass away, i. e., temporary, impermanent, as dew or rime, not only impermanent in themselves but in their states, constantly passing from one to the other. There is a good deal of fine and close observation of Nature (within narrow limits) in Japanese poetry which escapes notice unless the texts be carefully considered, especially in the later m. k. and their uses. I find that many if not most of the errors in my Prim. Texts are due to lack of this exacter study. See also Lays 16, 24, 48, 50, 92.

Uchi-agaru, uchi-noburu (打上), used with Saho (no kahara). As *uchi-aguru* (raise) the m. k. is applied to the place-name Saho, written 眞帆, true (i. e., full equipment of) sails—but were sails known in Manyô times? ; as *uchi-noboru* (stand erect) with Saho written 眞穂, true (ripe and erect) ear of grain. It is a verbal m. k.

VIII. Uchiaguru (noboru), Saho no kahara no, awoyagi ha, ima ha haru he to, nari ni keru ka mo.

The green willows in the bed of the Saho river! is it not that the time of spring hath come?

Udzura-naku (鶉鳴), [where] the quail's cry is heard.

IV. Udzuranaku, furinishi sato yo, omohedomo, nani so mo imo ni, afu yoshi mo naki.

From the days of the old home (Nara) where now the cry of the quail is heard did I love you, yet here (at Kuni, the new City-Royal) I cannot meet you.

Udzura-nasu, quail-like, used with *i-hahi-motohori* (not *ihahi*), wander creeping around like quail in the jungle.

II. chôka 24 ..... *nubatamano, yufuhe ni nareba, ohotono wo, furisake mitsutsu, udzuranasu, i-hahi-motohori* ..... when night black as pardanth berry falleth, gazing upon the shrine (of Prince Takechi) they (his retainers) wander like crouching quail .....

Uchi-hi-sasu (打日指), uchi probably=*utsutsu* 現 (visible). The m. k. is used as a *homegotoba* with *miya* (and its compounds, *miyako, ohomiya*), meaning sunbright, sunshiny, sunlit. Comp. "the sun shines fair on Carlisle's wa." See Lays 49, 66, 136, 168.

Uchi-nabiku (打靡), bend, droop, yield. Used with *haru*, spring, because in spring the young herbs and shoots are tender and drooping. Also with the place-name *Kusaka*—*kusa*=grass, herb.

II. Aritsutsu mo, kimi wo ba matamu, uchi-nabiku, aga kurokami ni, shimo no oku made.

Still, still will I await my lord, even, even until the hoarfrost shall whiten my loose and flowing (*uchinabiku*) tresses—i. e., outside the door on a chilly night when the hoarfrost falls. The *tanka* next preceding the above in the Manyôshiu is worth giving as the oldest ('tis said) in the Anthology—

Kakubakari, kohitsutsu arazu ha, takayama no, iha ni shi makite, shinamashi mono wo.

Reading *arazu ha* as=*aramu yori ha*—the meaning would be—Such is my love for my lord that rather than suffer its (jealous?) pangs would I climb a high peak and lay me down and die upon the bare rock. One may suppose the love was hopeless or beyond concealment. These *tanka* are by the Empress Ihahime (died 347, reign of Nintoku). Her rival Yatahime became Empress a little later. See Lays 51, 110.

Uchi-ta-wori (打手折), a *kariji* in part, *ta* being merely the intensitive prefix.

IX. Uchitawori, Tamu no yama kiri, shigemi ka mo,
Hosokawa no se ni, nami no sawakeru.

The roar of the waves of the flow of the Hoso river, is it not born of the mists that gather on Tamu's hill of many a winding track reminding—(the zigzag pass over the hill)? *Ori=ori-magaru*, bent upon itself, winding, zigzag. But there may be an inner (*fukumeru*) meaning. The tanka is addressed to Toneri no miko and hints that to the abundant grace of the prince the poet owes his rise from a slender (*hoso*) condition. *Tamu* may be the simple form of *tamafu* (bestow), as *yobu yobafu, ifu ihafu, nageku nagekafu* etc.

Uchi-yosuru (*yusuru*) 打 緑. Used phonetically with Suruga (province-name). Taking 緑 as a *kariji* one may read *yosuru* or *yusuru*, the allusion being to an etymology of Suruga, as *yusuri* (動) *Jaha*, land of rushing streams. Other fancies need not be noticed as too vague.

Uguhisu-no (鶯). The Japanese nightingale, *Cettia cantans*. Used with *haru*, spring.

X. Uguhisuno, haru ni narurashi or *kitarurashi, Kasuga-yama, kasumi tanabiku, yo me ni mirdomo.*

Even at night we may know Kasuga's hill by the mists that gather, and the song of the nightingale that heralds spring. Kasuga (*kasumi-ka*, misty days) is written 春日, spring-day. The sense of the m. k. is included in the translation.

Ukanerafu (窺良布), *ukagafu* watch, track (game), used with Tomi (hill-name)—*to-mi* (跡見) track game.

VIII. Kono woka ni, wo-shika fumi okoshi, ukanerahi, ka mo ka mo suraku, kimi yuwe ni koso.

Upon this hill have I roused the hart and tracked him, or this I do or that I do 'tis but to serve my lord. So Tsushima no Ason signifies his thanks for advancement at a feast held in the year of grace 738.

Uki-kusa-no (浮草), floating herbs, sea or water-weeds. Used with *ukite*, floating, drifting.

XI. Tokikinuno, kohi-midaretsutsu, ukikusano, ukite mo are ha, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Like an unravelled vestment I am all undone with love, like drifting water-weeds I drift along the tide of time and love, belike!

Uma-kori (味凝), the script is *kariji*, the m. k. is really *umaki-ori*,, fine-woven—it is a four-syllable m. k.

VI. chôka 72 ..... *umakori, aya ni tomoshiki* ..... *mi Yoshinu* ..... fair land of Yoshinu strangely beautiful—but the m. k. is applied to *aya* as homophon of 綾, a patterned or (later?) brocaded fabric—beautiful with the beauty of a fine woven fabric.

Uma-no-tsume, horse-hoof.

XX. chôka 260 ..... *umanotsume, Tsukushi no saki* ... . Cape Tsukushi of stamp (*tsuku*) of horse-hoof minding .....

Uma-saha-fu (味澤相), the script is *kariji*. An obscure m. k. used with *me* (contraction of *mure*, crowd, mass, etc). As good an explanation as any is to read it as *umashi* (味), *aha*; (粟), *fu*; 田, field of tasty (fine, fair) millet—but in *II. chôka* 26, *umasahafu, me koto mo tayenu* ..... *me* must mean, look, and *koto*, speech, and the m. k. is essentially a verbal ornament of *me* (*mure*) understood as *me*, look. Nevertheless we may add the idea and translate—glance and speech multitudinous as full field of millet. In *IX. chôka* 123 the m. k. is used with *yoru, hiru*. No sense can be made of this connexion, but the difficulty is got rid of by interpolating—*me koto no tayete, nubatamano, yoru hiru* .....

Uma-sake (*no-wo*) fine or sweet saké. Used with Miwa, pl. name as homophon of *mi-wa*, royal or sacrificial saké. Some say *mi-wa* is *kami-wa* and see in this expression the reason of the use of the m. k. with Mi(maro) pl. name, and Kamunabi, hill-name. The words *maromi*, lees, *mi*, dregs of

saké, *komi*, a sort of saké, *kamu* (*kamosu*), to brew are also adduced in explanation of the use of the m. k. *Kamu* means, to chew, and a connexion is traced by adventurous etymologists between the word and the Polynesian custom of chewing starchy roots in making *kava*.

In *XVI. chôka* 206 we have *kotosake wo, Oshitaru wo-nu yu*, from the little moor of Oshitaru (though *wo* may be merely a sort of *homegotoba*). Keichiu connects *koto* (harp) with *oshi* 押, and *sake* with *taru*, drip, drop; but others read the m. k. as *umasakewo*, fine saké *dropping* from its cask.

Umashimo-no (馬下), *kariji*, (味物) *mana*, something delicious.

XI. Wagimokoni, ahazu hisashi mo, umashimono, abetachibana no, koke musu made.

So long, so long is it since I met my sister, my love, that thick the moss has grown on the sweet *kunembo*, orange bush.

Uma-zhi-mono (馬自物), like a pack-horse. Used with *naha toritsuki* lead with halter or bonds; *tachite tsumadzuki*, rise or start stumbling or pawing the ground (as a packhorse does). See *VI. chôka* 89, *XIII.* 157.

VI. Imogakado, Iriidzumikahano, se wo hayami, aga 'ma tsumadzuku, ihe 'mofurashi ni.

my horse boggles as I reach the banks of the swift stream of the Iriidzumi river, at home they will be thinking of me—the horse's hesitation proves the anxiety at home. For the m. k. *imogakado* (not rendered above) see *sub voce*.

Umi-wo-nasu (績麻成), hemp-yarn-spool.

VI. chôka 77 ..... *umiwonasu, Nagara no miya ni* ..... the application of the m. k. is to Naga as homophon of *naga*, long. So with Nagato.

Umore-ki-no (埋木), buried, underground, hidden (fossil?) wood. In Sendai such a fossil wood is found, out of which, as out of Irish bog-oak, various objects are fashioned.

VII. Makanamochi, Yuge no kahara no, umoregino, araharumazhiki, koto to aranaku ni.

Ah! must we not then ever keep our love as deep-hidden from men as a log buried beneath the bed of the channel of the Yuge river. For *makanamochi* (not rendered) see *sub voce.*

XI. Amata aranu, na wo shi mo woshimi, umaregino, shita yo so kofuru, yuku-he shirazute.

But one reputation, but one have I to lose, yet deep in my heart as a buried log lies my passion for thee and I know not what it may end in. To this *tanka* there is no *dai* or explanatory argument—the allusion seems to be to a love dreading publicity.

U-no-hana-no, hare-bush-blossom (Deutzia). Used with *sa-tsuki,* the 5th month, when the Deutzia is in bloom; also (phonetically) with *uki,* sad.

X. Unohanano, saku to ha nashi ni, aru hito ni, kohi ya wataremu, kata 'mohi ni shite.

To one whose heart openeth not to me as the flowers of the harebush open, shall I let my love go out to be unrequited! The m. k. is really an ornament only of *saku,* bloom.

X. Uguhisuno, kayofu kakine no, unohanano, uki koto are ya, kimi ga kimasanu.

Oh the pity of it, my lord cometh not, belike! The *jo* or preface to the m. k. (phonetic of *u* in *uki,* pitiable) is "the blossom of the harebush in the fence where the nightingale (*uguhisu*) passeth."

Usura-bi-no, like thin ice.

XX. Saho kaha ni, kohori watareru, usurabino, usuki kokoro wo, waga omohanaku ni.

I love her with a heart not weak as the thin ice that covers the waters of this Saho river. A dead friend or relative is lamented by a Princess (*oho kimi*).

Utsu-se-gahi (打 背 貝). The script is *kariji.* The m. k. means a kind of acorn-shell (Pollicipes) or *kamenote* (tortoise-paw-shell.)

XI. Sumiyoshi no, hama ni yoru chifu, utsusegahi, mi naki koto mochi, are kohime ya mo.

Not empty, I trow, is my heart of true love for thee, like the

shells men call tortoise-paws which the tide rolls in to rest upon the strand of Sumiyoshi.

Utsu-semi-no, written *kariji* 空蟬, empty cicada moult (the common *semi*). In *mana* it would be 現身, actual self of this, not of any past or future world, or of dreams. Hence the use of the m. k. with *inochi*, life; *yo*, age, this world; *hito*, man, person; *mi*, self, corporeal self.

XII. Utsusemino, tsune no kotoba to, omohedomo, tsugite shi kikeba, kokoro madohinu.

His words are those of this empty world, methinks if I still listen, listen to him my heart will be led astray (uncertain whether his words of love are true or not). Here the m. k. is applied to *tsune* as=*yo*. See also Lays 18, 26, 28, 50, 191, 251.

Utsu-so-(*wo ya shi*) 打麻 or 空苧, used with *umi*.

XII. Wotomeraga, umi-wo no tatari, utsuso kake, umu toki nashi ni, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Ever love I untiringly (*umu-nashi*). The *jo* leading up to *umu*, the homophon of which means, twisting, spinning (hemp-yarn), is "as the girls (*Wotomera*) spin the beaten hemp-yarn (*utsuso*) wound upon the spool-peg—or pegs—*tatari*. Comp. the next m. k.

Utsu-yufu-no (虚木綿)=*so-yufu*=*odamaki*.

IX. chôka 125 ..... *utsuyufuno, komorite maseba* .....
... secluded as in the hollow of a spool or cop of hemp-yarn. Or *utsu*(*ma*)*yufu* may be an allusion to the hollow of a *yamamai*, cocoon, or again—but unlikely—the inner bark of the Broussonetia (*yufu*) beaten (*utsu*) made supple for weaving—as flax is.

Waga-inochi, my life. Used with Nagato no shima (*naga*, long).

XII. Wagainochi nagaku hoshikeku, itsuhari wo, yoku suru hito wo, mukuyu (or *torafu*) *bakari wo.*

Oh just to requite (or punish) him (a deceitful lover) who knows so well how to lie plentifully would that my days were long *in the land!*

Waga-seko-wo (我 勢 子). There are other scripts. The meaning is, 'my love, my spouse.' The m. k. is used with *na kose no yama*, Kosé's hill, do not ..... but reading *na kose*, the passage=cross not, I pray thee, my spouse. With *ide Kose yama* the use is analogous but the meaning reversed.

XVII. Wagasekowo, aga Matsubara yo, mi-wataseba ama wo tomedomo, tama mo karu miyu.

From amid the clump of pines—of tryst (*matsu*) with lover minding—long I gaze upon the sea (ama) until I nought perceive but the harvesting of the weeds of ocean. The tanka is one of ten composed on the departure of Ohotomokyô from Chikuzen for City-Royal—his boat is lost to sight and only the sea weed gatherers are visible on the strand.

Waga-tatami (吾 疊), my own mat. Anciently the whole floor of a house-place was not matted, each person, or at least the *ihenushi*, had his own mat more or less sacred to his use. The m.k. is used with the place-name Mihe no kahara Mihe being taken as=*mi-he*, three-fold (or *mi* may=the honorific *mi* or *ma*); *tatamu*=to fold or put things one upon another. Possibly the m. k. is merely phonetic with the syllable *mi*.

Wagimoko-ni (吾 妹 子), with or to my sister, my love. Used with Afusaka (hill-name)—*wagimoko ni afu*, meet my love; with *afuchi* (*ôchi*) *no hana* (Melia japonica); with *Afumi* (Ômi); with Ahazhi (*afu-ahu-aha*), island-name. The m. k. is complementary to *afu*, meet.

XII. Wagimokoni, koromo Kasuga no, Yoshiki kaha, yoshi mo aranu ka, imo ga me wo minu.

Oh that from Yoshiki's stream I might borrow its name (*yoshi*= good, excellent)—O fine to meet thee, dear—from Yoshiki's stream in Kasuga minding of some vestment (*koromo*) lent (*kasu*) to my love (*wagimokoni*). See also *XIII. chôka* 138, 199.

Wagimoko-wo.

I. Wagimokowo, Izami no yama wo, takami ka mo, Yamato no miyenu, kuni tohomi ka mo.

O the Peak of Izami—minding me of how (*iza*) I would fain see (*mi*) her—is it not lofty, yet is not the land of Yamato (where her home is—at City-Royal) a far land to be seen hence? The name Izami suggests the m. k., the height of Izami her inaccessibility, and its situation her remoteness (*miyenu ..... tohomi*). The Japanese etymology of Izami is characteristic. There was a hill, Sami, in Ise, and a bay, Futami, famous for a huge pine-tree. A Prince and Princess Sami had called the strand Mishiho hama and the hill Mishiho yama—hence the name Futami, 二見 or 二御; at the base of the hill was a brook 三水, *Sami*, which name became that of the hill. To it the prefix *i* need but be added, no great feat, and Izami is the result.

I. Wagimokowo, Hayami hama kaze, Yamato naru, awo matsu no ki ni, fukazaru na-yume.

O winds that blow roughly on Hayami's strand—would I might soon see (*hayama*) my mistress (*wagimokowo*)—blow not so fiercely I pray upon the green (*awo*) pine tree (*matsu no ki*) that awaiteth me (*a wo matsu*) in far Yamato. The pine tree symbolizes his love whom he has left behind in Yamato.

XI. Wagimokowo, kiki Tsuga nu he no, nabiki nebu (or *shinahi*) *a ha shinubi yezu, ma naku shi 'moheba.*

O swa··ng *nebu* tree (Albizzia julibrissin) that swayeth (*nabiki*) on the moor of Tsuga—minding of what I ever hear of thee, my sister, my love (*wagimokowo kiki tsugi* for Tsuga) never can I win rest for ever my thoughts dwell upon my love. The m. k. seems to be really a phonetic one. See *ante shinahinebu.*

Waka-hisaki-no (若歴木). The script denotes the young *hisakaki* (Eurya japonica) or *Kunugi* (Quercus serrata). The m. k. is used phonetically with the phrase *waga hisa naraba.*

XII. Watarahi no, ohokata no be no, waka hisaki, waga-hisa naraba, imo kohimu ka mo.

O that she may still love me even if I be long absent.

The phonetic *jo* to *waga hisa* is *waka hisaki*, the young *hisaki* that grows by the waters of the great river of Watarahi.

Wakaki-ko-no, like a young child...*wakakikono hahita-motohori*, creep or crawl about like a little child.

Waka-komo-wo (弱 薦), a complementary m. k. ..... *wakakomowo Kariji no wonu*, the little moor of Kariji minding of the reaping (*karu*) of young rushes (*wakakomowo*) ..... the rushes were used for making mattings.

Waka-kusa-no, like young herbs—used with *nihita-makura*, thine arm as pillow fresh and tender as the young herbs (of spring); *waka tsuma*, spouse tender as the young herbs; *waka omohitsuki ni shi kimi*, here *waka* may apply to *kimi* or to *omohitsuki*, my love to whom my love clingeth as the young spring herbs (to any support).

XVI. Iyushishi wo, tsunagu kaha he no, wakakusano, mi no wakakahe ni, sa-neshi kora ha mo.

Ah where is she now whom I loved so well in the days when I was young—young as the soft spring herbs that grow by the river-side where one tethered the wounded deer (after the hunt)? In this version *wakakahe* is explained as in Keichiu's commentary, the *jo* to *wakakusano* may contain an allusion now unintelligible. See N. 3330.

XVII. chôka 224 ..... *wakakusano, ayuhi tadzukuri* ... . fashioning leggings (for travelling) of young reeds. See also K. v., vi.; N. 2524, 330.

Washi-no-sumu (鷲 住), eagle-haunted, a descriptive m. k. of Tsukuba no yama in Hitachi. See *IX. chôka* 113.

Wasure-kahi (忘 貝), oblivion-shell, a sort of clam? Used phonetically with *wasure*, forget.

I. Ohotomono, Mitsu no hama naru, wasuregahi, ihe naru imo wo, wasurete omohe ya.

O oblivion-shell that men find at Mitsu's strand—is oblivion of my sister, my love, whom I have left at home, thinkable indeed! For the m. k. of Mitsu see sub, *Ohotomono*.

Wata-no-soko (海底), sea-bottom, used with *oki*, deep-sea, open-sea, and compounds.

Wi-machi-tsuki (座待月), the moon of the 18th night of the lunar month. The 17th is *tachi-machi-tsuki* and the 19th is *ne-machi-tsuki*. I suggest (merely) the following explanations: *Tachi* is moonrise after full (about 8.30 p.m.), *wi* is moonrise the next night (about 9 50 p.m.), and *ne*, moonrise the third night (about 11 p-m). *Tachi* may refer to a time when one is still up and about (in harvest), *wi* when one has returned home after the toil of the day, *ne* when one has gone to rest. The m. k. is used with Akashi no to (place-name). See *III chôka* 44. Perhaps the lay was composed on an 18th and the opportunity was seized of applying the m. k. to *akashi* as= *akashi*, which has various meanings, open, dawn, shine etc., to which the m. k. might be applied.

Womina-heshi (or *meshi*), the Valeriana scabiosaefolia, one of the salad vegetables of the Manyô age. Used with Saki (part of several place-names) as=*saku*, bloom, flourish. Wom:.ameshi perhaps refers originally to women's vestments on which the plant was impressed to form a simple patten.

IV. Wominaheshi, Sakisaha ni ofuru, hanakatsumi, katsute mo shiranu, kohi mo shiru ka mo.

The translation will be found under *hanakatsumi*.

Woshi-tori-no, the *woshi* duck (Anas galericulata or mandarin duck), used phonetically as in ..... *woshitorino, woshiki aga mi ha, kimi ga manimani* ..., Alas for me—as my lord willeth.

Wotomera-ga, complementary m. k. to Sodefuru yama—minding of the waving (*furu*) of maidens' (*wotomera*) sleeves (*sode*), as summons or farewell.

Wotomera-wo=*wotomeraga*.

Ya-chi-hoko-no (八千桙), eight thousand (a host) of spears. Used with *kami*, god, deity. Yachihoko no kami is an *alias* of Ohonamuji no mikoto. See *VI. chôka* 97, also *K ii.*

Yahetatami, eight (many) fold. Used with Heguri no yama. See under *komotatami.*

Ya-ho-tade-wo (八穂蓼), eight (many) eared, *tade* (Polygonum sp). Used phonetically with Hodzumi, place-name. See *midzutade.*

Yake-tachi-no, forged and tempered sword-blade. Used with the syllable *to* in *to-kokoro,* tonami—*to* being regarded as equivalent to *togishi, togi, toshi,* polished, sharp, free from flaw (as a loyal heart is).

IV. Tayu to ihaba, wabishimi semu to, yaki tachino hetsukafu koto ha, karashi ya wagimi.

The explanation given of this m. k. in the above *tanka* is that *hetsukafu=hetsurafu* (comp. *nidzukafu=nidzurafu*), while *yaki-tachino* is read with *hetsukafu* as *he-tsukafu,* carry (sword) by side. The meaning of the *tanka* then will be—should our bond of love be snapt, what misery will be mine! again thou didst but flatter me, most cruel one! The value of the m. k. cannot be rendered in the translation. (There was a quarrel and a promise of *integratio* not fulfilled.

Ya-kumo-sasu (八雲刺) has much the same value as *yakumotatsu.*

III. Yakumosasu, Idzumo no kora ga, kurogami ha, Yoshinu no kaha no, oki ni nadzusafu.

Oh floating on the mid-stream of the Yoshinu river see the black tresses of the maid of many-*clouded* Idzumo. The drowned girl is a victim, doubtless, of love.

Ya-kumo-tatsu, eight (many) clouds arise—or coils of mist. Used with Idzumo. The real meaning of this m. k. cannot be determined. Idzumo is written 出雲, *idzuru-kumo,* clouds that come forth or appear, and with this signification the use of the m. k. is not unintelligible. See K. i., N. 1415; also note at end of this list.

Yaku-shiho-no, burning salt, i. e., produced in salt-pans over flame. Used with *karaki,* bitter, cruel, as love (*koki*) is in its pains.

Yamabuki-no, the blossom of the yamabuki (*Kerria iaponica*), used with *nihoheru imo,* my love elegant (fragrant) as the Kerria bloom; phonetically with *yamu toki mo nashi,* never ceasing, *yamu* being assimilated with *yama.*

Yama-kaha-no (山川), mountain stream. Used with *tagitsu* as in *yamakahano, tagitsu kokoro,* heart tumultuous as the waters of a mountain torrent.

Yama-kiri-no, mountain mist—*yamakirino, ibuseki aga mune,* gloomed my mind as with a mountain mist. *Yama,* hill, also denotes wild, waste country.

Yama-no-ma-yu, from amid the hills—*yamanomayu, Idzumo no kora,* the maid of Idzumo minding of clouds rising from amid the hills.

Yama-no-wi-no, mountain (or waste land), well etc. Such a well (or source) undigged by man would be shallow; hence the m. k. is used with *asaki kokoro,* heart shallow as a natural fount.

Yama-shita-no (山下), the lower slopes of, or under, the hills, ruddy in autumn with the changing leafage of the woods; hence the m. k. is used with *ake soho fune,* red-stained ship, red as the lower hill-slopes in autumn.

Yama-suge-no (山菅), the *bakumondo* (Liriope graminifolia—a sort of lily) that displays abundance of berries.

IV. Yamasugeno, ni naranu koto wo, ware ni yose, ihareshi kimi ha, tare to ka nuramu.

Here the m. k. applies merely to the *mi.* As the lily that fruiteth not, so ask I whom he embraces whom the world gave to me. The translation is imitative. The m. k. is also used with *midare,* confused, disordered, the leaves of the plant being abundant and close; also, phonetically, with *yamazu* (不止), and with *sogahi ni neshiku.*

XIV. Kanashi imo wo, idzuchi yukame to, yamasugeno, sogahi ni neshiku, imashi kuyashu mo.

Alas! My sister, my love, whither wouldest thou—wouldest thou we turned our backs on each other like the leaves of the

yamasuge—would that not be misery to both, love! (The allusion seems to be to a lovers' quarrel. One may hope the *integratio* came about.)

Yama-tadzu-no, said to mean a woodman's axe. Used in some such way as to be applicable as a m. k. to *mukahe*, front, be opposite, to meet. There is however a plant (*yama*) *tadzu no ki* or *nihatoko* (Sambucus racemosa), of which the leaves are opposite (*mukahe*). See K. lxxxvii.

Yami-yo-nasu (闇夜成), ... *yamiyonasu, omohi-madohinu* ..... distracted (with love) as with the darkness of night.

Yami-no-yo-no, similar to the last—*yaminoyono, yuki-saki shirazu,* unknowing the future course (of things,) dark as night.

Ya-saka-tori (八尺鳥), a diving bird that takes very long (eight, many, feet or fathoms deep) breath.

XIV. Oki ni su mo, wo-kamo no mokoro, yasakatori, iki-dzuku imo wo, okite kinu ka mo.

Alas that I have left behind me my sister, my love, who will sigh fathoms deep, like the deep-breathed wild-duck of ocean.

Yasu-kaha-no, the river Yasu, phonetic m. k. of *yasu-i-mo-nezu,* no gentle sleep I know.

Yasumishishi, used with *Ohokimi,* great lord, Sovran etc. According to one script it would mean, who knoweth (*shishi,* i. e., governeth) all (*ya,* i. e., eight) the corners (*sumi*) of the land. The other and, to my mind,better explanation is *yasumi suru, yasunsuru,* make rest, bring to peace, *debellare.* A fairly good rendering is 'in peace and power who rulest.' See *I. chôka* 3, 10, 11, 12; K. xxviii, xcvi, xcvii, ciii and N. 2176, 2338, 2998.

Yoshiki-kaha, see under *wagimokoni.*

Yufu-tsutsu (*dzudzu*)—*no* (夕星), evening star, used with *yufube,* evening of evening star; *ke yuki kaku yuki,* hither thither move like the course of the evening star (alluding perhaps to its alternate appearances as morning and evening star).

Yufu-hana-no, like Broussonetia blossoms. But what are really meant seem to be artificial flowers made of *yufu*—bark stuff or paper—as customary to-day, *Hatsuse me no tsukuru yufuhana,* artificial *yufu,* paper flowers, made by the women of Hatsuse (Hassé).

Yufu-tatami, a fold of *yufu* cloth as an offering to the gods. Used with Tamuke no yama—*tamuke* means to offer up before the gods; with Tanakami yama, where the application of the m. k. is phonetic, *tatami* being regarded as a contraction of *tatanami* assonant with Tanakami.

Yufu-hi-nasu (暮日), ... *yufuhinasu, uraguhaski* ..... lovely as sun at even. Comp. *asahinasu.*

Yuki-zhi-mono, snow-like, used phonetically only with *yuki-kayohi,* go and come to and fro or often.

Yuku-fune-no (往船), ... *yukufuneno sugite* .... passing on like ships at sea.

Yuku-kage-no (往影).

XIII. chôka 146 ..... *yukukageno, tsuki mo he yukeba* ..... as the moon with its passing light further fareth. This intepretation, however, is doubtful. Motowori favours *aratamano,* afresh or anew, regarding 往 as a mistake.

Yuku-kaha-no, ... *yukukahano, suginishi hito* .... one who has passed away as the waters of a flowing river.

Yuku-midzu-no, like running water, used with *sugi,* pass on, away; *oto mo sayakeku,* pleasant murmur as of running water; *todome kane,* without halt like running water; *tayuru naku,* ceaselessly; *kaheranu,* returneth not.

Yuku-tori-no (去鳥), like passing (migrating) wild-fowl, used with *arasofu,* dispute, clamour, like flocks of migrating birds.

Yu-tane-maki seems to mean a plot of sown rice-seed, the young herbs are transplanted later.

XV. Awoyagino, yeda kiri oroshite, yutanemaki, yuyushiku kimi ni, kohi wataru ka mo.

The gist of this *tanka* is contained in the last two lines—I am

fearful lest I betray my lord for my lord, dare I then love him? (An answer to an inquiry as to what troubles her.) The three preceding *ku* lead up to *yuyushiku* through the syllable *yu of yutanemaki*, itself described in the first two *ku* as the plot of sown-rice defended (from evil influences) by the shoots cut from the green willows growing by the stream.

Note.—*Ma* often implies a sort of completeness; thus *ma-te*, both hands; *ma-kaji*, *ma-kai*, an equipment of oars or sculls; *ma-wake*, parting of two persons etc. *Ya* may be an old word meaning many, great, *ya*, eight, may have been the same word. Then *ya-chi-hoko*, great-hilt-halberd, would better apply as an epithet of Ohonamiji, *yakumotatsu*, as a m. k. of Idzumo—when we may find an allusion to the clouds or weather of mist, emerging through or above which the land would be first seen by the earliest Asiatic immigrants who made the Idzumo strand. Even *yasumishishi* might thus be more intelligible. 大住シシ (セシ).

I have used 'City-Royal' to designate the capital for the time being of Yamato, and 'Sovran' I venture to employ as a substantive for 'Mikado.' Neither 'Emperor' nor 'King' quite suit. In some cases a phonetic makura-kotoba has some of its literal meaning incorporated in the translations. Many of the tanka are ingenious attempts to illustrate a thought or sentiment, suggested by some person, scene or event, by the dexterous use of m. k. which are not mere 'supports' (chevilles) of the *ku* as often asserted. They all had at one time a definite meaning, well understood probably in the 8th century. Of many of the examples cited the text is probably corrupt. This is not to be wondered at, in view of the jumbled script in which they were originally written, and the consequent errors of copyists, decipherers, and translators into *yomi*. The inversions of syntactical order, the irregular syntax, the uncertain meaning of many words, the elliptical and suggestive style, the general indefinitness of an impersonal language, and one's ignorance of many of the allusions contained in the *uta* are reasons why in many cases an

absolute finality in interpretation is unattainable. I hope that resident members of the Society will use their opportunities to correct and amplify the foregoing attempt to explain the makura-kotoba of primitive Japanese literature.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

In the above examples—

Kohi-wataru, is best taken as=*kohite yo wo wataru ;*

kohi is love, like, be fond of (persons or things) ;

omohi-sugu as=*omohite yo wo sugu* ; thus *omohi sugubeki kimi* ..... whom I mourn with a life-long mourning.

are=(有), (吾), (荒) or (顯) ;

omofu=feel love, regret, sadness, care, hope, or simply 'think.' of its many compounds the sense is often idiomatic.

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UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,
JUN 20 1914

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XXXVI. Part I

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YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, LD.
TOKYO: Z. P. MARUYA & CO., LD.
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & CO., LD.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

1908.

PRICE - - - - - - - - - - - Yen 2.50

BOX OF CURIOS PRESS, YOKOHAMA.

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SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE

IN

NEW CHINA.

ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE

BY

REV. TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

A GENERAL meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms on Wednesday, Jan. 29, 1908, at 4 p.m. In the absence of the President, Sir Claude Macdonald, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary read a letter from the President, expressing regret that a previous engagement prevented his being present at the meeting. The Recording Secretary also announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Lieut. F. C. Bartels, German Embassy, Tokyo; Lieut. C. H. Neill-James, British Embassy, Tokyo; Mr. E. A. Wiedeman, c/o N. Y. Life Insurance Company, Tokyo; and Mr. J. C. Ward, 28 Iigura Katamachi, Azabu-Ku, Tokyo.

The Chairman then introduced in a few well-chosen words Dr. Timothy Richard, of Shanghai, to lecture on "Some of the Problems of Life in New China." The lecturer was welcomed by a large audience, who thoroughly appreciated his instructive address. At the close Dr. Greene moved an expression of earnest thanks to the lecturer by means of a rising vote. The motion prevailed.

Some of the Problems of Life in New China.

ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE

BY

Rev. Timothy Richard, D. D.

DR. Richards, who spoke entirely without notes, said at the outset that he thought he should make an apology for appearing before so famous a Society, because he had not had time to put his thoughts together in a way worthy of it. But he had felt a great deal of interest for many years in Japan, and it was just 20 years since he was once asked in Peking to deliver a lecture on Buddhism. The place was the British Legation and the Chairman was the then Japanese Minister, Mr. S. Shioda. To-day he would endeavour to give some idea of the problems of life in China. It was necessary to an understanding of the conditions in China to know something of the background.

Some five or six centuries before the Christian era began there was a very big problem in China, singularly like the problem in the world to-day, though of course on a much smaller scale. It was a time of contending states. In China there was a number of states who were constantly at war with one another, and during that time there arose a man from among the people who gave solutions of certain of the problems of life. One solution was very well-known ; it was the ethical system of Confucius, consisting in the main of the five points, benevolence, righteousness, piety, education and trustfulness and faithfulness. These were the ethical principles of Confucius, but he said something else, which was seldom mentioned and which was perhaps the most important of all. He wrote a book which he called " The Spring and the Autumn," in other

words, a history of his own times and the times before him, and he said that by that book he would be afterwards either condemned or praised. Many people had read it and said it was the most un-interesting book ever written; and yet it was included among the sacred classics of China. Wherein lay the mysterious value that Confucius himself attributed to it? To the speaker it appeared to lie in this. He did not write his story as it was or had been, but as it should have been. When the ministers of different states met together to consult about international affairs, he invariably said that the Emperor called them to the meeting, though it was not the Emperor at all, but one state one year and another state another year. But he said he had the solution of all the troubles of his day, that it was two-fold, viz., to have a central authority to control everybody, and to have the ethical principles for each nation to conduct itself by. That idea of a central authority inspired the ruler of the Chin state to come forward and on a military basis to bring together all the other states of China. He did not employ ethical principles, but simply the idea of central authority, and that it was which enabled him to lay the foundation of the Empire of China. But it was soon found that military power alone was not enough, and there arose a dynasty which was guided by the principle of combining military force with diplomatic skill. Though states were conquered, the civil administration was very wise and laws were formed that exist to this day. Making a passing reference to the repelling of the Huns by the Tang dynasty, which he said was due to this combination of the civil and military power, the lecturer remarked that it was during this period that Buddhism entered China, carrying with it the philosophy, the science and the reformed religion of India—and not only the reformed religion, but a good deal of the ancient religion, Brahminism, also. It came as a new force into China; its object was not to consider this world's affairs, but to prepare for entering into union with the eternal God, whom the Mahayana school called the Buddha of the endless age. A great impression was produced on the educated classes in China, and scholars translated the sacred classics, brought from India,

which are still standard books in China and have been brought from thence to Japan. Thus was brought into favour the idea that we are here in this world only for a moment, with boundless ages of life still to come. Here one could get along for a few years, whether in wealth or in poverty; the great problem was to be united to God and to get the light eternal—the vanity of this world and the far greater importance of the other was the chief idea of the Buddhists. Then about a thousand years ago, there came the Sung dynasty, under which was formed what he would call the modern Confucianism of China, because the views then expressed have been the orthodox views of China to the present day. The fundamental principle of that philosophy was reason. It was not so iconoclastic as the age of reason in France, yet it produced a considerable disturbance, and finally won the conviction of all the scholars of the land, that the philosophy of things was the best solution of the problem of life; and so there was produced in China a race of men about the noblest of any on the face of the earth. Once convince a Chinaman that a thing is reasonable and you have him instantly. That was one tremendous trait in the intellectual development of China. Consequently the historian Cho in his history declared that China was the only civilized country in the world, and that all other nations were barbarians, far below the Chinese in the scale of civilization. Since then, whenever foreigners came in contact with the Chinese, the latter held that, while it was quite right for the foreigner to learn of them it would be preposterous for them to think of learning from foreigners. Then there came the Mongol invasion, and after the Mongols had been driven away, China reverted to the principles of both military and civil administration, and finally they had the Ming dynasty followed by the present dynasty. The latter, though outwardly the conqueror, was really conquered by China, and it had developed the civilization of China until to-day her literature was the most remarkable and precious to be found. On the whole, then, looking at the past, they found a wonderful record as to how the world should be governed.

But in the last century a new chapter had opened in the history of China, and the conflict between China and outside

nations had been exceedingly painful to China and was at present highly threatening. How was it that with such a record during the past China had failed to meet the situation when she had modern nations to deal with? He would say that one of the reasons was this: the Chinese had it in mind not only that China was the only civilized country but that there was only one ruler on the earth, and that ruler the Emperor of China, who was called the Son of Heaven in all memorials sent up to the Throne. It was no mere empty name. Hence when the Chinese came in contact with foreigners at Hongkong and Canton they styled their country the Celestial Empire and would not allow the highest officials of the West to approach the Viceroy in Canton, would not allow a despatch from a foreign high official to be delivered to the Viceroy. This pride, which by the way they did not consider to be pride but only the assertion of their proper position, cost them a war. Then the foreign officials desired to reside in Peking. That was an unheard of thing; they refused and it also cost them a war. The foreign representatives then asked to have audience of the Emperor, who was sacred, and in the sequel of this quite unprecedented request the foreigners had to fight a long battle as to audiences.

These were some of the reasons why China found it difficult to adjust herself to modern conditions of life. Moreover, the Chinese system of education, though some of its excellent features had been adopted by the British Government, referred only to their own country. The acquaintance they had with their own country was amazing, but they knew nothing of the history of the world as it is to-day; and so it was, despite the lessons which should have been taught by successive wars, that one set of officials who might be convinced of the uselessness of fighting the foreigners would be replaced after a time by a fresh set who would soon get themselves into difficulties with foreign nations, and the consequence was that they had wars about every ten years. The present cry of China for the Chinese was of about the same nature. Only one step had been made in advance of the past, and that was that the Chinese had decided to allow other nations to rule themselves, whereas formerly the Emperor

of China was the ruler of the whole world. The cry of China for the Chinese was a cry of the utmost danger to China herself. It was alienating the best of her friends at home and confronting her with new dangers from foreign countries. That was the sad plight of China at the present moment; but there were signs of improvement and the whole land was now alive with the idea of getting Western learning. Here was a hopeful sign for the future. Referring to the Confucian idea that the nations should be confederated and that if any one became lawless the others should combine against it, he said there was nothing more common in the Confucian classics than the expression "Pacify all under Heaven." That unfortunately in the past meant only China. Now Buddhism was all over the land and in the Mahayana doctrine of Buddhism there lie elements that harmonize wonderfully well with the Christian religion. The old Buddhism did not believe in God, the new does. He went on to point out other differences and said there was hope for China if she could recognize that the best fundamental principles found in Confucianism and Buddhism are in perfect accord with the principles of Christianity. Let the adherents of each of the three religions rejoice in the high ideals possessed by the others, and let each one help to promote the common good of their fellow-men.

These seemed to him to be some of the things that were most striking in the history of China—some that tended to bring her down to ruin and some that were hopeful for her. He was delighted to find that the Asiatic Society of Japan was following the wonderful example of Max Müller. Müller felt convinced that for the welfare of the world it was necessary for the East and the West to understand each other better; so he organized the publication in English of the sacred books of the East. But, as people could not digest these, be organized the Hibbert lectures, by which the substance of these books was given to the world in a way that was generally intelligible, and in consequence of that he (the speaker) had noticed a great change in the intellectual attitude of Europe toward the East. After once understanding the religion and the philosophy of the East, Occidentals had far greater respect for them than in

former days. With an allusion to the lectures recently published as reflecting the long study of Buddhism by their learned author, he concluding by expressing the hope that both in Japan and China societies or classes would be formed to study the deepest, highest and the broadest thoughts of the world; for it was only by getting hold of these that it would be possible to unite the world as a whole and to make definite progress, not as individual nations, but as a whole, to the attainment of truth and for the lasting benefit of mankind,

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THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE THIRD PRECEPT AND VIRTUE: FU-JA-IN,

OR

NOT COMMITTING ADULTERY.

BY THE LATE

JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE THIRD PRECEPT AND VIRTUE: *FU-JA-IN*, OR NOT COMMITTING ADULTERY.

By the late

John Laidlaw Atkinson.

A FOREWORD.

THE first three Buddhist Ethical virtues, "Not Killing," "Not Stealing," "Not Committing Adultery," are called the three bodily virtues. The four following virtues, "Not Lying," "Not Exaggerating or using fanciful Language," "Not Slandering," "Not being Double-Tongued," are called the four lingual virtues. The last three of the series of ten virtues, "Not Coveting," "Not Yielding to Temper," "Not being Heretical or Skeptical," are called the three mental virtues. The cultivation of these ethical virtues is incumbent on priests and laymen alike. When the faithful observance of rites and ceremonies, and the living of an ascetic life have been added, a perfect Buddhist, and one for whom ultimate deliverance from bondage to the law of birth and death, and an entrance into the long desired Nirvana, is assured.

This third precept, "Not Committing Adultery," is discussed by the preacher, Katsuragi Ji-un, without coarseness or pruriency, though with a frankness of speech that Occidental usage does not permit in popular discourse. The sermon, however, is one which has a good ethical purpose and object in view.

This sermon was preached by the priest, Katsuragi Ji-un, on the 23rd day of the 12th month, in the 2nd year of Annei, i. e., 1773 A. D.

A teacher will say that in appearance this precept is correct and its nature most excellent, but the average man will say that it applies to secret lewdness, that it is intended to hinder the development of love—*ai-jaku*—to preserve one from wrong conduct, sexually speaking, and to hold people to only such sexual intercourse as the world allows. This, however, is not the case. The nature of this precept comes from the nature of the sacred law—*Ho-sho*, and it is for the good of both men and heaven, being the pathway to the holy world. The average man thinks lightly of the sex relations of men and women, but this is a grave error. It is written in the book *Ritsu-mon*, that, if one should laugh during a sermon on the nature of this precept, he should be expelled from the lecture-hall. This shows how wise and holy men esteem this precept.

When the nature of the Law[1] operates heaven and earth appear, and in them the sexes—men and women—appear. Then, among these, this precept appears and reveals its excellent nature. The differences in both character and body between the sexes result from, or are, the manifestations of the Law-nature. It is written in a sacred book that the "Golden-Mouthed"—The Buddha—distinguished between the manifestations of the Law. He recognized the fact that the organs of sex are among the twenty[2] organs—*Kon*—contained in the human body. The purport of this is beyond the understanding of the average man. Only those who have meditated deeply can understand it.

People of confused thought err in thinking that various deeds are committed because mankind is divided into the male and female sexes. The existence of the two sexes is not a mistake, just as it is not a mistake in a rope that some see in it the form of a serpent; or that it is a mistake in the stump of a tree that some see in it the form of a huge man and run from it in fear. The mistake is in the thought of people of confused and superstitious minds.

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1. The Law would seem to be the creator of heaven, earth and men.
2. This division of the organs of the body into twenty was before the days of anatomical science.

Consider now the nature of the Law as it results in the existence of heaven and earth. In the heavens there are sun, moon, stars, rainbows and the varied phenomena of the seasons; while on the earth there are mountains, rivers, seas, and fertile and barren lands. There are also civilized and uncivilized countries. There is also a great variety among men. These are certainly interesting facts. The nature of the Law also appears in men and women. Man perfects the virtue of heaven, and woman perfects the virtue of earth. All things are produced by the mating of the male and female elements—"*In-yo.*" The chamber —*Kei-mon*—of husband and wife is a private place, and if the relations of the man and woman are correct, the status of heaven and earth is not confused; but if correct relations are not maintained, the status of heaven and earth is disordered, and man and woman become as mere puppets moved by strings—from the outside. This is an interesting fact. When man's mind harmonizes with the Law-nature, he can clearly see and understand this puppet-like show, and the pleasure of seeing it will continue as long as this world of living things endures.

The prosperity or adversity of any country in ancient or in modern times, and whether civilized or uncivilized, come largely from the pure or impure relations of the sexes. For instance, men and women of even the lowest classes receive heaven-sent happiness through the circumspect observance of the sex relations. The reverse of this brings them misery. If the rulers and ministers of a country strictly observe the right relations of the sexes, even though they live in palaces and their chambers are unseen by outsiders, the sun and moon, the five stars—*go-sei*—and the twenty-eight constellations will keep their order unchanged and so also will the mountains, the rivers, the forests, the plants and the people. If, however, their chambers —*kei-mon*—are only dens of debauchery, marvels will be seen both in heaven and on earth, and sun and moon, the five stars and the twenty-eight constellations, together with the mountains, the rivers, the forests, the plants and the people will all share in the calamities that will befall.

Instruction must therefore be given to men and women about sexual intercourse. All rules of etiquette and good form are based on this sex relationship. The government of countries and of homes—*Kokka*—is also based on sex relationship. A few incidents from history will illustrate this. The Emperors of Ka, In and Shu are said to have had the assistance, not only able ministers, but also of able and virtuous Empresses. The Empress In, the Empress Ba, the Empress Chōson, the Empresses Tō and Sō, and others not a few of China and India, are said to have given great assistance to their consorts because of their great ability and virtue. These are facts that are known to all.

If in any age and country this Path of the Sex Relations is confused or disregarded, both country and homes suffer. Genso of Tō was known as a wise prince, even while in his minority. When he ascended the throne he commanded his ministers and courtiers to destroy all their jewels and rich garments. When asked by one of them the reason for such a ruthless command, he replied that jewels and luxurious apparel were not suitable things for either himself or his subjects to have. This King Genso was regarded as one of the greatest in those days. The Emperor Jū was not wise to the same extent. He married the Empress Yō. This union was a cause of national disturbance, and the Tō dynasty began to decay from the time of Ju's reign. The Emperor Bū, of Ryō, was proficient in both literature and the military arts; yet his Empire fell, because he disregarded the precept, Not committing Adultery. When he lawlessly seized the country of Sei, he took to himself to wife the Princess Goshu, wife of the deposed King, To-Kon-Ko. Shortly afterwards the Princess gave birth to a son, and after this son grew up he began to doubt whether his reputed father was his real one. There was at that time a popular superstition—*Zoku Setsu*—that the blood of a living person, when applied to a bone of a dead person, would adhere to it, if there was close blood relationship between the living and the dead. One night the son of the Princess Goshu went secretly to the grave of Tokon-Ko, the deposed King, broke it open and took from it one of the King's bones. He then made an incision in his own finger and let the

ood trickle on to the bone, to which it adhered. He afterwards ›mmanded his son to do the same thing, and the result was ıe same. He thus knew that he was not the son of his eputed father, but of the deposed King, Tokon-Ko. Treachery ıow arose in his heart towards King Bu, and when this King was at war with another, the son, who was in command of King Bu's army, surrendered to the enemy, and this brought about the downfall of his reputed father, King Bu. There are many such incidents in both ancient and modern times.

It is written in the book *Kago* that when the Prince of Ai enquired of Confucius which of the teachings of Man's Path he regarded as the greatest (*Jindo wa nani wo dai nari to su*), he replied: "The ancient administration of affairs regarded the love of man as the greatest (*Hito wo aisuru wo dai nari to su*). This love of man makes the laws of Etiquette the greatest, and Etiquette makes Reverence—*kei*—the greatest and Reverence makes the Great Marriage—*dai-kon*—the greatest thing in Man's Path. All things are produced by the mating of heaven and earth, and the Great Marriage is the offspring or outcome of all things."

This is only popular teaching—*gokuchiu no oshiye*—yet the Law-nature is law and is the true principle in both ancient and modern times for men and women in their relations to one another. The perfecting of the heaven-virtue is most honorable for man, and the perfecting of the earth-virtue is most honorable for women. Each should be content with the sex status possessed, and perfect the respective virtue by recognizing this Law-nature in observance of the precept Not Committing Adultery. The government of countries and of homes is most honorable, yet much more honorable is the keeping of this precept by the exercise of wisdom.

It is written in the book *Ritsu-sho-Ron* that there are five kinds of impotent men who can neither receive purification nor attain to the rank of priest. It is also written in the same book that there was a foolish man, who, being unable to tame his lustful heart, mutilated his sex organs. This was told to the Buddha by some priests and his judgment was asked regarding it. He replied as follows: "Teach the man the law

of confession——for wrong-doing—if he has only partially mutilated his sex organ; but if he has cut it off entirely, expel him, because those whose organs of sex are defective, or have been mutilated, cannot be allowed to wear the stole of a priest, which is the symbol of deliverance—*Gedatsu*—or to receive gifts from princes and faithful believers." We learn from this that permanent happiness can come only to those men whose organs of sex are perfect and strong.

There are also five kinds of impotence among women. Those suffering from these cannot receive the eight purifications, or attain to a higher rank than that of nun-novice. On one occasion a barren woman—literally, "stone-woman"—went to a convent and asked that she might be allowed to enter and become a nun. The nuns reported the case to the priests, and the priests reported it to the Buddha and asked for his judgment. The Buddha replied that, if the woman had not already forsaken the world and her home, she must not be allowed to do so; but that if she had already been received as a nun, she must be expelled, beeause a sexually imperfect woman could not be allowed to wear a stole, the symbol of deliverance—Buddhist salvation—or to receive worship and gifts from princes and faithful believers. We learn from this that only those women can have perfect happiness whose organs of sex are perfect and strong. These are profound teachings that ordinary people find difficult to understand. Thus the great holy Path—*Muryo-Dai-Do*—is revealed in the sex organs of mankind.

The desires of the Bodhisatvas, and the expedients—*Hoben*—of all Buddhas are perfected in the affairs of men, and are manifested in the world of life and death. Man cannot perfect the virtue of heaven, unless his organs of sex are complete; nor can woman perfect the virtue of earth, unless her organs of sex are complete. The virtues of heaven and earth having been set out in order in a man or woman and the duties of Man's Path perfected, one becomes an instrument, or organ, of the Law—*Ho-gi*—and attains to the rank of teacher in the heaven of man.

When Buddha was on earth an hermaphrodite—*Ni-Rei*—came to him through priestly mediation with the request that he be allowed to enter the order and become a priest. Buddha

plied that the request could not be granted, and that if the erson had been already received into the order, he must be xpelled. The reasons given for this judgment were, that such ersons are incapacitated for keeping the precepts and are nable to acquire the higher learning, and that they are thus disqualified for receiving worship and gifts of food from rulers, their ministers and other believers. There are three kinds of hermaphrodites, and they all impair the heaven and earth virtue and are unable to become instruments of the Law. In the book *Bommo-Kyo* it is said that animals, ghosts and hermaphrodites are allowed to enter the order, but this is exceptional teaching (see Deuteronomy 23:1).

There are some who are perplexed at the differences found in the Mahayana and Hinayana—*Daijo-Kyo* and *Shojo-Kyo*—teachings, and in esoteric and exoteric teachings. These differences are of no great importance. The Ten Virtues are for the good of both priests and laymen, and are in both the Mahayana and Hinayana canons. Whether one has forsaken the world and has entered the Order, or still lives in the world and is a layman, if he keeps the Way of the Precepts he is within the pale of the Sacred Law.

To keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery" is to act in harmony with the righteous relations of heaven and earth. If one takes the wife or concubine of another for his own sexual use, he commits an adulterous act which the world does not permit, and he transgresses thereby the righteousness of heaven and earth. Heaven, earth and man require that the chamber—*Kei-mon*—of wife and concubine be kept inviolate. Both heaven and earth have their distinctive phenomena; yet earth must necessarily receive from heaven. The precept Not Committing Adultery is sanctioned by this heaven and earth relationship.

The four seasons appear in orderly succession, and the four points of the compass are never confused. These orderly things are involved in this precept when the precept is strictly observed, heaven and earth continue in their orderly courses, and all nature prospers. Those persons whose conduct is contrary to this precept, or law, bring disorder upon their homes, and the affairs of a nation administered by them will become deranged,

and the country will be ruined. Posterity in both home and nation will suffer the evil consequences of ancestral sins, and, ultimately, both family and nation will become extinct.

Foolish people imagine that the sex relationship of husband and wife is merely a personal and private affair, and that the observance or non-observance of this precept means nothing more than that one should not so conduct himself as to be laughed at by others. This, however, is not the correct way of looking at it. Marital fidelity is a most important thing, because it is so intimately, related to Heaven, Earth and the Sacred Law.

It is written in the book *Shikyo* that at the beginning of things heaven and earth first appeared, and after them all nature—*Bambutsu*; that afterwards males and females appeared, and after them parent and child; and then lord and retainer; and then the superior and the inferior classes; and after these the laws of etiquette and order—*Kei-gi*: and that so the function and way of husband and wife are orderly and permanent. This statement of the sacred book is a reasonable one.

Another sacred book says that "the earth floating in air is like a cloud floating in space." Space is not mere emptiness; for out of it earth and oceans proceed and are rendered full. When the relations or affinities— *En**—appear, worlds which possess them appear in an endless series, as do also worlds of different dissimilar kinds. The reason for this is that where there is space, or sky, there, whenever the relation or unknown cause—*En*—appears, the worlds are produced; and when this unknown constructive cause—*En*—ceases to be, the worlds perish. To the intelligent observer the worlds floating in space are like bubbles on the surface of water, which how appear and then presently perish. This world is not a mere inert lump of earth; for it is always producing both animate and inanimate things. Wherever this world is, there living things are produced,

* *En* means relation, affinity, connection, secret or unknown cause, influence, combination of circumstances, fate, the ties or bonds in and by which mankind and all nature are held together, caused and controlled. Where this *En* comes from, or what it really is, there is no attempt to say definitely. It *is* and that is all.

until it is full and no empty place remains. When the affinity, *En*, which a living thing has with the world, ceases, that thing perishes; and when the affinity again appears, then life is again produced. To the intelligent observer this is like a ring or bracelet that has no beginning and no end.

In the book *Kise-Kyo* and other canons it is written that, when this great world was first produced, living creatures were born into it from the Kō-on heaven and lived on it an innumerable number of years; and that when these beings met one another, they cried out—"Satta! Satta!"; and that at that time there were no distinctions of relationship, such as near or distant, or any distinction as to beauty or ugliness; that light shone forth from the bodies of those beings and lighted their way for them; that this earth was flat, and with no such differences in it as mountains and seas, but possessed a consistency like that of fresh honey. It is written further that the relations of these beings to one another were extraordinary, that they never ceased from perpetually chasing one another round and round, and that they ate food that naturally grew out of the earth—*Chi-mi;* in consequence of which, i.e., of the difference and amount of food eaten, the light that shone from their bodies became less brilliant in some than in others, and the bodies also began to differ, some being fine and some coarse; and that from seeing these differences the beings began to distinguish between themselves, one from another; and that as the earth-food failed they fed on grapes—*Chi-bu*, which being exhausted they fell to eating wild rice. This natural rice was said to have grown and matured so rapidly that when cut in the morning another crop was ready by evening, and when cut in the evening a new crop was ready by morning. There was, however, a class of beings, or so runs the record, that was lazy, and at the first these gathered and stored up food for a single day; but after a while they gathered and stored away enough for two or three days' use, and the result of the new diet of rice was the accumulation of filth in their bodies which flowed forth from them.

At this time one class of these beings whose affections were not strong became males, and another class whose affections were intense became females. These now began to

observe one another, to become intimate, and to love. Their organs of sex coming into contact their sexual desires were aroused and sexual intercourse began. Human beings—*Min min**—seeing this conduct, despised the subjects of it and threw sticks and stones at them, in order to escape from which they built houses in which to conceal themselves and live in. Then it was that the light in their bodies failed, and the world became dark; yet, because of some goodness that still remained in their composition, the sun and moon appeared and when the sun rose in the East they rejoiced, and when set in the West they lamented.

It was thus that there came to be husband and wife, and then children. After this came brothers and sisters and the near and more distant relations. Then the number of houses increased and villages, towns and cities came into being. These groups of people then began to quarrel with one another, whence arose the need of wise men to settle the difficulties. The quarrels, however, were not one but many; hence there arose the need for rulers and officials. Rice no longer grew spontaneously in sufficient quantities, and hence had to be cultivated, and out of this necessity there arose the farmer class. After a time one region had a surplus of food-stuff, while another had a deficit, and out of this condition there arose the merchant class. There was also a class of people that loved solitude and gladly spent their lives in contemplation and philosophical study. This class is called by the name *jo-ko*, the persons of holy deeds. There were, however, among these recluses some of a changeable mind, who again returned to the secular life and to marriage. These constitute the Brahmin class. It was thus that the four castes—*Shi-Shu*—arose in India to meet all the various human needs and conditions. The Law-nature now manifested itself in the conduct of mankind through the Ten Virtues, which are the Path of Man, and the gift, or command, of Heaven—*Tenmei*.

There are some persons who, because they study books outside of Buddhism—*Geten*, do not know its greatness, and so

* As the living beings spoken of seem to have also become human beings, it is not clear who or what these *Min-min* were.

speak evil of it. They attack Buddhism and say that it teaches men to separate themselves from the great relationships of life, to give themselves to the purification of their bodies and to live an ascetic life. This is a hasty and mistaken judgment. There are others who, though believing the noble teachings of Buddhism, think that they cannot be really true believers unless they forsake the world with its rulers, retainers, parents and children, husbands and wives, and become ascetic teachers like Saigyo, Hoshi and others. This is all a great mistake.

Forsaking the world and retiring to a lonely mountain for ascetic meditation and a holy life is certainly a part of Buddhism, but it is not the whole of it. Buddhism is vast—*kodai*—and has instruction for all classes. There are teachings for those who continue in their homes and ordinary occupations—the priests. There are also teachings for those of great minds, and teachings for those of small minds. There are teachings for rulers, for princes and for subjects, and for retired lay-scholars. A chapter in the book *Kegon-Kyo* mentions several classes of men, namely, priests who spend their lives in ascetic contemplation, priests who give themselves to the secular education of children, rulers who administer justice and punish criminals, rich men who are versed in the art of perfumes, sailors who have a good knowledge of the sea, chaste wives who are the possessors of a strong love for their husbands, and heretics; there are also great differences in the attainments of both Buddhas and sages; notwithstanding which differences, all are Buddhists. As examples of the differences, there was *Kasho*, who practiced asceticism, Mokuren, who taught supernatural power—"*Jin-tsu*," Bashu-Mitsu, who called apes together and lived with them, Karutai, who devoted himself to the instruction of laymen, Hakukura, who never in the course of his life entered a nunnery or received offerings of food and clothing from the religious, and Jenwa, who devoted himself to music. All these teachers were holy men, who transcended the three worlds, and were a blessing to this world; yet each of them was different from all the others. Rank in the heaven of man—*Nin-ten*—is holy, and the virtue of the Gods—Shinto—is high; yet these, each and all, are different. It is the height of

stupidity to affirm that the teachings about an ascetic life are all that Buddhism contains; yet it is true that among those who have forsaken the world—priests—the truly noble are hard to find.

Many of the priests of to-day busy themselves about wordly affairs, and do not even approach to the standard of Saigyō and Kuru-kaya. There are priests who seek for official positions and covet large incomes. They are consumed by lust and make no attempt to keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery." They have the name of being Buddhist priests, but their conduct and character are worse than those of the common people. From childhood to white-haired old age they neither understand nor know the value of Buddhist teachings; hence they disesteem and vilify these teachings. They laugh at the moral precepts, as being taken from the Hirayana, and declare that the keeping of the precepts is something to be ashamed of. Some declare with loud mouths that they do not keep a single precept, and hence have not broken them, not even one. Such priests are spoken of in the canons as beings who do nōt differ from beasts. The shallowness of these priests is truly great. The whole of true Buddhism teaches priests to keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery."

Among the five desires the one of touch stands first. Among the passions love is strongest. This sex-passion—*in-yoku*—controls both body and mind, and, if yielded to, fills the world with lust. If one binds this passion with cords, as a criminal is bound, the result is overcoming fortitude; otherwise there is nothing to be effected but trouble and quarrels. It is through yielding to the passion that the hells of beasts and of demons are increased. Buddha out of great pity established the priesthood so that the happiness of man's heaven—*risoten*—might be enjoyed.

Those who worship the priesthood obtain honorable rank, and those who make to it offerings of food acquire great happiness thereby.

Priests who know the trouble there is in the world, and who receive worship and gifts of food, should never go astray because of them. When opportunity offers, they should go

among the people and become a blessing to them. When the opportunity ceases, they should return to the secluded life and cultivate their particular characteristics; even though their clothes are worn to rags, and food fails them, their minds and bodies should never waver. They, living between heaven and earth—among the people, that is to say—far surpass the five human relations. Thus, in respect of their virtues, they are far superior to the masses of men, and so are qualified to teach them the duties pertaining to relationships. This is the Path of the Priests.

The precept "Not Committing Adultery" is an easy one to keep, and it is to adults the foundation of conduct, and of rank in character for all who have forsaken the world and have become priests.

The precept is also hard to keep. *Raju Sanzo*, when twelve years old and while on his way with his mother from Keikin to Kyū-ji, met an Arhat, who, after noticing the boy, told his mother that he was not an ordinary acolyte, and that, if he would keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery" until he was thirty-five years of age, he would become an illustrious priest like Ubaki-kuta, but that if he did not keep it, he would never be anything more than an ordinary one. The boy grew up, but he broke the precept before he was thirty-five years of age. Similarly other priests of extraordinary ability were unable to become eminent, because they broke this precept.

In view of this, how careful should the middle and lower classes, who prize the three sacred things—Buddha, Law, Priesthood—guard themselves night and day in order that they may not break the precept.

In the book *Agon-Kyo* there is a special portion that teaches the methods of subduing lustful desires. The book *Chido-ron* also teaches in detail the way to subdue the five passions. It is particularly taught that love-lust should be subdued, since it hinders one in the acquisition of wisdom and in the practice of abstract contemplation. These things are written in both the Mahayana and Hirayana canons.

It is written in a sacred book that man is superior to woman in his attainment of the higher wisdom, but that

woman is superior to man in fixedness of purpose. If those who have the form for perfecting the heaven-virtue—men—do perfect it, they are in the holy way and acquire the higher wisdom. If, too, those who have the form for perfecting the earth-virtue—women—do perfect it, they also are in the holy way and acquire the fixed purpose. Originally the higher wisdom and the fixed purpose were not separate, but one only, as the one naturally accompanies the other. If man gains the higher wisdom in its fulness, he has both qualities and is the possessor of perfect wisdom. If woman perfects fixedness of purpose, she too has both the qualities, and is in the holy, perfect way.

These virtues being contained in this precept, there is punishment for those who break it. A sacred book says that adulterers fall into the hells of famishing humans and of ravenous beasts of all kinds. If they should be again born into this world of humanity, they would not be virtuous husbands or wives, and would not have families according to their desires. On the contrary, they would certainly be born to uncleanness.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, Tokyo, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, Feb. 19. In the absence of the President, H.E. Sir Claude Macdonald, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced the election to membership of Bishop M. C. Harris of Tokyo. He also announced that the Council had unanimously voted to place on record its profound sympathy with Prof. Lloyd and Dr. Anezaki in the great loss sustained by them in the destruction by fire in the Fukuin Printing Company's establishment, of manuscripts representing many years of arduous study and composition. Dr. Anezaki's manuscript was later found not to have been burned: see minutes of a meeting held May 20th.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Galen M. Fisher to read his paper on "The Life and Teachings of Nakae Tōju, the Sage of Ōmi."

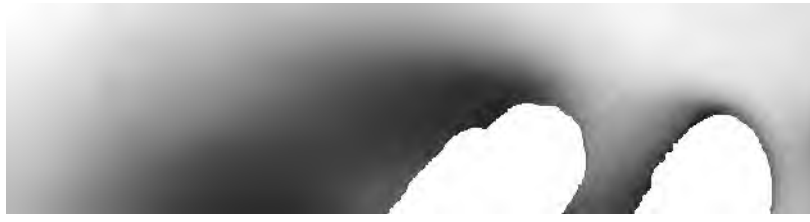
THE LIFE AND TEACHING

OF

NAKAE TŌJU, THE SAGE OF ŌMI

BY

GALEN M. FISHER.



Nakae Tōju, drawn by Kanō Yuhō of Kyōto. The inscription is a poetic eulogy of Tōju, composed by Satō Tan.

Nakae Tōju, The Sage of Ōmi

BY

GALEN M. FISHER, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

THE essays by Dr. Knox and Prof. Lloyd in volumes XX and XXXIV of the Transactions of this Society constitute the major part of the comparatively scanty material in English on the Confucian philosophy in Japan. Of Confucianism in China we have an abundance of translations, but it is strange, in view of the divergent and varied evolution of Japanese Confucianism and its dominating influence over the nation's modern development, that it has hitherto been so inadequately studied by Europeans. What a godsend it would be if the trilogy of works by Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, covering the three chief schools of Confucian thought in Japan, Shushi, Yōmei, and Kogaku, could be made accessible to foreign readers![1]

The mention of the Shushi school at once suggests its greatest rival, the Ōyōmei, or Yōmei school. It is to be hoped that someone will write an historical sketch of the Yōmei school in Japan corresponding to Prof. Lloyd's sketch of the Shushi School. But meanwhile I propose to present the lives and teachings of the introducer of the school into Japan, Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹, and of his most distinguished disciple, Kumazawa Banzan 熊澤蕃山. For, apart from the high interest of Tōju and Banzan as moulders of the thought and life of the nation, they illustrate the salient ideas of the Yōmei school and thus form a fitting introduction to a fuller study of it. I desire to acknowledge here the expert assistance of Prof. Uraguchi Bunji in preparing this paper.

1 Since the above was written, the Society has been fortunate enough to secure for publication reviews of these three volumes by Prof. W. Dening.

THE YŌMEI SCHOOL

THE Yōmei philosophy owes its name to its founder, Ō-Yō-Mei 王陽明 (Chinese, Wang-Yang-Ming 1472—1528), a contemporary of Sir Thomas More, Tyndale and Descartes. He was thus three hundred years later than Shushi 朱子 (Chinese, Chu Hi 1130—1200), the Martin Luther of Chinese Confucian thought. Like Shushi, Ō-Yō-Mei dared to think for himself, while believing himself to be loyal to the old masters.

In Japan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Shushi school was recognized by the Tokugawa rulers for political ends as the orthodox teaching, and all other schools were proscribed.[2] Hence, when Nakae Tōju about 1640 became a convert to Yōmei doctrines, he espoused a branded cause. It is this element of daring to defy the ban of the State and the opposition of the orthodox that gives a dramatic interest to the school. Tōju and his followers rendered a priceless service to Japanese thought, for as Dr. Inouye suggests, they saved it from the deadening clutch of a single school, so baneful in China, and gave it new room and stimulus to growth. One result of the opposition of the officials and literati was to drive Yōmei doctrines through the lower social strata and to make them the vehicle of a sort of gospel of democracy. Shushi stood for the inviolability of the powers that be; Yōmei stood for the rights of the people, especially the right of protest and even of revolt against a bad ruler. It was a noted Yōmei representative, Ōshio Chusai, who was so wroth over the refusal of the officials in Osaka to remit taxes during the scarcity of 1839 that he rifled the Government granaries and distributed rice to the people, paying with his

2 This may have been first suggested to the Tokugawa by the fact that in China it was for centuries forbidden to quote from any school but Shushi in the examination essays.

life for this and other acts of hostility to the Tokugawa Shogunate.[3] Naturally, Shushi was favored and Yōmei repressed by the Tokugawa, for the double purpose of preventing rebellion and of stifling criticism of their shaky title to power. On the other hand, patriots eager to buttress the Imperial throne were for similar reasons also champions of Shushi, so that Shushi would seem to have been impregnable. But the spirit of popular rights, imbibed from Confucius himself, and of freedom of thought imbibed from Yōmei, defied all these barriers and found powerful expression in a chain of Yōmei scholars, statesmen and moralists, whom Dr. Inouye considers superior in loftiness and vigor of character to the exponents of the Shushi teachings. As Prof. Lloyd says, "The tendency of Shushi disciples is to become gentle, humble and truthful." Yōmei, on the other hand, added an infusion of originality and activity, and hence attracted the more virile, aggressive natures. The democratic tendency of Yōmei is seen in the adoption, by Banzan, even more than by Tōju, of a style intelligible to the common people, even at the cost of bitter taunts from the vast majority of the literati, who clung to stilted Chinese.

The Chief Categories the Same in Both Schools.—Differ as the two schools may in their philosophy, they both deal in the same terms or categories, namely, ri 理, ki 氣, ten 天, and taikyoku 太極, for both of them hark back to Mencius. These terms cannot be accurately rendered into English, but approximately, they mean: ri=fundamental and unchanging law and ethical order; ki=the active, passionate element in nature and in man, which determines the embodiment of ri; ten=the impersonal, passionless over-soul, a perfectly just providence and fate combined; taikyoku=literally, the great limit, or more freely, the infinite potentiality of what ri and ki evolve in the universe.[4]

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3 Dr. Inouye's "Nihon Yomei Gaku Ha," 4th ed. pp. 440-3.

4 For a complete treatment see the admirable essays by Dr. Knox and Mr. Haga in T. A. S. J. Vol. XX, pp. 1-24; 134-192.

Ethics not Philosophy the Central Interest.—The subtle and, to a westerner, almost unintelligible controversies which raged around these categories in both China and Japan were almost as fierce as those between nominalist and realist in Europe. But these controversies may be practically ignored by the ordinary student of Confucianism, for the central interest of the philosophers themselves was after all not in metaphysics but in ethics. And in ethics the differences between Shushi and Yōmei, between Tōju and Kyusō, are insignificant in comparison with their agreements. Indeed, the dominance of the ethical over the metaphysical interest in Japanese Confucian philosophers is only less marked than in the Hebrew prophets. The metaphysical background of all the Confucian schools grew up long after the ethics of the five relations and the five virtues had become the warp and woof of Chinese society. And fortunately, the ethics came to Japan centuries before the metaphysics. So it comes to pass that Shushi and Yōmei champions, spar as they may over ri and ki, are as much at one in their practical ethics as Calvin and Arminius. Individual teachers have their pet terms, e. g. Tōju his Conscience 良知 and Banzan his Humane Government 人政. But all alike exalt obedience to the way 道, the obligations of loyalty 忠 and filial piety 孝, propriety in station and in demeanor 禮, benevolence 仁, righteousness 義, understanding 知, and faith 信, just as unanimously as Bentham and T. H. Green preach self-control, patriotism, honesty and justice. But secondary as the metaphysics is, in order to appreciate fully the lives and teachings of Tōju and his contemporaries we must at least glance at the metaphysical principles of Shushi and Yōmei.

Some Metaphysical Points of Difference.—According to Dr. Inouye, the differences between the Shushi and Yōmei schools were as follows :—

1. Shushi exalted learning, holding that the laws of morality could only be truly discovered through it. Yōmei put morality first and learning second, even going so far at times as to hold that morality itself is the only learning, thus outdoing Matthew Arnold's "Conduct is three-fourths of life."

2. Shushi held that the fundamental principles of the universe are two, ri and ki, law and its embodiment, or thought and energy. He was, therefore, a dualist. Yōmei, on the contrary, declared that ri and ki are one and inseparable. He was what we might term a monist.

3. Shushi distinguished between the natural mind or heart, kokoro 心, and eternal law or reason, ri 理, holding kokoro to be dependent upon ki 氣, the active, passionate element in the universe. Yōmei explained kokoro as being the same as ri, that is, if the mind and heart were only clear and bright, reason would be self-evident. Hence, Yōmei did not investigate the outer world to find ri; to him the one thing needful was to make the kokoro clear within.

4. As Shushi held that ri could only be comprehended by a great number of experiments, he tended toward experimentalism 經驗論, whereas Yōmei declared that pure wisdom only existed in kokoro, and therefore tended toward idealism 唯心論.

5. Shushi said: First know, then do. Yōmei would put neither knowing nor doing first, but asserted that they were at bottom identical 知行一致. Hence, Shushi exalted mental culture, but Yōmei deeds. The natural result was for disciples of Shushi to show the broader, more varied learning, often in combination with an oily, devious temperament. Yōmei disciples, on the other hand, however narrow their culture, were apt to be upright and downright, to use a short sword and thrust straight 短刀直入.

NAKAE TŌJU, THE SAGE OF ŌMI.[5]

Youth and Education.—Nakae Tōju was born in the opening years of King James the First's reign, in 1608, in the remote village of Ogawa, Ōmi Province, on the western shore of Lake Biwa, under the shadow of Mount Hira. The country was at peace under ~~Hideyoshi~~ Ieyasu, the first of the Tokugawa

5. Based chiefly upon "Nihon Yomei Gaku Ha no Tetsugaku," by Dr. T. Inouye, 4th edition, 1903.

rulers, and the calm and impressive scenery around his father's farm may possibly have fostered in the future sage a reflective, reverent frame of mind.

Although only a farmer's son, Tōju had a quick, retentive mind. Fortunately, perhaps, for his intellectual development, he was adopted in his ninth year by his grandfather, a samurai in service to the daimyō, Lord Katō. Common as adoption has always been in Japan, it seems strange that Tōju's parents should have thus given up their only son. We only know that they did it after a severe struggle with their affections. They may have allowed filial deference to the grandfather's wish to outweigh their parental affection, or they may have seen in it a better opening than they could hope to make for him in the rice fields of Ogawa. Be that as it may, under the encouraging guidance of his grandfather, who regretted keenly his own lack of education, Tōju made rapid progress in learning to read and write.

Within a year or two the grandfather was transferred to Ōsu 大洲 near Matsuyama, and Tōju went, too. It was there that the lad was given Confucius' "Great Learning" 大學 to read for the first time, and he came across those words in the first chapter: "From the Emperor down to the commonest person, the cultivation of character is the chief business of life." It seemed to him like a special revelation. "Heaven be thanked!" he exclaimed, with tears of rapture, "and why cannot I by study and effort become a saint myself!"

Not long after this, while eating in the silence prescribed by Confucius, he was deeply moved, at the thought of the three great blessings given him by Heaven: his parents, his grandfather, and his feudal lord. It is said that whenever he was told of his lord's approach, even when lost in his books, he would kneel and bow toward the point where the lord was expected to pass.

But the boy was by no means a mere sensitive weakling, bent upon books and devotions. When he was but thirteen, and a mob attacked his grandfather's house, he was among the first to rush into their midst, sword in hand, and beat them off; and "then was as calm as before." He was sent

The Wistaria Vine (Jap. tōju) to the rear of Tōju Shoin, from which Tōju took his name.

about this time to one Tenryo, a Buddhist priest of great learning, to be trained in the arts of poetry and caligraphy. Of the many questions that the precocious youth put to his teacher, the following was characteristic: "You tell me," said Tōju, "that when Buddha was born, he pointed one hand heavenward and the other earthward, and said, 'I alone of all beings in heaven above and under the heavens am worthy of honor.' Was he not the proudest of all men under heaven? How is it possible for my Reverend Master to own such as he as his ideal?" Tōju never liked Buddhism after that. His ideal was perfect humility, and Buddha lacked it.[6]

When he was about sixteen Tōju suffered one of the severest sorrows of his life in the death of his grandfather. But he set himself all the more intently at his books and his duties as a retainer of Lord Katō. Fortunately, in the summer of this year, 1624, a Zen priest was invited to Ōsu to lecture on the "Analects" of Confucius. Tōju became a regular attendant and almost the only one, for the people in general thought that a samurai's business was to fight and despised book learning as fit only for priests and recluses. After the priest had gone, Tōju, then aged seventeen, was able for the first time to obtain a complete set of Confucius' "Four Books" 四書, showing the scarcity of books at the time. Such was the popular feeling that Tōju had to study in secret, applying himself by day to martial discipline, and by night to his precious books. One day one of his comrades addressed him as "Confucius," in evident derision of his nightly devotion to his books, as well as of his even self-control, a contrast to the ordinary quarrel-loving youths about him. "You ignoramus, you!" was the gentle lad's indignant retort. "Holy Confucius has been dead now two thousand years. Mean you by that epithet to blaspheme the Sage's name, or to deride me for my love of knowledge? Poor fellow! War alone is not the samurai's profession, but the arts of peace as well. An

6. Cf. "Representative Men of Japan," by Uchimura Kanzo, p. 147, an interesting appreciation embodying some semi-legendary material, which is, however, so true to life that we shall quote several more passages further on.

unlettered samurai is a chattel, a slave. Are you content to be a slave?" Tōju's outburst had its effect. The fellow owned his ignorance and thereafter held his tongue.[7]

In 1625, in his seventeenth year, his father died, and he longed to go home to Ogawa out of respect for him and solicitude for his mother. But his lord objected and he stayed at Ōsu for nine years more, only making two brief visits to his mother during his fifteen years' absence. We have few data for the later years at Ōsu, knowing only that he was a strict disciple of Shushi and that he grew daily in fame for learning and purity of character. Honors and emoluments were waiting for him, but he could not be content away from his lonely mother.

Finally, in 1634, he made up his mind to leave his lord and cleave to his mother, illustrating in practice what all his life he held in theory, that filial duty takes precedence of loyalty. He reached this decision only after severe struggles, which can best be described in his own words in the letter which he left to explain his departure. "I petitioned for release in part because my poor health prevents me from serving my lord as well as my associates can, and in part because my mother has for ten years lived a lonely life with no one to comfort her. My lord can hire any number of servants such as I, but I am her only son and support. She cannot trust any of her relatives. She pines for me and more than once she has been at the verge of starvation. Last year I planned to bring her hither, but she was too old and feeble to stand the journey, for she can hardly walk. Morever, being a woman, she cannot bear to go so far from her old home. I have had two fathers and two mothers, but three of them passed into the other world in my youth, and my mother will soon follow them. So I am set on going home to ease her last years. I will return and serve my lord again after she passes away. This is my only motive in deserting. If I have told any lie in this letter, Heaven will surely punish me, and will not let me meet my mother in the next world."

The happy hour that brought him to his mother's side found him with only a hundred *mon* (worth, perhaps, twenty-

7 Uchimura op. cit. p. 148.

five *sen* in the present currency) left. With it he bought a little sake, and the scholar, turned pedlar, went round the countryside selling it at a slight profit. He also disposed of his sword, "the samurai's soul," getting ten pieces of silver for it, which he lent out at interest to the villagers. For two years he eked out a humble existence in these menial ways, keeping his self-respect and enjoying his mother's smiles.

Intellectual Development.—From his twentieth year Tōju had made the "Four Classics" his daily companions, particularly, the "Analects" and "Great Learning," which were law and gospel to him. Only second to Confucius himself as a formative influence in these earlier years was Shushi, who accentuated Tōju's naturally reflective temper and made him unduly introspective. His first work, "Notes and Comment on Great Learning," written in his twenty-first year, betrays this morbid tendency. His dissatisfaction with himself only drove him to harsher self-discipline, and made him cold and stoical. But the sterner his regimen and the deeper his study became, the fuller of sceptical unrest he grew, until he came to doubt whether the precepts of the masters were not counsels of perfection, after all. He was in this frame of mind, in his thirty-first year, when he began the study of the "Five Classics" 五經, The Books of Odes, of History, of Rites, of Music and of Changes. How deep an impression they made is evident from two volumes they inspired, in which he laments having been engrossed with the outward forms of the teaching of the masters, to the neglect of their inner spirit.

The first definite stage in his conversion to the Yōmei school was marked by the reading, about 1639, of the classic "On Filial Piety" 孝經. He made it a practice to recite it every morning.[8] One of his finest works, "Okina Mondō" 翁問答 (Dialogues with an Old Man), reflects his thought at this period, and contains suggestions of Yōmei views.[9]

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8 It was with something akin to awe that, on a recent visit to "Tōju Shoin," the collection of relics at Ogawa, I turned the worn leaves of the copy of this classic, in Tōju's own handwriting, which he used in his morning orisons.

9 See Dr. G. W. Knox's excellent abridged translation in "The Chrysanthemum," vol. 2, under the title "A System of Ethics." With Dr Knox's kind permission I have used several sections of his translation in this paper. Although written before Tōju's conversion to Yōmei, "Okina Mondō" fairly represents his mature views, for the reasons that it deals chiefly with ethical questions, on which his views changed but slightly.

It was not till 1641, in his thirty-third year, that Tōju was directly introduced to the Yōmei philosophy by "Ōryukei Goroku" 王龍溪講錄 (Memorable Words of Ōryukei ,[10] which was written by a disciple of Yōmei.

Finally, in 1645, Tōju acquired and read the complete works of Oyōmei, a red letter event in his life. The story is best told in his own words: "I had been for many years a devout believer in Shushi. When, by the mercy of Heaven, the 'Collected Works of Ōyōmei' were brought for the first time to Japan, I bought and devoured them. Had it not been for the aid of this teaching, my life would have been empty and barren. I am filled with gratitude." This was the greatest turning point in his career. The three remaining years of his life he spent in propagating his new-found gospel by voice and pen, planting the aggressive Yōmei principles deep in the congenial soil of Japan. But with all his enthusiasm for Yōmei, he still saw some good points in Shushi and used them to supplement Yōmei. The effect of Yōmei on his character was to make him more optimistic and liberal and, at the same time, more spiritual.[11]

As a Teacher.—Tōju was twenty-eight when, leaving his peddling he opened a school in his own village. His own house served as lecture-hall, chapel and dormitory, all in one. Confucius' likeness[12] was hung up in the place of honor, and to him incense was burnt by the master and his pupils. The curriculum consisted solely of the Chinese classics, caligraphy, poetics, and history. For years he led a "mute, inglorious"

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10. The Zen elements in this work may partially account for the Buddhist ideas in Tōju.

11. It would be impossible to say just how much originality Tōju showed, without comparing him in detail with Ōyōmei. This must wait until Ōyōmei has been rendered into some European language or must be done by someone who can read both Japanese and Chinese. It is, however, safe to assert that Tōju's title to greatness rests upon his saintly character far more than upon his philosophical originality.

12. It may have been the kakemono portrait drawn by Tōju's own hand, which is still preserved at Ogawa. Over the portrait this poem or ditty appears. "Confucius: Confucius, Confucius! Great is Confucius; Before thee was none like thee; After thee there has been no successor. Confucius, Confucius, Confucius! Great is Confucius!"

life, unknown outside his own county and caring nought for fame. But his virtues could not be hid and pupils flocked to him more and more. His most famous pupil came to him in this wise.

A young retainer of the daimyo of Okayama, Banzan by name, set out for a town in Ōmi not far from Ogawa to study arms and literature. On the way he stopped at a country inn, on the borders of Omi. In the room next to his, separated only by the thin partition, were two travellers, evidently of but recent acquaintance. Their conversation attracted Banzan's attention. One of them, a samurai, was telling his experiences, as follows:

"I had gone up to the capital (Yedo) on my lord's business and was on my way back carrying several hundred pieces of gold. These I usually kept close to my body; but on the day I reached this village, contrary to my custom, I fastened the money bag to the saddle of the horse which I had hired for the afternoon. Arrived at the inn, I forgot the treasure on the saddle and dismissed the horse and groom. Only some time afterward did I discover my fearful loss. I was beside myself I knew neither the groom's name nor his address. Even if I could have found him, of what use would it have been, if he had already squandered or hid the gold! I was tormented with remorse and fear as I tried to think how I could explain the loss to my master. I wrote letters, one for the chancel, lor, others for my relatives, and prepared for my last hour.

"While in the grip of these agonizing thoughts, suddenly, about midnight, I heard somebody pounding at the hotel gate. In a moment I was told that a peasant wanted to see me. He was shown to my room and, to my astonishment, he was none other than my groom of the afternoon. 'Sir Knight,' he began, 'I believe you left an important parcel upon the saddle. I have come back to hand it to you. Here it is.' I was transported with joy. Collecting myself, I said, 'Man, I owe my life to you. Take a fourth of this as the price of my existence. You are my second father.' But he replied, unmoved, 'I am not entitled to any such thing. The purse is all

yours.' I tried to force fifteen pieces, then five, then two, and finally one piece upon him, but in vain. At last he said: "As I am a poor man, pray give me four *mon* for a pair of straw sandals, as I came all the way from my home, ten miles away, to return the bag.' Try as I might, I could only persuade him to take two hundred *mon* (equivalent to perhaps fifty *sen* to-day). He was on the point of going gladly away, when I stopped him and said: 'Pray tell me what made you so honest and unselfish? Such virtue I never thought to find on earth.' 'There lives in my village,' the peasant replied, 'a man named Nakae Tōju, who teaches us villagers these things. He says gain is not the aim of life, but honesty, righteousness and benevolence. We all walk by his teaching.'"

Banzan drank in the story. He clapped his knee and exclaimed: "Here is the sage I am seeking. I will go to him to-morrow morning and become his servant and disciple." Accordingly, at daybreak he started for Ogawa, inquired the way to Tōju's house, and found him in. Forthwith he confessed his purpose in coming and humbly begged to be taken in as a disciple. Tōju was surprised—he, a village teacher, sought out by a knight from a distant province! He denied the request, but Banzan was importunate, and refused to move away from his sworn master. Tōju was also obdurate. It became a rivalry between importunity and humility.

As neither arguments nor entreaties availed to move the master, Banzan made up his mind to win his case by sheer perseverance. So by the gate of the master's house he spread his upper garment, and there in the posture befitting a gentleman, swords at his belt and hands on his knees, he sat, exposed to the sun, the dew, and the comments of passers-by. It was summer, and mosquitoes are troublesome in those regions, but nothing could break his dignified posture nor his stedfast resolve. For three days and three nights his mute prayer was thus made, but the master within remained silent and inflexible. It was then that Tōju's mother used her great influence in the youth's behalf. Her appeals to Tōju's sympathy and honour in face of such noble perseverance led him to reconsider the question. Surely his adored mother must after all be right.

He finally relented and welcomed Banzan into his inner circle. It is safe to say that his formative influence over the future financier and administrator of the powerful Okayama clan during those few months at Ogawa, constitutes one of Tōju's chief contributions to his country.[18]

His Disciples.—Tōju's fame steadily grew, drawing to him a large circle of disciples, among whom, next to Banzan, the most noted were Nakagawa Kenshuku, Idzumi Hachiemon, Nakamura Matanojo, Kase Hachibei and Tanikawa Gizaemon. Kenshuku was his very first disciple, having become attached to him at Ōsu and having followed him to Ogawa. Kenshuku married Tōju's niece and served him like a son for many years. But Tōju showed little if any partiality toward his more brilliant pupils. He was singularly patient with dullards, provided they were genuinely earnest, as the following story will show:

One of Tōju's friends at Ōsu had a son, Ryosa, who was a hopeless blockhead. The father was chagrined at the thought of making such a son heir to his samurai position, and determined to put him to a humble occupation. Ryosa, cut to the quick by this humiliation, asked Tōju to tutor him privately in medicine. Out of pure sympathy, Tōju consented and undertook to teach him to read and memorize a certain medical work. The opening two or three sentences were first repeated to him about two hundred times, beginning at ten in the morning. By four in the afternoon the passage seemed to have been roughly committed to memory. But after supper it was found to have been entirely forgotten. Days, months and years were spent over it, but all in vain. When Tōju returned to Ogawa, Ryosa followed him. Being convinced of the futility of the ordinary ways of teaching him, Tōju went so far as to compile a medical book especially for his use, and gave him lectures upon it. His patience was at length rewarded by seeing Ryosa blossom out into a medical practitioner. Tōju told this once to his disciples and said: "I have spent all my energy on Ryosa. If he had not been so diligent, I cannot tell what

13. Uchimura pp. 155-161.

would have become of him. You are all naturally much more gifted. You can do anything you make up your minds to. What you lack is only perseverance." For a while during his later years Tōju yielded to the desire of friends and conducted an institute at Ashiya-machi, Kyoto, which was revived and continued for several decades by his descendants. But he preferred the quieter life of Ogawa. At no one time did the number of his pupils exceed thirty-five or forty. He was indifferent to numbers; what he loved was to develop men. One of his most important methods of moulding men was by letters to former pupils, a sort of university extension system. These letters, indeed, constitute quite a valuable part of his published works.

With the exception of Banzan, the earlier disciples of Tōju wrote few noteworthy works. Kenshuku's "Zen Jin Ron" is one of the best. But they showed a marked aptitude for administration, in strange contrast with their retiring master. A number of them, including Tōju's three sons, served the Lord of Bizen (Okayama). One of the ablest disciples was Idzumi Hachiemon, generally known as Chuai, the younger brother of Banzan, a calm, silent, clear-headed man. He early rose to the highest post in the Bizen government. In connection with his taciturnity this incident is told: At the council table, even when the discussion waxed hot and views opposed to his own were urged, he spoke but seldom. A fellow councillor, irritated by his very calmness, sputtered: "What moved our Lord to put this tongue-tied fellow over us?" After a pause an elder statesman fierily retorted: "Our Lord is far wiser than other men. For with Chuai in the chair men beware of disorderly, boisterous language and keep a watch on themselves. This means that he is a powerful teacher, and a strong cable for the maintenance of order and government. What can be greater than this? Wherein has our Lord erred?"

Of Tōju's three sons, two died comparatively young. The third lived to the ripe age of sixty-four, serving in turn the Lord of Bizen, and the Lord of Tsushima. Tōju's descendants made no special contributions to his system. But one after another succeeded in keeping up the Institute in Kyoto, so that his

influence was felt there for at least a century after his death. At Ōsaka also, Tōju's disciples spread the influence of the school.

The famous Arai Hakuseki was indirectly influenced by Tōju through "Okina Mondō," which he happened to read in his seventeenth year. Dazai Shundai, Kawada Yukin, Ōshio Chusai, Miwa Shissai and Satō Issai were also much indebted to Tōju, the last two being converted to Yōmei by his works. But the very originality and independence fostered by Yōmei principles militated against the building up of a compact school ruled by a single standard of orthodoxy. Hence we see not a few of Tōju's disciples, like Banzan and Chusai, diverging from their master. In later times we find such masters as Satō Issai, Miwa Shissai, and Ōshio Chusai acknowledging their indebtedness to Tōju, the first two being converted to the Yōmei school through studying him.

After the master's death, the school of Tōju was divided into two branches. One branch emphasized introspection and the cultivation of personal morality, the other tried to apply his ideas to state affairs and the improvement of public morality. One was idealistic and subjective, the other utilitarian and objective. Tōju himself was of a reflective, saintly temper, and hence became the founder rather of the idealistic branch. Banzan was a practical economist and statesman and founded the utilitarian branch.

Character and Influence.—Tōju's personal appearance does not suggest the ascetic sage and philosopher, for his likeness in "Lives of the Old Masters" and the description of him by Oki Geppo agree in representing him as quite fleshy. This may have been one reason why he became such an early victim to bronchial asthma. It was on his second and last voyage back from Ogawa to Ōsu that he had his first attack of the disease, but from that time he had more or less constant trouble, until finally he died from it on August 25, 1648, at the age of forty. His behavior on that last day was characteristic. With reverent composure he seated himself before his table, bade all the women withdraw, and summoned his disciples for

a farewell message. With a sigh he said: "Now I am leaving you. Who will take the burden of our doctrine upon him? See that my teachings be not lost to the land." Then he expired. Another account says that when he felt badly he used to lie with several pillows under his head, probably to ease his breathing. When he got better he took out the pillows one by one. Just before he died, his mother asked him how he felt. Dreading lest she should be worried over his condition, he took out one pillow with a feeble hand and replied, "Somewhat better, thank you." She was overjoyed at this and told him that he would be all right in a few days. But she had hardly left the room when he breathed his last. His fellow villagers showed every mark of reverence at the funeral, and his house, called Tōju Shoin, has been preserved and rebuilt again and again by the people, as the best memorial to their beloved sage. His simple, modest character had been to them a living ideal. They revered him like a god and called him Ōmi Seijin, the Sage, or Saint, of Omi.

Although some of the most striking anecdotes connected with Tōju doubtless have a considerable legendary element, still out of them there looms up a strong, consistent character. In his writings Tōju's plainness sometimes makes his thought seem trite, but in his actions his very ingenuous simplicity gave distinction to whatever he did. For the most part his conduct forms an admirable embodiment of his philosophy. He lived up to one of his ruling principles, that "Thought and action are one and inseparable 知行合一."

Tōju's sincere devotion to the doctrine that he preached, as well as his democratic temper, are shown in this incident: Once when travelling over the shoulders of Hiei San from Ogawa to Kyōto, he opened conversation with the porters of his palanquin, and led them on so impressively yet simply into his high conceptions of conscience and the inherent goodness of human nature that his untutored hearers were moved to tears of wonder and joy.

Toju was undoubtedly the first citizen in his village, yet he seems to have arrogated to himself no arbitrary authority, but rather to have done all in his power to strengthen the hands of the authorities. At the same time, his tact and

Tōju Shoin, or Tōju Memorial built in 1882, on the site and after the plans of the house occupied by Tōju and preserved by the villagers until burned in that year.

known integrity enabled him to achieve indirectly what a more assertive man might have failed in. This is illustrated in the following anecdote:

There was a ruler of Ogawa Mura, named Beppu, who imprisoned a villager on account of a certain unintentional misdemeanor. His friends begged Tōju to intercede for the offender. So Tōju called on Beppu that evening and talked with him till midnight. But not a word did he say of the prisoner. The friends anxiously awaited his return. In reply to their questioning Tōju said: "Beppu's face became mild; have no further anxiety." And lo, the next day the prisoner was set free. Beppu told a friend who asked him how it had come about: "Mr. Nakae visited me last night, and I received him rather coldly, supposing, of course, he had come to apologize and intercede for the offender. But, to my surprise, he said not a syllable about the matter, out of respect toward me as ruler of the village. I was so impressed by his delicate consideration that there was nothing for me to do but pardon the prisoner."

For his pupils Tōju showed the tenderness of a father. One of them, Nakagawa, became enamored of an eccentric treatise by Sōshi 莊子, and was being carried away into fanaticism. Tōju was greatly troubled about him and told Nakanishi, another pupil, that he would rather lose his own child than see Nakagawa go astray. When this reached Nakagawa's ears he was offended and went forthwith to Tōju and said: "From my youth I have believed in you, Master, and submitted myself to you. I have not done this to gain favour but to discipline my character. O Master, why, if you saw anything amiss in me, did you not at once correct me, instead of letting me fall into this error?" Tōju's face flushed, but he replied with tender gravity: "A gentleman (kunshi) should not speak to another of his faults. With all my own short-comings I am striving to be a kunshi, and so I forbore to speak inconsiderately of your error. But at length my conscience forbade my remaining silent any longer and I spoke to Nakanishi. Ponder these things, my child." Nakagawa was deeply moved and repented of the error of his ways.

Tōju's deference toward his aged mother is one of the most marked and beautiful traits in his character. But, according to tradition, he dared to cross her in regard to one thing, and for it he deserves all honor. It seems that he was married, in accordance with Confucius' injunction, at the age of thirty. It so happened that his wife was not remarkable for her beauty, and the mother, anxious for the family's reputation urged him to remarry, as was not uncommon under similar circumstances. But Tōju flatly refused, defending himself by the maxim, "Even a mother's behest is not valid if contrary to Heaven's law." So the lady remained his plain but faithful helpmeet all her days, and brought up their three boys well—one of those wives "who shun all honors that their husbands may be honored thereby."

Time was so precious to Tōju that he lectured to his disciples until far into the night, sometimes even until four in the morning. His central themes were drawn from the character and teachings of Confucius and Ōyōmei, but as his mother was an earnest believer in Buddhism, he sometimes discoursed on the Buddhist scriptures for her sake, and even observed Buddhist festivals with her. His versatility and industry are also indicated by the fact that he studied and wrote about medicine, according to the crude notions inbibed from China.

The morbid undertone of Tōju's earlier writing, due perhaps to his study of the Shushi philosophy, ceased from the day he came under the spell of Yōmei. No despondent note mars his later writings. He seems to have enjoyed life thoroughly, in his quiet, unruffled way. He has himself voiced his contentment in several poems that are worth quoting. This one was sung as he plied a boat on a moonlit night:

"A flaw in thought an inchlet long
A wake of a thousand leagues doth leave.

Let peace possess the depths of mind,
Let waves the cloudless moon not cleave."

How joyous the heart that could sing on a winter day:

"When fading flowers ceased to be
The objects of my heart's desire,
How everlasting bloomed the spring
That all my quivering breast doth fire."

The following is in a similar strain:

"How little knew I that my life,
With sorrows sadly pressed,
By learning's help benign could be
Of deathless peace possessed."[14]

It is refreshing to find that Tōju not only faced the world with a calm, contented spirit, but that he carried over into his morality some of the militant temper that had been fostered by the samurai discipline of his youth. As we shall see later, this may account for his well-defined ideas on the art and character of the warrior. One can imagine that beneath the ashes of his firm self-control there slumbered the fiery passions of a son of battle. Once a friend was telling him of a clever way of avoiding hostile arrows. He broke in: "I have my own secret for doing that—simply go straight on and avoid nothing. Only one arrow of fate out of a thousand will hit me. If I try to avoid that one, then the 999 unfated arrows will strike me."

He has expressed a similar sentiment in these spirited stanzas:

"Press right on; though the way be drear,
Ere thy course be done, the skies may clear."
"Tightly draw, man, thy heart's string,
Prepare for a resolute march.
A case is known of an arrow piercing through a flinty rock."[15]

"He loves his life who his life forsakes
For the Way that no like or higher knows."

14. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 175.
15. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 169.

And even as a village teacher Tōju found occasion to show his moral courage, for as his own unfettered thought led him to see that the precepts of the holy men of old could not all be applied to men of his day, he had the audacity to expurgate the classics, as it were, for the use of his pupils.

It is not strange that a man of such a character came to wield a strong influence, especially over the unspoiled peasants around Ogawa, from whom modesty and poverty could not hide true greatness. Miwa Shissai bears testimony to this as follows:

"Ogawa Mura of Ōmi had the privilege of being the home of Tōju. His literary remains are preserved there to this day. Although it is over seventy years since the master died and no one is living who over saw his face, for twelve or fifteen miles around men think of him with an affection like that they feel for their parents. Even the most unlettered men and women reverence him so much that they cannot bear to see his old home-school decay, and so they have cared for it and have repeatedly repaired it."

The famous pedestrian, Nankei Tachibana, writing of a visit to Tōju's grave, in his "Eastern Travels," narrates the following incident:

A samurai of Owari was passing through Ogawa Mura and asked a farmer where the grave of Tōju was. The farmer consented to act as guide, but first he retired into a hut near by. When he came out he had on a new kimono with a haori (a short cassock worn only on important occasions) over it. The samurai was surprised, but supposed that the peasant must be overcome at the honor of piloting such a distinguished personage. When they reached the grave-yard, the peasant opened the gate of the bamboo fence, and told the samurai to enter and worship Tōju. He himself sat in a reverential posture facing the grave. Thereupon the samurai, discovering that the peasant's haori and reverent air had been in honor of Tōju rather than of himself, asked the farmer if he had been a servant of Tōju. "No," the polite farmer replied, "but all the people of this village have been blessed by the honorable Nakae. We have all learned our duty toward our parents and

children through his teaching, and our parents have taught us to honor him." The samurai had visited the town out of mere curiosity, but this experience filled him with such awe and admiration that he, too, worshipped Tōju and returned home feeling that he had been on holy ground.

The same writer had a friend, Murai of Higo, who had a similar experience. Mr. Murai called one day on a minister of the Kumamoto daimyō who had a son adopted from Ōmi, near Tōju's village. Murai asked the son: "Don't you happen to possess any hand-writing of Tōju?" The young man drew himself into a respectful attitude and replied: "My ancestors have all held Tōju in great reverence. I am the fortunate owner of a roll of the hand-writing of the noble Master, which I received as a precious gift from my aged father when I was leaving home to come here. If you wish I will let you look upon it." Thereupon he left the room to fetch it. When he came back he was dressed in ceremonial dress. He hung the scroll up in an alcove and drew back to the other end of the room and worshipped with every mark of reverence. At sight of this, Murai washed his mouth and hands and joined in the worship. The recorder of these incidents, Nankei, flourished more than a century later than Tōju, which shows his lasting hold upon the popular mind. In "Lives of the Old Masters," also compiled over a hundred years after Tōju's death, it is said that in Ogawa Mura even the merchants were not slaves to self-interest and that hotels kept forgotten tobacco pipes until their owners returned to claim them. I myself, adds Dr. Inouye, visited Ogawa Mura in 1897, two hundred and fifty years after the death of the Sage, and saw the Shoin and its relics and felt the spell of his enduring moral influence.

It was the writer's good fortune to visit Ogawa (more exactly Kami Ogawa) Mura in January, 1908. By the courtesy of the Secretary of Shiga Ken, an official accompanied me on the trip and procured the photographs which illustrate this paper. Taking a lake steamer at Ōtsu, a two and half hours' sail brought us to Takashima. After a ride of twenty minutes by jinrikisha we reached the farming village in the midst of which

stands the Tōju Shoin on the very spot where Tōju was born almost exactly 300 years before: Unfortunately, the original house was destroyed by fire some twenty-seven years ago, but the present building is a close reproduction of it. The Shoin and the nearby godown in which the relics are kept stand in a plot of perhaps half an acre, which was no doubt part of the family farm in ancient times.

The entrance gate is of red stained keyaki and not remarkable except for the fact that Tōju's crest, two wistaria sprays bent into a wreath, appears in the carving, as it does also in the house itself. At one corner of the enclosure, near the street, still climbs the famous wistaria vine, said to have been planted by the Sage himself, and under whose shade he undoubtedly intoned the classics and composed some of his poems.

Entering the house, one finds a four-roomed structure, differing but little from an ordinary house except that the drawing-room contains a shrine. The shrine is simply a small cabinet in which hangs a tablet inscribed "Tōju Sensei Shin I 藤樹先生神位, To the Spirit of Tōju Master". Just below the tablet are the forty-nine sticks in a bamboo cup and the thin blocks inscribed with hexagrams, which Tōju used in studying the mystifying "Book of Changes". To the left of the shrine hangs a tablet to his son, inscribed: "Jōshō Shin Shu 常倉神主, The Spirit of Jōshō".

The most precious relic in the room is the motto "致良知 Attain Ryochi," i.e., Enlightenment, written in his early manhood by Tōju himself. Fragments of his later writing have been preserved, but they are now nearly illegible. To me, one of the most interesting relics was the copy of the "Classic on Filial Piety," written out by Tōju in a stiff, upright hand, the very copy, it is believed, which he used to read and ponder the first thing in the day, as a Christian reads the New Testament.

Over the shrine is the inscription "德本堂, Toku Hon Dō," written by order of Emperor Kōkaku by Fujiwara Tadayoshi. On pillars near the shrine hang two bamboo half cylinders with inscriptions by Itō Tōgai, a later disciple. One of them is from the "Doctrine of the Mean": 神之格思 不可度 Kami no Kitaru, Hakaru Bekarazu." It is translated by Legge: "The approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise."

The Shrine Room of Tōju Shoin. In the upper foreground is shown Tōju's crest, a wreath of wistaria sprays. In the background is the shrine. Directly above the shrine is the inscription 道本堂, "Hall of the Source of Virtue."

Among the other treasures the most noteworthy are the portrait of Tōju painted about 1640 by Obara Keizan of Nagasaki, and the large, closely written tribute to Tōju by Ōshio Chusai, based upon the motto, mentioned above, 致良知, Chi Ryōchi. In the godown are several suits of Tōju's very clothes, both cotton and silk, some of them presented to him by princely admirers, but few of them as fine as every middle class gentleman owns now-a-days.

It was somewhat of a shock to find that the villagers living near the Shoin to-day were, for the most part, ignorant of the life and teachings of the Sage, a modern instance of the old proverb, " Tōdai moto kurashi. It's darkest at the foot of the light-house."

Writings and Style. The works by Tōju may all be classified into ethical, literary and medical. The ethical predominate. The five (in one edition, four) volumes of "Okina Mondō," were among the first from his pen. They are in the elegant colloquial of his time, the contents being moral talks fictitiously represented as taking place between Tōju and a friend in a neighboring village. The views, with the exception of the Supplement, are those which he had before his conversion to the Yōmei school. The central theme is filial piety, and the secondary aim is to criticise Buddhism in relation to filial piety. An exposition of Tōju's key doctrine, ryōchi, 良知, conscience, was appended to the last volume. The whole work is called in "Seji Hyaku Dan" "the best of all the works of shingaku, 心學"[16]. But with the later progress of his thought, Tōju became dissatisfied with it and was about to revise it, when to his dismay he learned that the manuscript had already fallen into the hands of a Kyōto printer and been published. Tōju begged that the blocks might be destroyed, but the publisher would not consent until Tōju

16. Shingaku means, generally, moral philosophy, but refers particularly to the intuitive school of thought represented by Tōju. He himself defines it thus in Okina Mondō, II (Knox's translation p. 164): "True learning if so to understand this explanation that our actions shall be like the actions os the sages and our hearts like theirs, and hence the true is called heart learning, shin gaku, and sage learning, for by its help the common man becomes a sage."

had given him the manuscript of a new work, "Kanso," to reimburse him for the unused blocks.[17]

The most authentic complete edition of Tōju's works is the one compiled by Okada Kisei, with a preface by Miwa Shissai. When the first collection of Kisei was sent to the third and only surviving son of Tōju to receive his final revision and a preface, the manuscripts were burned up in a great fire, but the patient compiler laboriously collected the manuscripts again. The result is the thirty-five volumes which we now have. A newer edition of ten volumes was published in 1893, but it is not trustworthy.

There are many poems, both Chinese and Japanese, scattered through Tōju's works. But in most of them the artistic finish so highly esteemed by other literati of the time is sacrificed to the clear conveyance of moral ideas. There are, however, a few worthy to be memorized for their form as well as thought. As a prose writer, his style was lucid, and at times trenchant, especially when attacking cant. For example, he flayed Hayashi Razan, a Confucianist, for shaving his head upon receiving office, as though he were a Buddhist. In "Okina Mondō" he directed similar sarcasms against Buddhism. Indeed, the Sage of Omi was by no means the personification of meekness alone. For meanness and sham he had vials of stinging invective at his command.

17. A fuller account is given in this note appended to some editions of "Okina Mondō." "The Okina Mondō was written by our brother Tōju. He went to Kyōto and retired from active life. We, his brethren in Yashiu, having lost our example and teacher, asked him to write a book for us. So he wrote this Okina Mondō and sent it to us in the eighteenth year of Kanyei (1641). However, he was still dissatisfied with it, and when it was given secretly to the printer he was displeased and had the blocks destroyed. He made certain revisions, but want of strength prevented him from thoroughly correcting it. After his death his pupils respected his wishes, but someone gave the book to the printer in the year 1650. We did not feel authorized to suppress the work, but made several additions and wrote this explanation of the Master's purpose."

TOJU'S PHILOSOPHY.

Tōju was a devout adherent of Shushi up to his thirty-second year, when he was converted to the Yōmei school and became its foster father in Japan. To the great

loss of Japanese ethical thought, he lived only eight years after this, yet in that time he wrote several profound works. His philosophical attitude is marked by unusual impartiality. Although an earnest follower of Oyōmei, he did not depreciate his earlier master, Shushi. He criticised both of them, but reverently, as among the wisest of the sages. Thus, he writes: "Shushi was a great Confucianist and a wise man. Yōmei was a knightly scholar and likewise a wise man. But Shushi was too broad; he leaned toward natural science and got far from the laws of the heart. Yōmei was too concise (約); he was too tolerant and generous (仁) and leaned toward the heresies of Buddhism. But they both were wise enough to make heavenly reason (天理) the heart of their teaching, eschewing lower motives. Both alike would have rejected the lordship of the world if its acceptance were to cost the life of a single innocent person." [18]

His independence and eclecticism are further shown in these lines: "I follow Oyōmei in the old manuscripts (of Confucius), but adhere to Shushi in the selection of the later commentators(經傳). This shows that I am not a partisan. I simply wish to take my stand on what is genuine. If a text is not true I would be a fool to accept it." It was in conformity with this higher critical attitude that he expurgated the texts for use in his school.

His teaching is almost all of a practical turn, but is so tinged with mysticism and reverence toward the supernatural as to rise frequently into the realm of religion. It has, indeed, more in common with religion than with speculative philosophy. Students who can put up with his inconsistencies will find some of his philosophical views striking and worthy of study even to-day.

On the World. Tōju held a monistic world-theory with an idealistic tendency. "The universe, heaven, earth and man, are all one, and the study of them is the supreme, true happiness. To teach this is called the true teaching; to learn this is the true learning." He conceives an infinite and truthful

18. Inouye, op. cit. pp. 43-44.

Being; or Sovereign (Jōtei 上帝), [19] a reality which may be called the world-soul. While he appears at first sight to be a dualist like Shushi, the world being conceived as composed of the two principles, ri and ki, a close investigation shows that he differs from Shushi, in making ri and ki proceed from Jōtei, of whom they are attributes. Tōju is thus kindred to Spinoza, who conceived mind and matter as attributes of the substance of the universe.

But sometimes, with characteristic indifference to the charge of inconsistency, Tōju seems to hold the unity of ri and ki as a merely logical necesssity, and to rule out any personal source and centre of the world. Still, on the other hand, he tries to steer clear of a vague pantheism He recognizes the distinction between the individual and the whole, as in this passage: "Although the universe(太虛), heaven, earth, man and nature are one, we can discriminate between them just as we can between the roots, trunk, branches, flowers, fruit and leaves of a single tree."

Tōju's decided tendency toward idealistic monism is seen in these lines: "The heart is the summary of all forms, another name for infinity. It unites ri and ki. It coordinates the mental powers and is called the lord of the body, but it really exists outside the visible world. There is nothing greater nor smaller. Indeed, Ten, the Creator, may be said to be within ourselves 心は統體の總號にして太極の異名なり．理氣を合して情を統ぶ．一身に主たりと雖も．其實は天地有形の外に通じ．其大外なく．其小内なし．即ち造化の天我れに在るを得るものなり." [20]

How near his idealism, like Yōmei's, verges upon absolute idealism may be seen again in these sentences: "Our mind is the universe. Heaven and earth and the four seas are all

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19. Jōtei carries a different connotation from God, being less definite and personal, as will appear later, but it clearly implies a spiritual, infin te nature, and so, for convenience, may be rendered God. Legge, however, declares with reference to the same term in the Chinese classics: "I can no more translate ti 帝 or shangti 上帝 by any other word but God than I can translate zàn 人 by anything else but man." Vol. III, Pt. I, S. B. E., Preface.

20. Inouye, op. cit. p. 48.

within our own minds. 我心は則ち太虚なり天地四海も我心中に在り" Thus all distinctions between life and death, between existence and non-existence, are submerged. He holds that true insight would lead every one to the perception of one life and law underlying all phenomena. In all this we see his dependence upon Laot'ze and Buddhist philosophers. But his practical nature and his hatred of Buddhism kept him from falling, like them, into the snare of nihilism.

On the Divine Spirit. Though under various appellations,[21] he conceives Jōtei as the omnipresent, omnipotent creator, and the dispenser of judgment. Hence, reverence toward the divine is an important element of his doctrine. But as we might expect, in view of his pantheistic leanings, Tōju blurs the distinction between Jōtei and man. "Man is heaven in miniature: Heaven is man magnified." "Heaven or Jōtei is the pervading self; Heaven in us is the limited self. And the Heaven in us is our heart, or conscience, i.e., ryōchi. Heaven, earth, man are called the three ultimates. They differ in form but the divinity in them is the same. 天地人を三極と云ふ形は異なれども.其神は一貫流通隔なし."

Tōju's view here is quite similar to the Vedantic conception of Brahm as both the substance of the world and the spirit of the individual. Holding Jōtei to be thus immanent in man's conscience, Tōju finds it natural to believe in the possibility of perfect communion by man with the divine spirit. Although Jōtei is sometimes represented by Tōju as "our grand-parent" (Okina Mondō, III), and therefore, in a sense, as personal, he is really little more than the personification of the moral order. He has no concrete being. He is the world-soul, the governing principle of the universe, just as the mind is the master of the body.

On Evil Spirits. For the most part Tōju ignores evil spirits, notably in his developed doctrine of evil. But in Okina Mondō, III, we have what may be considered his earlier ideas on the subject: "All men, except the sage and the superior

21. For example: 天 Heaven; 皇上帝 Divine Sovereign; 太一尊神 Only Great Revered Divinity; 太上天尊大一神 Only Great Revered Divinity in Highest Heaven.

man, are proud by nature. The fruits of the proud heart are an evil mind, discord, crime and madness. Let us beware lest we tread this terrible road leading down to the brutes and the dominion of the devils. Pseudo learning greatly fosters such pride but never awakens the determination to root it out. If, either with pseudo learning or with none, we invite the devils to our darkened hearts, our pride becomes more set; it sends forth evil habits like rank leaves and branches. Men become to us like dead worms. No one is worthy to hold up his head beside us. Intolerant toward our equals, scornful toward our parents, reviling our lords and ridiculing our friends, violating the precepts of filiality, of respect, of loyalty and of fidelity, we come to keep company with devils and to act like them. We fall under the sway of devils. This tendency is especially strong in the case of men naturally clever and free from gross desires."[22]

On Man. The universe is made up of the two principles ri and ki. Man partakes of ki in his physical form and of ri in his mental and moral nature. Of all the creatures man alone can have ri in its fulness, with the consequent possibility of moral perfection. Man alone can hold ki under control; in perfect equilibrium. Hence man is the master of all nature, and can help determine the evolution of the world. The lower creatures also embody both ri and ki, but their spirit is blurred and cannot clearly perceive ri. Engrossed with carnal appetites, they are virtually blind to spiritual things. Man knows both life and death: if he dies, he knows it is not the end. Animals know neither life nor death; hence death is the end. They only know enough by virtue of their ki nature to grieve over death. Birds have even less understanding than beasts: they suffer, but they do not fear death. Fish have feeling but no understanding. Trees and plants have life only and not even feeling. Thus man is at the top of the ladder. There are, however, saintly and common men. The sage is one in whom the divine light, i.e., ryōchi, shines forth. The common man is one in whom the saintly has not yet been brought to light. The vein of idealism and spirituality which runs through Tōju crops out

22. Inouye, Nihon Rinri Ihen, p. 74.

in his conception of even the physical origin of man. He says: "It seems as if the infant were the production of its parents, but not so; the ruler of the universe, Jōtei, gives the command to heaven and earth, and from these man is born."[23]

The Natural State of the Human Heart. Both Mencius and Juncius agree in holding that all men are endowed with the same fundamental nature; but Mencius considers human nature to be inherently good, while Juncius[24] considers it to be inherently bad. Tōju agrees with Mencius that "Everything done according to innate human nature is good." He says, "Let us take counsel from our original nature, for it is still pure though we be ignorant and wicked." "The heart by nature is fixed neither on good nor evil, but it learns unthinkingly as it sees and hears and imitates those about it, as we color water red or green, though naturally it is neither. When the coloring matter sinks to the bottom, the natural color appears. So as evil settles to the bottom, the original nature appears."[25] As we shall see further on, this view gave rise to Tōju's chief metaphysical problem, one which he never solved.

The distinction between the superior man (君子) and the small or inferior man (小人) consists in the degree to which a man opens his nature to the guidance of ryōchi, which is infallibly right. If the heart *chooses* evil, the native goodness of ryōchi is neutralized, declares Tōju. Here is the rift in his monistic lute. He lets evil get into his system by admitting that the naturally good heart, strangely enough, naturally chooses evil. Right here he parts company with his master, Ōyōmei, who allowed no evil to grow out of ryōchi. Tōju would fain rest in the same "closed system"; he dreads to seize either horn of the dilemma, but the facts of his own experience and observation compel him. Hence we find the not unusual phenomenon of a monist in theory stooping to dualism in practical ethics. When Tōju is asked bluntly where evil comes

23. Knox, op. cit. p. 254.

24. Juncius, 荀子, a Chinese philosopher who lived some time between Mencius, 371 B. C., and the destruction of the classics in 213 B. C.

25. Knox, op. cit. pp. 348-49.

from, he replies, not unlike a Buddhist: "Desire is the source of all evil and passion. When desire is aroused the mind is darkened and confused. But when the mind is not disturbed by desire, it is clear and every act is right and good."[26]

Equality of Opportunity. The homogeneity of human nature implies that all men have an equal right to attain superior character. Tōju is a democrat and holds that the humblest man differs in no way from the noble in his capacity to become a superior man or a sage. While this suggests Rousseau's conception of equality, Tōju never let his idea carry him into extreme individualism. He does, however, prepare the way for the fuller Christian teaching of the worth of every man. In commenting on "Great Learning" he writes:

"In ancient times the ideographs 人 (hito, man) and 民 (tami, plebs) were not interchangeable. Persons of rank were called hito, persons without rank were called tami. Rank is determined by man. When men are born, they are all, rich and poor alike, Heaven's people (tami). Hence hito implies an artificial liniitation; tami implies no limitation" "The son of Heaven, feudal princes, nobles, ministers, and the commonalty, are the five ranks of society. They are ranked as honorable or contemptible, great or small, but in character there is not a hair's breadth of inherent difference."[27] Truly, Christian doctrine! Indeed, the similarity of parts of the Yōmei teachings to Christianity was one reason for the practical interdiction of Yomei in Japan. As Uchimura says: "When Takasugi Shinsaku, a Chōshu strategist of revolutionary fame, first examined the Christian Bible, he exclaimed, 'This resembles Yang Mingism; disintegration of the Empire will begin with this.' That something like Chrisianity was a component force in the reconstruction of modern Japan is a singular fact."

On Psychology. Tōju teaches that ryōchi is not only a heavenly gift, innate in every man, but that it is Heaven itself. For example, he says: "Heaven and our mind are of one origin." "Wisdom 知 is the pure virtue of the heavenly reason,

26. Inouye, op. cit. p. 82.
27. Inouye, op. cit. p. 60.

Chi Ryōchi, Attain Enlightenment. One of Tōju's basal precepts, written by himself in his youth.

and of the divinely illumined mind." "One who is enlightened 明德者 is a person in whom dwells Jōtei." And since ryōchi and meitoku 明德 are interchangeable terms, it follows that ryōchi is equivalent to Jōtei. As Jōtei is the lord of the world, the macrocosmos 大體, so ryōchi is the lord of man, the microcosmos 個體. In one of his letters Tōju identifies ryōchi and the Tathagata or Nyōrai 如來 of Buddhism. But he does not stick to any one meaning or term for ryōchi, as will be evident after glancing at the following terms, all of which he uses in one place or another.

1. Tensei 天性 or Honshin 本心, heavenly or original nature.
2. Ri 理 or Tenri 天理, law, or heavenly reason.
3. Ki 氣, the passionate, or formative element in the world.
4. Kokoro 心 or Dōshin 同心, the mind or heart.
5. Shingo 眞吾, the true self.
6. Makoto, 誠, truth.
7. Hitori 獨, the absolute.
8. Meitoku 明德, enlightenment.
9. Chu 中, the central principle or the mean.
10. Kō 孝, filial piety as a universal principle.
11. Tenkun 天君, the heavenly or princely man.
12. Michi 道, the way.
13. Zen 善, the summum bonum, righteousness.
14. Setsuraku 說樂, joy or bliss.
15. Kōmei 光明, pure light.
16. Jin 仁, benevolence.
17. Rei 禮, propriety or harmony.
18. Zenchi 全知, omniscience.
19. Kōdai Muhen 廣大無邊, omnipresence.
20. Chōzai Fumetsu 長在不滅, the everlasting.
21. Seijin 聖人, the sage.

The above list is enough to show that the ryōchi of Tōju is in some of its aspects not unlike "conscience" as used by some modern ethicists, except that "conscience" is generally limited more particularly to the empirical side, while ryochi

includes both the transcendental and the empirical. After trying to amalgamate all the phases of ryōchi into one clear, consistent whole, one is more convinced than ever that Toju was more of a mystic and poetic moralist than a critical philosopher. He is to be compared with St. John rather than with Descartes. Indeed, it is not straining the point to suggest that ryōchi bears some resemblance to the presentation of Christ in the Gospel of John as the Way, the Life, the Truth, the Light and the Logos.

On Knowledge. Tōju's view of the origin of knowledge or wisdom is evident from his conception of ryōchi. Knowledge being derived through ryōchi is, like ryōchi, transcendental or intuitive. What is not inborn but comes from external experiences casts a shadow over true intuitive knowledge. The kingdom of wisdom is within, waiting for experience and the need of action to bring it to light. In "Jindō Tosetsu" he says, in substance: "The natural mind is a clear mirror uncrossed by any image, except as it is full of the divine spirit. Everything is reflected as it is, without any action on the part of the mirror itself. It is better for the mind to be empty, since any accumulated knowledge hinders its natural action in reflecting things truly as they come".[28] This resembles Spinoza's doctrine that knowledge is inborn, and will retain its natural clearness if kept free from the disturbing influence of passion. Even Kant and Tōju, different as they are in general, are at one in their conception of the transcendence of knowledge. In this respect Toju most closely resembles the Vedantic conception, that through self-knowledge we attain to supreme and universal knowledge. We can imagine that Socrates, too, with his "Know thyself," would be glad to own kinship at this point with Tōju.

[28] Inouye, op. cit. p. 85.

ETHICAL TEACHINGS

The Theoretical Side. In ethics the first thing to be settled, says Dr. Inouye, is the standard of good and evil. The idealist judges the goodness or badness of an action from the motive; the utilitarian, from the consequences. Tōju belonged heart and soul to the idealist school. He writes: "Moral worth inheres in our heart and not in our acts. Every act centripetal to ryōchi is good, and every act centrifugal from ryōchi is bad."[29] Thus ryōchi stands at the heart of his ethics. Whether expressed or not, it is the meridian base from which he surveys the whole field of morals. Let us now scan a few of the deductions he draws from ryōchi.

Tōju holds that since ryōchi is the groundwork of the world all mankind alike are possessed of it, much as conscience is attributed to all men by modern intuitionists. If our ryōchi were fully developed, then we would be divine. The voice within which cries out against our self-deception is ryōchi (reminding one of Socrates' *daimon*). In "Great Truths of Shintō 神道大義" he writes: "The kunshi or superior man is watchful over the workings of his own mind, known alone to himself. He denies himself all thoughts displeasing to the divine light of the world. He refrains from doing anything simply to win the praise of men. He may have evil thoughts and commit evil actions, but the divine light will show their real nature to him sooner or later. Then he will recover his original purity of mind. The *hoi polloi*, "bonpu," think and act evil, and in shame conceal it from others because their own ryōchi convicts them. There is in all men, whether good or bad, a divinity like a clear mirror."[30] Tōju conceived this divine spirit as immanent in us, somewhat like Christ, when He said: "Behold, the Kingdom of God is within you." In a letter to Nakanishi he sums up the matter by saying, "The real source of peace

29. Inouye, op. cit. p. 89.
30. Inouye, op. cit. p. 90. Cf. Romans 2.15.

and joy for a kunshi is within himself 君子安樂の本體は吾人方寸の內にあり"; and again, "However illustrious our teacher may be, he cannot divine our secret thoughts. In distinguishing good and evil, if we revere the inner divinity it will prove to be the best teacher. 明師ありと雖も一念の微は知りがたし. 唯我れにありて善惡を知るの靈明を捧持する時は師我れにありて幽明の隔なし." [31] In passing, we may observe that Tōju asserts the brotherhood of man in as clear and eloquent form as any non-Christian thinker. He says: "Since all creation is from the same great root, all the men within the four seas are connected branches." 萬の物皆大本より生ずれば四つの海の人悉く連れる枝なり. "If we look upon Heaven and Earth as the great parents of all men, then we and other men, whosoever bears the human form, are all brothers. Therefore, sages welcome the thought that all within the four coasts are one family, that the Middle Kingdom is like one man. To set up a barrier between ourselves and others and look upon them with aversion and contempt is the sign of a mean, misguided heart."[32]. Like Confucius—"All within the four seas are brothers," and Shaka—"Heart of pity toward all creatures," and Jesus—"Whosoever doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my sister and brother and mother," Tōju, in theory at least, looks upon all races as equal. It would be interesting to know whether he literally believed this noble sentiment, or whether, like some, if not all, of the Chinese sages, he limited its application to the "Greeks" of the Orient and looked upon all others as "barbarians." As he never came in contact, so far as we know, with aliens, we can only say that his attitude toward all classes of his fellow countrymen, at least, was democratic and unbiassed.

The problem of evil was the knottiest that Tōju wrestled with. He faced it bravely, but with only partial success. His starting point is that "ryōchi is good; if we follow ryōchi, good

31. Op. cit. p. 93.

32. 天地を萬民の大父母さなして見れば. 我も人も人間のる種の者は. 皆兄弟然る故に聖人は四海を一家中國を一人さ思召すさなり. 吾れさ人さの隔を立てゝけわしくうさみ悔りぬるは迷へる凡夫の心なり. Okina Mondō, I, Inouye, op. cit. p. 57.

is constantly lord of our hearts. 良知則ち善なり. 良知を敬せば善常に心の主たり." Obedience to ryōchi results in noble and transparent character; disobedience results in mean, depraved character. The wide difference between the superior man and the mean man all arises from self-watchfulness on the part of the one and self-deception on the part of the other, and hence the latter can surely be turned into the former if he fully obeys ryōchi. It is the shojin (mean man) who is afraid of the eye of others, and indulges in evil when alone. The very fact that he affects to be good and conceals his evil ways in the presence of a kunshi is proof that ryōchi is not dead in him.[33] But the kunshi is conscientious even when secure from the gaze of any other human being. The centre of the superior man is within. Conscious of the friendship of the divine light of heaven and earth, he acts with self-control because he reverences himself. Hence self-reverence[34] or fidelity to his true self, i.e., obedience to ryōchi, is the keynote in the character of the superior man. The question naturally arises, what leads a man to disobey ryōchi, if it is really the fundamental, inherent reality of his nature? How can the naturally good heart be the source of evil desire? Tōju attempts two solutions. The first is that desire has nothing to do with ri, the noumenal, spiritual nature, but originates in ki, the passionate, phenomenal nature. (Cf. St. Paul's "the flesh and the spirit.") And yet he will not admit that ki is essentially evil. The second solution is that desire lies latent in the background of the mind until aroused and brought into play by a selfish thought. That is, like Shaka and Schopenhauer, Tōju makes the will in its blind and carnal activity the

33. Inouye, op. cit., p. 95. The conclusion of this passage is striking: "The workings of ryōchi, though hidden in the bosom, are really evident to the eyes of all men.—The true nature of our mind, whether good or bad, can never remain long concealed. It may be hid for a while, but in the end it will be disclosed 善悪共ニ内ニ誠アリテ.外ニ顕ハルルコト.カクレナシ.外ヘ一且ハ善悪共ニカクレテモ其實ハ終ニ知レヌト云フコトハナキゾ." This is a remarkably close parallel to Christ's words: "Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid that shall not be known."

34. Reverence 敬 seems to mean reverence for one's heaven-bestowed good nature, to defile which would be impious, much like St. Paul's exhortation to be pure because we are the temple of the Holy Ghost.

ultimate source of evil and suffering. It is evident, however, that neither of these attempted solutions is conclusive.

When it comes to the overcoming of evil desire Tōju parts company with Buddhism and asserts that the will is not to be destroyed, but made pure, by the cultivation of ryōchi. And the best method of cultivating ryōchi is by "Chichi kakubutsu 致知格物." "Chichi" means attaining supremacy for ryōchi over the selfish will. "Kakubutsu" means making the five processes of seeing, speaking, hearing, thinking and appearance all correct.[35] "Kakubutsu" is the means; "chichi" is the end. Hence "kakubutsu" may be considered the starting point of practical morality. Tōju finds support for this rather Buddhistic doctrine in the Confucian classics themselves, for instance, in the opening words of "Great Learning," "To rest in the highest excellence 止於至善." He explains these words to mean the firm, motionless state of the mind in attaining to the substance of ryōchi, a meaning not unlike "Shikwan 止觀" or "Sammai 三昧" in Buddhism. But here again, despite apparent resemblances to Buddhism, Tōju conceives 止 (to stop or rest) not as the stoppage of all desire at a certain point, but as the determination of the right centre and foundation for all true desire and action.[36] It is not withdrawal from the world, but taking a right attitude toward the world. This is quite different from the nihilism of Buddhism, indeed, more like the positiveness of Christianity. He quaintly sums up the contrast in this verse:

"Shizen ni todomari nureba kurushimi no
Umi no mizu hite tanoshimi no kuni,
至善ニ止マリヌレバ.若シミノ.海ノ水ヒテタノシミノ國"

which may be translated: "To attain to supreme virtue and rest there impassive, would be as joyless as a paradise whose seas had been dried up."

But if the evil will is persisted in, penalty is inevitable, for Tōju believes in 因果應報 Ingwa ōhō, the law of cause and effect, or of retribution for the acts of all previous existences.

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35. Cf. the Yoga of India, in which these processes are controlled by severe self-discipline.

36. He identifies 止 with 中 (the Mean) in "The Doctrine of the Mean."

Thus he says: "There are six curses, viz., first, doing evil with a bad heart and being cut off in the midst of life; second, illness; third, poverty; fourth, sorrow; fifth, the willing choice of sin, great badness; sixth, knowing the truth and acknowledging it, but not obeying it. These are the six punishments the way of Heaven always decrees to the wicked. These awards are eternal, unchangeable like the variations of the seasons.[37] But he believes that peace or pain is self-determined, for Heaven is generally only a name for the moral order. "The power of giving or denying gifts to men is in Heaven, but the secret of gaining or losing them is in one's own mind. If one improves himself by self-examination and watchfulness, one will gain heavenly gifts. But if one deceives himself and is distracted by worldly things, Heaven will take gifts away from him to hi, own loss."

In other places he makes the punishment even more clearly subjective, as in this striking verse:

"Tanoshimi mo mata kurushimi mo yoso narazus
Tada ichinen no jigoku gokuraku.
たのしみも又くるしみもよそならず.ただ一ねんのじごく.ごくらく."

This may be rendered:

"Pain and pleasure only from oneself proceed:
Hell and paradise are by the heart decreed."[38]

This sentence in Okina Mondō also suggests the same truth: "An evil heart includes all other curses. When the heart is darkened, sights and sounds are painful; even without outward sorrow there is no rest. Thus it is that the law holds—virtue brings happiness and vice misery."[39]

THE PRACTICAL SIDE

Aspiration. The first essential in practical ethics is aspiration, that is, aspiring to be a seijin (saint) through moral culture. Tōju says, "If one have aspiration, everythinge in nature becomes his teacher, and if one lack it, he could learn

37. Knox, op. cit. pp. 170–1.
38. This puts one in mind of Milton's lines:
"The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, and a Hell of Heaven." Par. Lost. Bk. I.
39. Knox, op. cit. p. 171.

nothing even were a Confucius to come to him. A true aspiration masters a man. Hence Confucius said, "A commander of vast armies may be defeated, but the aspiration of the commonest person is indomitable."—We must distinguish between the true aspiration after morality and the false aspiration toward the mean objects of life, which have only a temporary charm and lead us into endless disgrace." (Cf. John. 6:34.) "Think of yourself as a citizen of the universe (literally, a man living between heaven and earth); if Heaven is your teacher and the divine light is your companion, you will have no desire to make requests of other men."
天地の間に.已れ一人生きてあるさ思ふべし.天を師さし.神明を友さすれば.外人に頼る心なし.

Enlightenment. Next to aspiration the mind must attain enlightenment, that is, be made free from bewilderment and doubt. Passion and moral doubt may overcloud ryōchi, but as soon as they are dispelled, ryōchi sheds her bright light again like a cloudless sun. In Okina Mondō, Tōju declares, "Men may be divided into two classes, the darkened or bewildered 迷, and the enlightened or understanding 悟. The former includes ordinary, mean persons, while the latter includes the saint (seijin), the kunshi, and the buddha. Bewilderment come out of one and the same mind. When overclouded with passion, the light of conscience becomes indistinct and dark like a moonless night. Then we call it "mayoi no kokoro," the doubtful or bewildered mind. But when it is purified through accumulated moral culture, it is clear and bright with the light shed by the full moon of the heart. Then we call it "satori no kokoro," the enlightened mind."

Self-mastery. Enlightenment can only be won as the result of self-mastery, the taproot of all morality. "When we are tempted by external things, the fault is in us, and not in those things. If devils are driven out of our mind through self-denial, there is no demon under the sun that can disturb us."[40] As is often the case, Tōju best conveys the subtler shades of his thought in a verse: "As the moon resting on the

40. "But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed." James 1:14.

water quiets the waves even below the surface, so the quiet heart calms all one's desires. 靜なる心の水に住む月のかくるゝ波の時に定むる."

Perseverance. Perseverance alone will win the precious fruits of self-discipline. "In order to cultivate virtue we must act rightly every day. Every time we gain one in goodness we subtract one in evil. If right is day by day pursued, evil will day by day retreat: the longer the day the shorter the night. If this were kept up long enough, how could one help becoming a good man? 吾人德を修むることを思はゞ日々に善をせん而已一善益すときは一惡損す. 日々に善をなさば. 日々に惡退くべし. 是れ陽長ずるときは陰消するの理なり."[41]

Independence of Others' Opinions. What others think of us is often too strong a factor in determining our actions. Tōju rebukes such servility in these words: "What the people of the age admire is done and what they disapprove is not done, without considering whether it is right or wrong in itself. Such conformists are shojin, small men. Praise elates and condemnation worries them. They are anxious about the outward form, but know not the heart of the way."[42]

Repentance. "Repentance is the road which leads from misfortune. One should not brood over a misdeed too long after repenting and making amends. When we recall our misdeeds after experiencing a change of heart, they should seem unrelated to us; we should no longer have any pangs of remorse. But if the recollection of them arouses a sense of shame, the root of our misdeeds is still hidden in us."[43]

Filial Piety. In Tōju filial piety, 孝 kō, holds such an important place that it will be worth while to consider it at length. In the narrow sense, kō is reverence toward one's parents. But Tōju, enlarging upon the ideas of the Chinese work, "Kōkyō Enshinkei 孝經援神契," interpreted it in the broadest sense, making it a transcendental principle, eternally existent, but expressed and applied in human relationships. How deeply his mind was stirred by the contemplation of kō

41. Inoue, op. cit. p. 109. Cf. "Many a mickle makes a muckle," and "The little foxes spoil the vines."

42. Op. cit. p. 111.

43. Op. cit. p. 113.

may be seen in his "Kōkyō Shinpō 孝經心法," the first few lines of which are not unlike the prologue to St. John's Gospel:

"Before the heavens and the earth were conceived kō was the divine way of heaven. The Heavens, earth and man, yea, all creation, were conceived by kō. Spring and summer, autumn and winter, thunder and rain and dew had not been except for kō. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and understanding are the principles of kō." He continues: "The five relationships 五典, and the ten virtues of relationship十義 (i.e., lord and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger brothers or sisters, older and younger friends, and their appropriate virtues), are the seasons of kō. The womb of divine reason was in kō. It cannot be expressed or named. But if it is arbitrarily given a form, it is called kō." Then follows this interesting etymological digression. "The ideograph for kō 孝 is composed of the two ideographs, 老 and 子, i.e., an old man 老 leaning on a child 子. When they were written together they were abbreviated (匕 being left out). The reason of heaven before the heavens and earth were opened up was the elder 老, and ki氣, the passionate principle, was the child 子. When the heavens and the earth had been opened up, heaven was the elder and the earth was the child. The universe (乾 坤 the primitive cosmos) was the elder, and the six elements were the child. The sun is the elder and the moon is the child. Eki 易[44] is composed of the characters 日 and 月, sun and moon. The meaning of 老 and 子 is the same as 日 and 月. 易. "The Book of Changes" and 孝經, "The Classic of Filial Piety," constitute one indivisible truth. Mountains are the elder; rivers are the child. The Middle Kingdom is the elder; the eastern barbarians (Japan), the southern barbarians (India), the western barbarians (Europe?), and the northern barbarians (Mongolia and Manchuria), are the child. The ruler is the elder; the subject is the child. The husband is the elder; the wife is the child. In the realm of the shaping of another person's character, the man of benevolence

44 The character used to cover the whole science of divination and the laws on which it is supposed to be based: also, the title of the classic, "The Book of Changes."

The Divining Sticks and Hexagrams used by Tōju in Studying "The Book of Changes."

is the elder, reciprocal affection is the child. Thus, when we look at all things in the light of this principle kō, we see that apart from it nothing has been produced. If we appropriate this principle in our own hearts, the result is pity (toward those below) and reverence (toward superiors)."

In Okina Mondō, I, he identifies the mysterious "禮法 reihō," the fundamental virtue or treasure, with kō. "Originally reihō had no name, but for the sake of teaching the ignorant, the sages called it kō. In these days, on the contrary, every one knows its name, even the young and foolish; but those who know its true nature are very few, even among the aged and learned. It may be considered as divided into "ai" and "kei." "Ai" is love and kindness to others, "kei" is reverence for superiors and consideration for inferiors. Kō is like a looking-glass: The glass reflects many shapes and colors, but itself is always unchanged; so kō reflects all the virtues but is itself unchangeable. All the virtues, obedience, loyalty, faithfulness, kindness, as they exist between the different ranks and relationships of society may be resolved into ai and kei, and these two are kō—the division into various duties being for convenience in teaching. And any one, even a little child five or six years old, can learn about this virtue, but even the aged and learned find its practice difficult.

"Question: I had supposed that kō meant filial obedience but now I perceive it embraces all the virtues.

"Answer: Kō dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has neither beginning nor end; without it is no time or any being; there is nothing in all the universe unendowed with kō. As man is the head of the universe, its image in miniature, kō endows his body and soul, and obedience to the way is the very pivot of existence."[45]

In another place he says: "Kō is the fundamental principle in the universe; it has neither beginning nor end."

These passages all present kō in its transcendental aspect, in which it may be identified with ryōchi. But Tōju also makes it a very mundane virtue, second to none in practical life. Thus, "There is nothing greater than kō, and kō knows

45. Knox, op. cit. p. 102.

nothing more important than reverence to parents. We must put parents in the place of Heaven. The gods admire a filial spirit, and all virtue is included in this. To love others without loving our parents is mistaken virtue: Thus filial piety fulfills the law." And after exhausting his vocabulary in praising kō, he concludes his whole treatise with these words: "But when the sage appears, the divine, his virtue unites with heaven and earth, his light is one with sun and moon, he knows good and evil like gods and demons. Yet, after all, Confucius said: "Even in the virtue of a sage what is there beyond filial piety?"[46] More definitely, he says that kō implies "obedience, which is a debt we owe our parents. Consider how their pains and anxieties begin before birth, continue through childhood and youth, and how innumerable are the blessings we receive from them. Their love is higher than heaven and deeper than the sea. All men acknowledge the duty of gratitude, and filial obedience is merely showing the edge of gratitude. Even crows feed their parents, and lambs show their respect by stooping as they eat. It is the beginning of all the virtues, and when we forget it we cloud the soul with lust, dim the illustrious virtue, and are astray in the night. But man often forgets parents for the sake of those from whom he receives wealth, or for love of wife or concubine, forgetting that wealth is merely the ornament and the wife the pleasure of the body, while the body itself is the gift of parents. To neglect them is to show that we are not men. It follows that we are to be grateful and obedient even to those parents who forget their duties. Our duties to parents are to both mind and body. We are so to govern ourselves as to cause them no anxiety, to give them needful food, to provide medicine and nursing in illness, to mourn at their death, to bury them with the customary rites, to hang up the tablet and give it due worship; this is all included in filial obedience."[47]

Tōju's natural philosophy of kō in its practical aspect is a typical bit of naive reasoning: "Obedience to parents is the

46. Knox, op. cit. pp. 349, 350.
47. Knox, op. cit. pp 160-161.

first step in the way. The reason is clear, since our bodies are derived from them. We must clearly perceive that our bodies are a part of our parents, and then serve them with love and reverence. If we seek for the origin of things we find that, as our bodies are divided from our parents but still one with them, so are their bodies divided from the spirit of heaven and earth, and the spirit of heaven and earth is the offspring of the Spirit of the universe ; thus my body is one with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this truth and acting in accordance with it is obedience to the way. Thus we shall be loving and reverent to parents, respectful and loyal to master, true to friends, just to wife, faithful to husband, not speaking falsely nor acting wrongfully even in little things, obeying the way with word and thought and deed—all this is included in the virtue kō. Even lifting hand and foot we must follow kō. All the errors of mankind arise from "self" as we think "this is my body," "this is mine"; but kō slays self. Even learned men are not true scholars when ignorant of this philosophy, still more are ignorant men near to the brute."[48]

A little farther on he gives a quaint explanation of why he makes the care of parents the primary duty only in the case of the common people: "They are to take care of their parents, loving them better than their own bodies, and being ready to serve them even at the expense of suffering to themselves.

"Question:—Why do you confine filial obedience to the common people?"

"Answer:—All above the rank of samurai cannot need this admonition. They have enough wealth and feel no temptation to neglect their parents; it is only the poor who can need this counsel."[49].

The results of unfilial conduct Tōju paints in dark colors: "Filial piety is the root of a man. If he lets it die, he becomes like a rootless tree. It were better for him to be dead in truth and escape such a living death. 這箇是人根 若滅却此心則其生如無根之草木條不死者. 幸免而已."

48. Knox, op. cit. pp. 102-103.
49. Knox, op. cit. p. 114.

Loyalty. Tōju says little about loyalty as a distinct virtue, for he considers it to be a part of filial piety. It remained for his successors to put loyalty above filiality and thus contribute to Japanese Confucianism its most striking difference from its Chinese prototype. Tōju clearly gives precedence to filiality, holding that the most dutiful child would make the most faithful retainer. It was in accord with this conviction that he left the service of his feudal lord in Iyo and returned to Ogawa to give himself to the care of his mother. In the letter justifying his act he wrote: "Filial piety is the weightier and loyalty the lighter duty."

Humility. Like all the old masters, Tōju gives a prominent, almost the first place, to humility. "Unless the scholar first purges himself of his self-sufficiency and seeks the virtue of humility, with all his learning and genius he is not yet entitled to a position above the slough of the commonalty."[50] And again, "True learning is disregard of self, obedience to the way and the observance of the five relations. Its eyeball is humility."[51] His definition and illustration of humility is interesting: "Question:—"What is the greatest virtue for men of rank? Answer:—Humility. Not proud of rank, unselfish, considerate, benevolent, full of pity for others, respectful, hearing advice, distrustful of one's own wisdom, loving good and hating evil—this is humility. Taishun was Dai-sei-jin, and yethe asked for advice even in trifles and did not despise the counsel of men below him, but examined carefully to see if it conformed to the truth, adopting it if in accord, and rejecting it if opposed. For this Confucius praised him as one of the sages. When the son of Shukotan went to his province, his father said to him, "My father was the emperor, Bun-nō my brother, the emperor, Bu-ō my son is the emperor, Se-ō and my own rank is Sessho-chosai. There is no one my superior or equal, and yet while my hair is being dressed I stop three times to receive guests, and while I eat I spit out my food three times that I may welcome the gentry who call; still more do I fear to be rude to a superior man. Do not treat others

50. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 172.
51. Knox, op. cit. p. 246.

with contempt, but reverence them." If a man of such position could use such an illustration to enforce this duty, no exhortation can be needed by men of lower rank."[52]

Patience or Stoicism. Tōju holds patience or stoicism, nin 忍, to be the running-mate of humility. It not only begets an even temper but purges the heart of the impurities of the lower nature. His etymology of the term is striking and would seem far-fetched unless one recalled that the Japanese "nin" has a more positive content than the English "patience." Nin means to reject evil as well as to endure it. He says: "The ideograph 忍 nin is composed of 刃, a sword, and 心 the heart. That is, if the self-accusing heart, weighed down with its own wickedness, will make itself a sword to cut off the accretions of wilful desire, then the result will be complete freedom. The heart will be swept clean of the devil of fame-hunger and the thief of low desire. Hence nin is the gate to all the virtues." With this etymology in mind the following poem by Tōju becomes intelligible: "One act of patience harmonizes the seven passions; two acts of patience bring the five blessings in a troop; habitual acts of patience make one's whole nature beautiful as springtime, and Utopia is brought down from the clouds."[53]

On Worship. As we close this section on Tōju's Ethics, it is interesting to notice his frank advocacy of the worship of gods and spirits. "Belief in gods and spirits is a part of Confucianism. In the "Classic of Filial Piety," to worship the father as Heaven and to serve the gods is considered the essence of piety. In the "Book of Rites" directions for the worship of the gods are given at length. Emperor, prince, ruler, scholar and commoner are to worship according to their various ranks and possessions, each rank and place having its appropriate duties. In the worship of ancestors and the teaching of Shintō we find agreement. We must worship ancestors according to rank and the customs of the country in which we dwell. The Buddhist exaltation of the hotoke above the gods is blasphemy."

52. Knox, op. cit. p. 251.
53. Inouye, op. cit. p. 122.

In this connection we naturally inquire what Tōju's ideas were on the future life. I think all will agree that he had an exalted conception for his time:

"Question:—The students of magic can live long and never die, and the Buddhist becomes a hotoke rid of his corrupted body. Can Confucianism give such rewards after death?

"Answer:—Thorough study of the classics will banish such heretical doubts. The aim of both these systems is to control the heart and clear the original nature, and this when accomplished is called long life and becoming a hotoke. But after all these men do not understand the holy heart and thus are one degree below the wise man. As the knowledge imparted by Confucianism is higher than that gained in the other systems, so is its reward greater. As the sages have said, "Agreement with the original principle is true reason. The great Spirit of the Universe fills all the sky, calm, imperturbable, the source of all things. When man conforms to this great principle, though he disappear he does not become extinct. He returns to the primal spirit as a drop of water into the sea, as a vapor in the sky melts away. He is not destroyed, but continues as fire entering fire. Nor is there reason why he should not appear again, as the scattered vapor gathers again in a different form. Man at one with the spiritual law behind the universe is as imperishable as the universe itself. True wisdom comprehends this truth and knows perfect peace."[54]

We have now surveyed briefly the whole range of Tōju's ethical teaching. There is certainly much to admire and little to condemn. But perhaps the best thing we can say about it is that the Sage succeeded to an unusual degree in exemplifying it in his own life.

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54. Knox, op. cit. pp. 346, 347, 349. The quotation is from "The Book of Changes."

VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT.

Ethics was the chief burden of Tōju's life and teaching. He rarely touched on politics, being made all the more reticent, perhaps, because the Yōmei doctrines were under the ban of the Government. But when he does discuss political principles, he bases them even more completely than Confucius or Mencius on ethical principles. He makes moral culture and government essentially one. "Government is the principle by which native virtue is clarified: learning (moral culture) is the art of governing the people of the world."[55] This reminds one of the naive views of Socrates and Plato, and it is encouraging to believe that modern rulers and scholars are sincerely espousing this same ideal, so deeply eclipsed in some periods of the world's history. Tōju extends this identity of learning and government by applying it also to learning and arms:

"Question: There is a saying that arms and learning are the two wheels of a wagon, the two wings of a bird. Are arms and learning two?

"Answer: It is a popular error, for men think learning consists in reading, writing and poetry and a mild disposition, and arms to consist in a fierce disposition, horsemanship, fencing and the like, while really there is no distinction between the two. No true learning is without arms and no true arms without learning. Learning governs empire, province, family and self in time of peace, and in accordance with the way, while arms restrain the unruly, punish the evil and carry on war. The root of arms is gi 義 and of learning jin 仁, and these two virtues are one. From these roots come the leaves and branches—letters, horsemanship and the like. Some men have the root without the leaves: they seem to be weak, but have strong hearts, and such men are many. Some men have the leaves but not the root, the accomplishments without the virtues: thus they are like sheep in the skins of tigers. Thus

55. Inouye, op. cit. p. 124.

learning and arms are linked together like the two principles, in 陰 and yō 陽. It is impossible to conceive the one without the other."[56]

The severe ethical requirements of government are clearly expounded in Okina Mondō, I: "He who cannot rule self cannot rule an empire, and hence the emperor is to rule himself first of all. He should choose his officers with care, apportioning their duties according to their various abilities; he should rule justly and so that all his subjects may enjoy their natural rights and privileges; in short, as the father cherishes his children, so the father of the nation is to cherish his people. This is the virtue of kō as the son of heaven obeys it. The daimyō is to govern his own body and soul in accordance with the way, to see that the wealth of his dominion is preserved, to treat the officers of the emperor with respect and the lower officers with consideration, to look with pity on the farmers, and especially to care for the widows and friendless, and so to rule that the prosperity of the province may be long preserved. This is the duty of kō for the daimyō. The minister should be an example in conduct for other men. Thought, word and act must be for his lord and his country; nothing must be done for self, self-glory or self-interest. In times of peace the government is in his hands. In time of war he goes forth in command, and hence must be well versed in the art of war. He is to have a care that the worship of the gods and of ancestors is not neglected. The samurai must give single-hearted obedience; forsaking self, he must serve his master, he must be well versed in his duties, must be faithful to friends, careful of his words, seeking to do right in all things, and in time of danger be prepared to do his lord efficient service. The common people must do their work without laziness, accumulating wealth and not wasting it. They must fear the government and obey the laws."[57]

Again, further on in Book I he recurs to the subject, but with more emphasis upon duty and less on character: "The differences of rank and position are decreed by Heaven; so we

56. Knox, op. cit. p. 165.
57. Knox, op. cit. pp. 103-4.

must hate and envy none. The lord must respect his ministers. To them he entrusts his dominion, reserving to himself only the powers of reward and punishment. As the samurai are the defence of his dominion, of course he will care for them ; and as the commonalty are the wealth of the empire, he will cherish them as a hen her chickens. The duties of the samurai may be summed up in single-hearted loyalty, the sacrifice of self for lord and country. He must serve his lord as he would his parents, for the lord is the nourisher of the body his parents gave. The samurai of rank must counsel his lord, giving good advice even though it prove distasteful, and dissuading from evil even at the sacrifice of life itself. The lower ranks are to do their duty without question, and in time of war to fight bravely and skilfully, while the men in command are to mature their plans though the enemy be still far distant. The common people are to manifest their loyalty by obeying the laws, paying their taxes and following diligently their trades, for they too are really retainers, though without salary. The lord, then, is to treat his retainers with kindness aud the retainers to obey loyally."[58]

With merciless logic Tōju, like Confucius, makes the ruler solely responsible for the weal or woe of his people :

"Especially must the lord be careful in choosing his ministers, since if they deceive him all manner of evils arise. Foolish rulers, however, choose men from fancy, as the magnet selects iron from the heap ; but thus, though there are wise men, since they are not employed it is as if they were not. While if the bad are not employed they can do no evil ; so after all the happiness and misery of the land rest on the heart of the ruler alone. He is responsible."

Tōju's reply to the question, "Should there be many and severe laws ?" makes one wonder what he would say if confronted with the massive law codes of Japan to-day :—"All depends on times, circumstances and ranks. We cannot decide once for all. The heart of the ruler is of first importance. Since the subjects imitate the ruler, if he is good they will be

58. Knox, op. cit. pp. 161-2.

virtuous even without laws; if he is bad, laws are useless and sometimes evil increases with the severity of the punishment, as dirty water becomes dirtier with stirring and clears when left undisturbed."[59]

We cannot better end this section on Government than to quote Tōju's laconic answer as to how to study the art of government. "The Confucian learning," says he, "is the art of government. Learning polishes the illustrious virtue; the development of this wonderful, eternal virtue is the foundation of government."[60]

59. Knox, op. cit. p. 167.
60. Knox, op. cit. p. 168.

ON LEARNING

With Tōju, ethics is the only learning. As we have already noted, he uses the term learning in the sense of moral much more than of mental culture. Learning is the means of attaining to the height of a seijin or saint, through the cutting out of selfish appetites and the unfolding of inborn wisdom. So in Okina Mondō, III, he says, "The substance of learning is clearing off mental impurities and improving our actions." Or, as he elsewhere declares, "The essence of learning is the recognition of the central reality, i.e., of ryōchi, and its unification with oneself." Although, as this sentence shows, he was by no means a literalist, he enthusiastically devoted himself to the exposition and application of the classics, among which he studied most ardently "The Book of Changes" and the "Classic of Filial Piety." But he tried to pierce to the heart of the old masters. Unlike other scholars of the age he was not enslaved by the latter. He says: "What we read is in fact only a commentary on our inborn nature. The commentary is useful only so far as we understand the text. If we do not recognize our ryōchi, but lose ourselves in the study of old writings, it is just like studying only the commentators instead of reading the original text."[61]

And again, he hurls these biting words against "false learning." "It is an empty reading and writing and a mere imitation of the fashions of famous men. In China there are also all sorts of 'isms and 'ologies; here in Japan there is this empty reading and writing and the Buddhist learning, but only the first of these is commonly meant by learning. It is a priest-like mumbling of words—reading, writing and making verses for the sake of wages or reward; going over the classics and other books as an exercise for mouth and eye. A very haughty thing is this learning of the world."[62]

61. Inouye, op. cit. p. 129.
62. Knox, op. cit. p. 163.

In the supplement to Okina Mondō he writes: "The name Confucianist has reference to virtue, not to accomplishments. Literary culture is an accomplishment offering no great difficulties to a man endowed by nature with a good memory. But however proficient a man may be in literature if he lacks a just and benevolent character, he is no Confucianist. He is simply a common man with knowledge of the classics. Whereas, an utterly illiterate man who has a pure and upright character is not a common man but an unlettered Confucianist."

Bold rebukes, these, to utter in an age when the jot and tittle were almost worshipped.

Contrasted with this, he goes on to describe "true learning" thus: "First, to fix the heart upon the illustrious virtue, then by the use of the classics as our teacher, ruling word and act, to polish the rough jewel, the illustrious virtue of our hearts." Again, in Okina Mondō, III, he says: "True reading is the reading of our heart by our heart. The heart of the old sages must be made the mirror where the workings of our own heart are reflected. Reading the letters with our eyes alone is no true reading at all."[63] Tōju's implicit confidence in the moral potency of the true learning is reflected in this illustration in the supplement to Okina Mondō: "Pain and anxiety are only in the feelings of men, are a self-inflicted sickness. The heart is like the eye which naturally opens freely and sees things vividly. But if a particle of dust gets into the eye it loses the power to open and shut freely and can no longer see clearly. The pain, moreover, is excruciating. But when the dust has been taken out, the eye regains its essential nature and opens and shuts freely and sees clearly again. Just so the original nature of the heart is to be contented and happy, but when the dust of passion gets in, all sorts of grievous pains arise. It is because learning shows the way back to original happiness by washing away the dust of passion that it will, if diligently pursued and heeded, restore the former happiness of the heart." To Tōju, communion with the spirit of the old masters was merely a potent means of letting ryōchi have full sway, driving out the

63. Inouye, op. cit. 130.

lower nature by what Chalmers would have called the expulsive power of a noble affection.

ON EDUCATION

As we should expect, Tōju's educational aim was the moralization of his pupils. Intellectual and physical culture were quite secondary. He summed up the teachings of the sages into one word, Practice the way. He tried to inculcate his convictions by example, even more than by precept. In Okina Mondō, I, he nobly asserts that "The true, fundamental education is moral culture, taught not by the mouth, but by living according to the way, so that our lives avail to change others. 根本眞實の教化は德教なり口にては教へずして我身を立て道を行ひて人の自ら變化するを德教と云ふ."[64]

He clearly realized the importance of beginning moral training from the earliest childhood. In Okina Mondō, I, he writes:

"The first duty of the parent is to instruct the child in the "way." Temporary instruction and kindness without regard for the future is fictitious love—a mere fondness like the fondness of cow for calf. To neglect to teach the way and care only for accomplishments is to forget that if the child is not virtuous it will be cast off by gods and men and be hated at last by the parents themselves. The builder and the destroyer of the house is the child. so do not confuse the beginning and the end, and, making wealth and rank of first importance, think virtue of small account. All must be taught the way, yet with a due regard for natural capacity and endowments. Remember that the most efficient teaching is by example, and that the education begins at once and not with reading and writing." And he added a characteristically oriental point: "The parents must give a profession to the son and in time get him a wife."[65]

64. Inouye, op. cit. p. 134.
65. Knox, op. cit. p. 161.

Tōju also recognized the value of music, which, he says, "softens and ennobles the heart, and makes easy the changing of customs and the reform of bad habits." Moreover, it is noteworthy that Tōju was an ardent advocate of woman's education in an age when education was considered necessary to men only. "Composing poetry and reading songs may be ill-suited to woman's proper work, but many women have cultivated such arts and no one has thought it strange, and it would be unreasonable to condemn them, for they conduce to that control of the heart which is held to be woman's first duty. There are still other reasons for giving women a broader culture. Woman is an embodiment of the negative principle (陰氣 literally, obverse or shadow) and is by nature excitable, narrow-minded, violent, and prone to envy and bitterness. She is shut up in the house day in and day out and her training tends to throw her back upon herself: her outlook is narrow. Hence, it comes to pass that women of large tolerance and straightforward honesty are so rare. Buddhism has accordingly branded women as so steeped in sin that they can hardly hope to become buddhas. Therefore we must admit that it is quite unreasonable to deny women the broadening influence of moral culture."[66] Six volumes of his "Kanso" were specially devoted to this theme, so that Tōju may rightly be considered the forerunner of Kaibara Ekken's "Great Learning for Women."

Incidentally, Tōju throws light on the means of popular education in the idyllic ages of China, and perhaps, of Japan: "In the time of the ancient sages there was a school in every village. For the local official, the representative of the Government, himself acted as teacher of the way according to the classics, during the intervals of tilling the soil. Thus even simple men and women were enabled to grasp the central principles of the classics. Although they could not read a single ideograph, they mastered their real meaning and developed a nobility and self-control that have never been equalled by the ordinary

66. Inouye, op. cit. p. 136.

book-worms of our day, who, in the words of the proverb, 'Read the "Analects" but do not read them.'"

Closely allied to "Education" is the topic of "The Family", on which Tōju touches in Okina Mondō in a way that would hardly command assent from modern readers:

"The husband is to love his wife, and yet not overmuch, lest he neglect his parents and brothers. The men who have brought ruin on family and kingdom by disregarding this rule have been innumerable. And yet not to love at all is also an evil, since by the wife he has the blessing of offspring and the worship of descendants. But let the love have limits as above set forth. The wife is to reverence and obey her husband. She must be gentle, quiet and faithful. Her husband is in the place of heaven. His parents take the place of her parents, and thus obedience to father-in-law and mother-in-law becomes the first of her duties. She must be a peacemaker, practice the virtues of a good house-keeper, and raise children. A man has his duties out of the house, and a wife within; and so it is written in the third place "Fu-fu betsu ari."

"The younger brother is to reverence and obey the older, as is indeed always the duty of juniors to seniors but especially to the elder born of our parents. The elder has a twofold duty—something of that of the parent and something of that of the friend. He is to help his brother; befriend him, teach him, and most of all to guide aright. This is our duty to all who are younger, but especially to the younger born of our parents."[67]

When it comes to the purity of the family, we find Tōju bowing to the accepted doctrine of his age. He says: "Not to commit adultery and rei 禮 (propriety) look somewhat alike, but rei includes the duty of reverence and consideration for others, from the emperor to the lowest of men, with the duty of kindly intercourse, and all the ceremonies of life and death. To compare the two is to put a gill of water against the great sea. The command not to commit adultery is against nature, for it forbids the possession of more than one wife—a command adapted to the common people; but as we consider the

67. Knox, op. cit. p. 162.

importance of offspring, we see that it is proper for the higher ranks to have more than one, and this according to rank, the Emperor having most. And what disgraceful, brutish evils result from the precept denying a wife to the priests."[68]

ON MARTIAL VIRTUES

Man of peace though he was, Tōju was quite up on the art of the soldier. No doubt the rather distasteful military discipline of his boybood at Ōsu left its impress upon him. At any rate, we find in Okina Mondō many shrewd observations on the character and work of the man of arms, sufficiently interesting to quote at length.

"It is often said that learning is for monks and priests but not for samurai, since those who love it are lazy. If a samurai is learned it is rather a reproach to him. Samurai sneer at learning from envy and the desire to conceal their own defects. Minamoto Yoshitsune and his great retainer Benkei far excelled all the men of their time in learning, and these were the paragons of samurai—always successful and never defeated. The proper place for men without learning is in the fields and cutting wood. There are brave men among those with accomplishments and among those without accomplishments, but if we have true learning we always have true bravery; as the Ron-go says, the virtuous man is always brave though the brave is not always virtuous. We have the distinction as stated between virtuous bravery and youthful, natural bravery."

"Question: What is the difference between virtuous bravery and youthful bravery?

"Answer: The bravery of the wise man consists in obeying the way, being true to principle and desiring nothing else. He is ready to give up life itself in the service of parent or lord. He neither loves life nor fears death, and thus has destroyed the root of cowardice. He fears nothing in heaven

68. Knox, op. cit. p. 256.

or earth, and though he face a million enemies he is like a wolf facing a fox. This bravery rests on the virtues and is called the bravery of jin 仁 and gi 義, and since it has no enemy in heaven or earth it is called great bravery. Youthful bravery is unreasoning like the bravery of a brute: hence it sometimes shows itself in rebellion, or if the man be of low rank, in thieving. Its foundation is lust; in time of victory it appears well enough, but in time of defeat it shows its ignominious character by deserting its lord. It seems like true valor, but it is properly called youthful bravery and little bravery.

"Question: Are both kinds of bravery useful?

"Answer: The great can never be out of place. There is no true righteousness without it. It is of use to general and soldier alike. The small is of use in the soldier, but if the general possesses it alone he never can conquer. From this cause many generals have been defeated both in China and Japan.

"Question: Is there an art of strategy and tactics, and how shall it be learned?

"Answer: The art of war came from the book called Yeki, and the old Chinese systems are of value, while the books written in Japan are useless. We may learn the principles from books, but these must be adapted to circumstances, or we shall be like the son of the famous general who was thoroughly instructed by his father, but becoming a general himself was defeated and became a laughing-stock to heaven and earth. So, first of all, we are to learn the Confucian learning and then we shall be able to master any particular science and its application.

"Question: What is the proper examination for samurai?

"Answer: There are three grades of samurai. The first endowed with great bravery, obedient to virtue, skilled in accomplishments. The second is not so well instructed in the truth, but loyal, unselfish, and skillful; but the third is selfish and full of lusts. As these last are many the lord has need for caution. Further, there are three examinations: in virtue, capacity and accomplishments. Virtue is the union of jin and gi, learning and arms; capacity, the power to govern with

wisdom in all things, accomplishments, skill in law, in service, in overcoming difficulties and in conquering enemies. These are the pillars of the examination, and rank and salary are to be bestowed in accordance therewith. The heart of the ruler was the mirror of the law of old. If the mirror were clouded, all examinations must fail; if the lord excelled in virtue, it was impossible to palm off a false skill upon him."

"Question: It is related in the Analects that when the Duke of Yei asked Confucius about warfare he replied: "If you should wish to know how to arrange sacrificial vessels I will answer you, but about warfare I know nothing." How then can you say that he knew the art of war?

"Answer: In war the most important things are the heart and the time. When a virtuous heart accords with the right time we have virtuous war, but from an evil heart in rebellion against the proper time we have evil war, like robbery. In the case mentioned, the purpose was evil, and hence the reply of Confucius. He knew nothing of such evil warfare.

"Question: Should we not learn the art of war in the field without books?

"Answer: A one-sided opinion. Of course a mere study of the rules without regard to varying circumstances is useless. Even great talents are increased by study, as the dull grow duller by neglect of them. There never was a really great general not well read in his profession; like the physician, he must know the disease, the patient and the remedy, or he will be a terror and not a blessing. It is true that sometimes the patient of an ignorant physician may get well by the power of nature, and in spite of his ignorance, and so a general may gain the victory over a weaker foe by fate, though he is not well instructed; but it will not be true success.

"Question: If fate be with us, shall we not win in any case?

"Answer: We must consider virtue, talent, force, and fate. Virtue is this virtue of arms and letters as described above; talent is the power of moving men at will—wisdom in war, prescience of enemies' plans, knowledge of the forces of heaven and earth; force is preponderance of strength; fate is our

natural destiny. Virtue conquers talent, talent overcomes force, and force is superior to fate. If virtue and talent balance, fate wins; then, too, in the last extremity, as the destruction of a nation, fate conquers in spite of virtue and talents.

"Question: Suppose all four are equal?

"Answer: Like equal players at go, it is impossible to say why either wins.

"Question: Describe the sage, superior man, hero and adventurer.

"Answer: The sage excels all men in all things and is divine; the superior man is one degree below the sage and does not attain to the divine; the hero in other things is one degree below superior man, but in war is his equal; the adventurer has the military talents of the hero but lacks his virtues. Sage, superior man, and hero bless the land in war or peace; the adventurer is useful only in war and often brings evil on the land. He is to be employed for his talents' sake, but cautiously, and is not to be entrusted with too much power or given too high rank.

"Following duty, though a man be slain there is not a wound upon him; but wanting virtue, though he live to fourscore and die in peace he is as disgraced as the wretch who is beheaded or sawn asunder."[69]

On the besetting vice of the soldier and the ruler, the desire for fame, Tōju says:

"Question: But suppose with lust of place and power we forsake also the desire for the good of our fellows, shall we not fall into sin?

"Answer: Desire for fame is higher than desire for rank and wealth, and its results are often good. When a man without fixed principles becomes indifferent to the opinion of others, he falls into evil. But for the followers of truth there is a higher test. Truth and holiness form the substance, reputation is the shadow. Because the virtue reigns in the heart the name is gained. Thus we have the approbation of the sages. Wise men do not desire the name without the virtue: they value it only as a reflection of truth; they are

69. Knox, op. cit. pp. 245, 166-167, 249-250, 350.

not indignant though their good deeds be unobserved. The lord of So greatly desired slender-waisted women, and the fleshy women of his court starved themselves to death seeking to reduce their size. Men who desire popular fame may be compared to these - they approve whatever their time applauds with small regard to right and wrong; we who know the Shingaku (heart learning) think such conduct shameful and carefully avoid it ".[70]

In a little poem Tōju puts the same idea thus:

" A prison there is outside of prisons,
Large enough to hold the world:
Its four strong walls are love of fame
And gain and pride and selfish will.
Alas! So many sons of men
Are chained therein and mourn for aye."

ON HERESY

In common with the whole Yōmei School, Tōju was indebted for not a few of his points of view to Buddhism, especially to the Zen philosophy, but this very fact led him to emphasize the vital points of difference so as to make sure that no one could suspect him of proclaiming merely a new phase of Buddhism. One vital difference is his view concerning desire, already referred to under the head of " Ethical Teaching." While both Tōju and Buddhism aim to get rid of selfish desire, Tōju has no sympathy with the Buddhist doctrine of the extermination of desire, resulting in a benumbed manhood. He advocates a purification of desire and its energetic direction toward self-mastery and self-culture. He says: " The unselfish spirit of the way recognizes righteousness but scorns self-interest. Freedom from desire means following righteousness without a selfish heart. It means taking or paying what is rightly due, laying up what should be laid up, and giving away what should be given away . . . . Desire or freedom

70. Knox. op. cit. p. 348.

from desire depends simply on loyalty or disloyalty to unselfish, righteous motives."

Shaka and Dharma were Tōju's particular bête noire. In Okina Mondō, III, he thus inveighs against Shaka :

"Shaka, when nineteen years old, forsook his throne and betook himself to the desert ; at the age of thirty he proclaimed his system. At times he appeared as a beggar, but he did not insist upon the five virtues, and with many inventions he deluded the vulgar. His followers did not appreciate his purpose but copied his conduct and his inventions, and thus became worse and worse. Thus at last we hear of a matricide being praised as excelling in filial piety, and that the vilest criminals by the power of religion can enter heaven."[71]

"The fallacy of considering it selfish to keep one's social rank and unselfish to abdicate it, or the accumulation of wealth as selfish and the abandonment of it as unselfish, arises simply from the want of absolute independence of the mind from worldly concerns. It is because a man is not yet perfectly free from the charms of objects commonly sought by men that he suffers all sorts of anxieties about them. The mind of a seijin is not engrossed by such things. He is full of divine light ; he is all gentleness. He commands a perfect mastery of himself in face of such attachments and anxieties. High rank is not condemned nor a lowly station assumed to be worthy in itself. Wealth is not considered as the mark of selfishness nor its abandonment as a proof of unselfishness. The spirit of obedience to the divine light in ourselves justifies everything we do and the opposite spirit makes all actions mean, whether positive or negative in their outward form. The selfishness or unselfishness of actions depends upon the state of the heart. ("As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.") It is only a superficial view that would determine the moral worth of actions from their external appearance. Had Shaka been truly enlightened, he would not have deserted his palace. He would have looked upon the station in which he was placed as most holy ground. He would have preached his

71. Knox, op. cit. p. 255.

gospel to the people in the very robes in which he was dressed. A hermit's clothing had no power to make him more consecrated. Seclusion from society had nothing to do with his enlightenment. It was his own heart, still only partly purified, that defiled him, and not his living in a royal palace. His heirship to a kingly throne could not make him worse: it was his own heterodoxy that did so."[72]

Such was Shaka to sham-hating Tōju. He hurled similar criticisms against Dharma and other masters of the Zen School, who like Shaka seemed to Tōju to undermine the social order. He went so far as to denounce Buddhism as having been from the first an unmitigated curse to the world. In this, of course, he was extreme; for was not Oriental art begotten by Buddhism, literature enriched by it and philosophy, including Yōmei, deepened by it? But Tōju had in view only practical morals, to which Buddhism made but an infinitesimal contribution.

But Tōju was an impartial hater, holding many of the later Chinese schools, also, to be beneath contempt. In reply to the query "What do you mean by sciolist?" he replies:

"Men with much knowledge of the surface of things, but ignorant of the essential principles. They have carelessly taken up the study of religion and become quickly learned. In China, Kyō-yu So-fu, Bokuhi Soseki and Shisoko Soshi, and in India, Shaka and Dharma were the chief representatives of this class. These men are somewhat less than the superior man.

"Question: How can you class those Chinese whose teachings never obtained much currency with the others, whose systems extended even to China and Japan?

"Answer: The teaching of the sages are like the light of the sun. In India there were no sages, but only this superficial knowledge, and so in India Buddhism, instituted in accordance with the customs of barbarians, had great influence. By the decree of fate there were no sages or superior men in China, likewise, after the time Senkoku. In this time of darkness came the Buddhist system and prospered. In the noonday of the teaching of the sages its dissemination would have

72. Inouye, op. cit. p. 141.

been impossible: in proof, consider the systems of Kyō-yu and Soseki. At that time, as there was communication with Japan, the Buddhist system came hither also. Now these men, Shaka and Dharma, pitied the misery of mankind and sought by all sorts of devices to lead their fellows to virtue and the avoidance of sin. But they lived among barbarians and formed a one-sided system; the holiness they counselled was not genuine, but was rather opposed to the truth and an obstacle to the true way."[73]

Toward Shintō, however, his attitude was quite liberal. For some years he was averse to worshipping at any shrine except that of his ancestors. But later on his views changed and he paid a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise and to that of Sugawara Michizane in Dazaifu. He even went so far as to advocate a compromise between Shintō and Confucianism. In "Shintō Taigi" he makes an interesting attempt to syncretize the two. His argument runs thus: The three cardinal virtues of Shintō are honesty 正直, love 愛敬 and simplicity 無邪. Corresponding to these in the "Doctrine of the Mean" are the three virtues 1) chi 知 (2) jin 仁 and (3) yu 勇. (1) In identifying honesty and chi, he says that honesty is like a mirror which reflects exactly, "i.e., knows fully, everything good or bad that passes before it. Thus the divine Light sees even the hidden thoughts of our hearts, and we ourselves know them too. Hence the superior man, whose heart is honest or enlightened, keeps a watch over himself, lest he do or think anything displeasing to the divine Light of heaven and earth or disgraceful in the eyes of men. Even when he has done something wrong, he will recognize it by virtue of his conscience (神知 lit divine knowledge), and will repent at once. Thus, if the divine Light in the heart shines unhindered, concealing neither good nor evil, honesty will prevail in public and private; body and mind will be sound and free from fear or shame." (2) "Love or reverence is at the root of all virtue. It fills us, when lower passions have been got rid of. It shows us the identity of ourselves and of other selves, of man and the universe. When possessed by

73. Knox, op. cit. p. 252.

love we feel no selfish motive and our heart is at peace. In every state it keeps us content. For while honor and wealth give us the opportunity to educate others, poverty and obscurity give us leisure for our own improvement. In life we act our part and in death we rest. The kunshi never loses self-mastery." (3) "Tranquility is akin to courage, for without a certain knightliness, tranquility of soul is impossible. Common people do all kinds of improper things, but men of generous, gallant nature overlook their shortcomings, and magnify their good deeds. They are always magnanimous and mild and consequently exercise great influence over others. Their simplicity and equanimity take men captive. All these three virtues, honesty, love and magnanimity, must go together in a true man"[74]

Such is Tōju's argument. Some of the resemblances which he fancied he saw may seem rather far-fetched to a critical mind. And making all reasonable allowance for his semi-poetic tendency, we must conclude that Tōju's wish was at least step-father to the thought. But with the three Shintō symbols he comes nearer making his case: The mirror stands for the clear intellect, free from prejudice and illumined by wisdom; the jewel represents impartial, generous love; while the sword typifies long-suffering fortitude, and a knightliness that shrinks from wanton destruction.

Dr. INOUYE'S CRITICISMS

In concluding our survey of Tōju's teachings, we may profitably note Dr Inouye's Criticisms, as much for the side-lights they throw upon Dr. Inouye's own views, particularly regarding Christianity,[75] as for their elucidation of Tōju. I summarize:

74. Inouye, op. cit. p. 146-8.

75. Dr. Inouye is said to have modified his views on Christianity a little recently.

Tomb of Nakae Tōju.

Tōju's philosophy, as we have seen, presents not a few points of resemblance to Buddhism, but they are more superficial than the points of difference. Buddhism is pessimistic, seeking for nirvana, which is deliverance from the evil world. Tōju is optimistic and upholds the present social order.

On the other hand, Tōju's views are not unlike Christianity. In the first place, his idea of God as Heavenly Ruler (Jōtei) and the Christian Heavenly Father have some similarity. The ancient Chinese seem to have believed in the personality of the Heavenly Ruler as attested by Shikyō, the "Book of Odes," Shokyō 書經 "Records," etc. Later, the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, e.g., Shushi, gave the term a morer ationalistic interpretation. But Tōju believes firmly in a personal Jotei and aspires to union with him. (Although Prof. Inouye may be warranted in asserting that Tōju had so personal a conception of Jōtei, there are many passages which indicate a vague, pantheistic conception; e.g., "Ten (Heaven) distributes its mind throughout all creation. Therefore it has no (individual) mind. The benevolence (of Ten) is one with all creation. Therefore it has no (individual) desire." (Inouye, op. cit. p. 93.) And Prof. Inouye himself goes on to modify the statement as follows). But Tōju considers Jōtei to be the substance of his own self. That is, Jōtei is ryōchi, the commander of all his actions, descended from heaven and resident in his own heart. Obedience to ryōchi is therefore obedience to Jōtei within us, and is the source of all human happiness. "The true substance of joy and peace for a kunshi is found within his own breast."

In the second place, the Jōtei of Tōju is infinite love. "With true and generous love Jōtei created the world and fixed the bounds of mankind."[76] (Cf. Acts 17:23). But Tōju also declares that the universe was created by the filial principle, kō, which is infinite benevolence or love. Hence, Jōtei is infinite and absolute love, very much like the love of the Christian Heavenly Father. Moreover, as we have already seen, Tōju believed in the infliction of punishment by Jōtei [77].

76. Inouye, op. cit. p. 151.
77. This point is brought out in his "Genjin Ron" and "Ta[illegible] Taisotsu Shinkyō."

Dr. Inouye continues: Observing these resemblances, some Christians may claim Tōju as a pre-Christian Christian, "an elder of the Church without hearing the gospel." But this would be a rash and unwarranted conclusion: as the proverb runs, "It knows two and five, but does not know ten. 二五を知りて未だ十を知らず" Tōju differs radically from Christianity at several points. Imbued with the social spirit of Confucianism, he aimed, like Christianity, to be sure, at the reformation of society, but his ideal of human equality does not, like Christianity, make light of the relations of subjects to lords and of children to parents. Rather, he sought to cement these relations more firmly. On the whole, Tōju's teaching is concerned with this present world. If he soared into the realm of ultimate ideas it was simply that he might make the basis of practical ethics more secure. He never sought an unworldly or other-worldly solution. Christianity, on the other hand, aims to set up its kingdom outside of the social order. The relation of men to the Heavenly Father alone is emphasized and a disturbance of the peace, not only of the family, but also of the country, is not objected to.[78] 天父に對する關係のみを尊重し……一家の中は勿論一國の中さ難も不知を來たすを意させざるなり. The two roads may seem to diverge but a hair's breadth, but in their effect upon national welfare their goals are a thousand ri apart. Christianity sacrifices mundane to extramundane relations. If Tōju were living to-day, he would undoubtedly attack Christianity just as he attacked Buddhism, in order that his own doctrine might be saved from pollution. 佛教を斥排せしが如く耶蘇教を排斥せしならん. 人をして両者を混同するとさ莫らしめしならん Tōju was no slavish follower of the old masters. He insisted upon the necessity of distinguishing between the unchangeable essentials and their changing application. He says: The "way" and the methods or forms are quite distinct. To mistake forms for the "way" is a grave error. Although the methods may have been given by sages of the Middle Kingdom, they must be changed from age to age. Particularly,

78. One wonders whether Dr. Inouye has carefully read the New Testament or the history of Christianity.

when transferred to Japan many of them are quite impracticable." Again, he says: "When time and place change, even saints' laws, if forced upon the world, are injurious to the cause of the truth." Tōju applied this principle to Chinese etiquette and literary style, even in violation of the teaching of Confucius himself. As, for example, when he writes: "The precepts and deeds recorded in the Analects are wise and sacred, but if they do not fit in with our times, I tell my pupils to omit some portions and I expound only the essential parts." Tōju recognized that the doctrine was made for the Japanese, not the Japanese for the doctrine. In this respect he differs widely from Christians who, professing a vague principle of universality, try to engraft western doctrinal Christianity bodily in Japan. Hence, to claim Tōju as an elder of the Christian Church is quite a superficial conclusion.

Of all virtues, Tōju put kō (filial piety) first, and his teaching, declares Dr. Inouye, deserves our assent. Kō is at the heart of ancestor worship and is most highly prized where ancestor worship prevails. If ancestor worship should cease, there would be no reason for esteeming kō. The destiny of a race is determined by the strength or weakness of kō. From the foundation of our Empire we have been one in traditions, language, customs and history, and have therefore formed one great family. We do not, like other peoples, present a record of discord and rebellion, but from olden times we have preserved one unbroken line. As this generation recognizes its ancestors, so our descendants will recognize us, and thus promote an ever growing glory. For these reasons kō bears the closest relation to our national destiny, and we must confess that Tōju was amply warranted in his high regard for it.

Chu (loyalty) broadens and fills out kō. Especially is it true in Japan that filial piety implies loyalty. For since the whole people is like one family, our attitude to the head of the nation corresponds to our attitude to the head of the house. The nation is just the family expanded. Hence it comes that chu-kō, loyalty-filiality, can be called a single doctrine. Since Tōju looked upon chu as merely one phase of kō, he laid his main emphasis upon kō.

Tōju's doctrine of ryōchi is subjective determinism, just the reverse of utilitarianism. Consequently, he tends to neglect the examination of the data of experience. But just because of his determinism, he was stoically superior to external circumstances. His teaching was perhaps of far greater value to the people's morals than the work of modern ethical scientists who busy themselves with the arrangement and comparison of ethical theories. Tōju's discussion of ryōchi is particularly interesting because of its similarity to the Brahman theory of bonten (天梵) or the Buddhist nyorai (如來). But he fails to solve the relationship of the individual ryōchi and the universal ryōchi. As the possession of individuals it is many, but as the substance of the world, it is one. How can one be many and many be one? Tōju attempts no answer.

In spite of his generally rational temper, Tōju does not altogether escape superstitions common to the religious devotees of his age. He holds earnestly to transmigration, confounding it with casual relationship in the physical world. For instance, "Those who violate filial duties will be changed into dogs." [79] He has another passage in "Shunpu" where he dilates on how virtuous men are protected by heaven from natural calamities. Somewhere else he says that those who are truly philanthropic and do their charity in secret will be blessed with children. Like other philosophers of his day, he failed to see the independence of physical and moral laws. Again, he not only believed in the personal Jōtei, but even worshipped an image of him according to a kind of ritual.

The Yōmei school emphasised moral discipline to the extreme of branding learning as not only unnecessary, but even harmful. This attitude was advocated first by Riku Shō-zan (陸象山), who thus founded a non-philosophical heart-learning (心學 Shingaku). Ōyōmei espoused and developed the same theory. Taking the cue from those fathers, Tōju strongly opposes the prevalent literary study of the classics, and confines his attention to morality. He raves against the tyranny of books. To his mind the only truly necessary books are, The Thirteen Classics, and the Seven Books, lives of

79. Inouye op. cit. p. 158.

famous Confucianists. "The Histories may be read," he says, "for diversion and illustration of moral laws; all the other books are worthless." Such views sadly fetter the scope of learning, and utterly misinterpret the nature of historical writing.[80] Toju's system certainly has worth as a subjective ethical philosophy, but its intolerance toward objective scientific research is baleful in the extreme.

Tōju is excessively opposed to saichi (才知), cultivated wisdom, as being harmful to moral culture. He looks upon all intellectual culture without heart culture as cunning, and denounces it as the very root of evil. His ideal is something like the impossible utopia of intuitive wisdom and virtue dreamed of by Laot'zu. Simplicity such as he advocates would only cause suicide in this intense age. In itself there is nothing bad in the nature of intellectual culture; its goodness or badness is determined solely by the use that is made of it. Tōju's standards in literary criticism are equally warped. He has no room for the beautiful but only for the good. Consequently, he looks down upon poetry as having a temporary glamour but no intrinsic value.

Finally, says Dr. Inouye, Tōju's treatment of the classics is ingenious and spirited but not always according to the strict canons of criticism. Under pretense of giving an exposition of the classics he really manages to buttress his own system of philosophy. For instance, he takes "meitoku", enlightened virtue (明德), in "Great Learning," to be the same as ryōchi. But as a matter of fact the term ryōchi was first used by Mencius

80. These strictures by Dr. Inouye seem over-harsh in view of this passage in Okina Mondō, III:

"In the age of the gods imitation of the conduct of the sages was true learning. But now there are no sages; the classics have been written, and true learning consists in understanding these, and regulating our conduct thereby. To read and understand the classics and rule our lives in accordance with their teaching is to polish the illustrious jewel of our hearts, but to cast away the books of the sages and trust to our dark misled hearts is to cast away the candle and hunt in the dark for what is lost.

"Question: What of the humble folk who cannot read?

"Answer: Of old the officials taught the people in every little hamlet, and thus even these humble folk knew the truth though they could not read for themselves. They understood the meaning and obeyed: not reading it was as if they read. It was heart-reading, since the heart conformed to the heart of the sages. Mere reading with the eye while the heart is far away is not true reading: it is to read as if we read not."

years after "Great Learning" was written, and it was first precisely defined by Ōyōmei, over a thousand years later. It is, furthermore, very doubtful if the two terms do mean the same thing. Thus, while we grant the subjective value of Tōju's unconscious wresting of the classics to his own ends, we should be somewhat chary of accepting him as an authority on the real meaning.

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[THE END.]

At the close of the paper, the Chairman voiced the thanks of the Society to Mr. Fisher for this, his first paper, which he hoped would be the forerunner of others equally as valuable.

Mr. J. CAREY HALL proposed the vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive paper. He said it was valuable for several reasons. First, for its connection with some excellent work already done by the Society in making known to us the nature of that Chinese ethical philosophy which was predominant in Japan throughout the whole period of the Tokugawa regime. Much light had been thrown on this subject by the papers of Dr. Knox, Mr. Kirby and Professor Lloyd published in the Society's Transactions; and Mr. Fisher's paper was a desiderated step in advance; for, in addition to the two ethical sects previously exemplified, it gives us for the first time an adequate insight into the remaining one of the three schools of thought which, between them, divided the allegiance of Japanese intellects in the pre-Meiji era. And the interest of such researches is not merely theoretical; it is practical as well. The present is the child of the past; and the hidden springs of the marvellous political developments of the generation now ending must be sought for in the intellectual and moral preparation made in the preceding age. The Meiji statesmen, from the *Genro* group downwards, had all been trained and moulded in the Chinese ethical schools with which these papers helped to make us acquainted. From them we learned much about China too; for Japan is China's most brilliant and distinguished pupil. The Tokugawa writers of all the three schools acknowledged Chinese thinkers as their teachers, and, whilst sometimes dissenting on minor points, gloried in their discipleship. The chief school, and sole standard of orthodoxy, was, of course, that of Chu Hsi—in Japanese, *Shu-shi*. This great thinker did for the philosophy and religion of Eastern Asia what Thomas Aquinas did for the religion and philosophy of Western Europe. Just as the latter welded into a coherent system Christian doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy, so the former elaborated a system compounded of the Confucian ethics and the metaphysics of Buddhism; and this system has for seven centuries held its ground as the canon of Chinese orthodoxy. But there have been dissenters; and the most eminent of them was Wang Yang-ming, the Ō Yō-mei so often referred to and quoted in Mr. Fisher's paper. His first disciple and propagandist in Japan, of whom so full an account has now been given to us, was a contemporary of the father of modern European philosophy. And Wang Yang-ming himself has been called the Descartes of China. In point of intellectual acuteness and ability as metaphysicians the Oriental and the Occidental thinker were probably on a par. But the difference between them is fraught with instructive significance. Descartes was not only a metaphysician; he was a scientist as well. Great as a speculative philosopher, he was equally great as a mathematician. Let us mark well, in his case, the contrast between the barrenness of metaphysics and the fertility of science. In metaphysics we only mark time; in science, we make great and permanent advances. In his speculative philosophy Descartes, like other metaphysicians before and since, put aside the labours of his predecessors and began afresh from the beginning of things: in his scientific work, he took up mathematics at the point where his predecessors, the Greek geometers, had left them, and added his own contribution to the sum of their labours. How different the result of the two halves of his work! His metaphysic was soon superseded by other ephemeral systems, but his application of algebra to geometry led in the hands of his successors, Newton and Leibnitz, to the invention of the Calculus, the indispensable implement of astronomical and physical research. From these considerations, and in view of the trend of modern thought, it seems a clear inference that the writers of the Ō Yō-mei school will have no successors in the new Japan. But that does not detract from the value of the account of the school which Professor Inouye and Mr. Fisher have given us. Such work has a scientific value of its own; for

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 4, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p. m., Wednesday, March 18. In the absence of H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the President of the Society, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Chairman then called on Mr. R. J. Kirby to read his paper on " Dazai on Adoption and Marriage."

Institutions (Seido 制度).

For regulating an empire or state, institutions for all things must be first established and then left for all time, they are never to be changed and are to be strictly upheld by both upper and lower classes. Laws are to be issued and rewards and punishments carried out. If up to this time there have been no institutions established, there can be no fixity of aim and no mutual understanding concerning the various affairs of life, and it will be difficult to decide upon laws and difficult [illegible] rewards and punishments. In ancient times the [illegible] ceremonies and

ERRATUM.

For NAKAE TŌJU, THE SAGE OF OMI, the heading on the left-hand side of the following paper, read KIRBY: DAZAI JUN.

matters. The *Kitsu* [illegible] institutions. When the *Bukei* period came in the [illegible] institutions were not kept up, but no other institutions were established, and things were left to take their natural course. Practices originating with subordinates were adopted by the State and may be considered the institutions of those times. From the *Kamakura* period on through the *Muromachi* as far as to the times of the *Ota* and *Toyotomi* it was all after this fashion. As there has been a more peaceful government of the empire in this present dynasty than in the former ones, institutions ought to have been established; but, following the tendency left by a country at war, both the upper and lower classes take no thought of institutions, and matters are dealt with as they arise and in the way that may be most convenient. Therefore, though the daily doings of the Emperor and the ordinary duties of the *Daimyo* and court nobles and of the higher and lower *Samurai* and common people may be considered as being so

many institutions, yet for the most part they have been established, not from above, but from below, as originating from precedents. On the whole it may be said that no institutions have been founded by this, the *Tokugawa*, dynasty, with the exception that when, in reign after reign, as the throne is ascended, the seventeen articles of the *Buke* Laws are brought out and published everywhere within the seas. This is called the Code and is carefully kept by the people. Beyond this there are no settled regulations or laws. This is a great defect in the State. There are several important matters which, in my poor judgment, should be regulated as national institutions, and these I will now proceed to consider.

The first kings in setting out to govern the empire made filial piety the foundation. The important thing in the observance of filial piety is the regulations as to mourning dress. From ancient times in our country we have had mourning clothes. They were so called, and people put them on and shut themselves up for one hundred days or a year. Some time or other mourning clothes were in large measure abolished and the word clothing only was left. Especially now are mourning clothes worn for no one higher than a grandfather, or lower than a niece, or, laterally, farther away than mother's cousins. As regards relatives more remote, such as grandfather's cousins and those nearer and those more distant, such as the children of nephews and second cousins, for these no mourning dress is worn. Therefore the people of to-day look upon distant relatives like second cousins as strangers. For lightly regarding love and relationship there has never been a time like the present. I should myself like to see rules for mourning clothes established, even were they not the old-time rules of China or of this country. At present vulgar people adopt such rules as they think best and teach filial piety to the people within the seas (i.e., throughout Japan). If the ties of relationship can be lengthened, it will be great and good fortune. For the rest, see my former essay on Ceremonial and Music.

Man thinks much of family connections (Shizoku 氏族). *Shizoku* is what is now called the surname (Myoji 苗字). Family names are what divide family groups from one another.

They are handed down by our ancestors. Children and grandchildren guard them through everlasting ages and must under no circumstances change or alter them. Some give their own surnames to others. Some cast away their own surnames and assume the surnames of others. These are all casting away their ancestors and are very unfilial. In China originally this never occurred; but during the *Kan* dynasty in the time of the First Emperor the family name (姓) of *Rui* was given to *Ro Kei*, and he was called *Rui Kei*. The emperors and kings of later ages gave a good many names of the State to their relatives, just as *Taiso* of *To* gave to *Tosei Seki* the family name (氏) of *Rishi*, after the *Kan* precedent of *Rui Kei*.

The name of the State (國姓) is the Emperor's name (天子ノ姓). In Japan from the *Kuge* period down to the *Buke* the name of the State was never given. When it came to the *Toyotomi* period, the Emperor gave the name of *Hashiba* to his generals. This was the first instance of giving the name of the State to retainers. In the present dynasty, after the above precedent, *Daimyo* and retainers of merit have often been given the family name of *Matsudaira*. The *Daimyo* of *Kaga* was *Mayeda*, that of *Satsuma* was *Shimadzu*, of *Sendai Date*, of *Chikuzen Kuroda*, of *Aki Asano*, of *Saga Nabeshima*, and of *Nagato Mori*. Those of *Bizen* and *Inaba* were called *Ikeda*, while that of *Awa* was *Hachisuka*, and of *Tosa Yamanouchi*. But these were all given the name of *Matsudaira*.

The above mentioned were not originally retainers of the house of *Tokugawa* (Fudai), but were famous families of the preceding régime that had surrendered to the *Tokugawa* founder, and out of regard for them he gave them his own family name, and thus they were given the State name.

The *Daimyo Minamimatsuyama* was of the *Hisamatsu* name, and, being a brother, by the same mother but by a different father, of the *Shogun Toshogu*, he was with great love advanced to the position of full brother (親弟) and given the family name (氏) of *Matsudaira*. The *Matsumoto Daimyo* of recent times have from generation to generation been called lords of *Tamba;* the true family name (姓) is *Toda*, and why,

therefore, they were all given the family name of *Matsudaira* cannot be understood.

In the reign of *Kembyo, Yanagizawa Yasuakira* being a concubine's child was given the State name. *Honjo Munesuke* through being a relation of *Kembyo's* wife was also given the State name, which was a mistaken honour. The way the State name has been given to a great number of persons under the present regime has never before been heard of either in this country or in China. Then the *Daimyo*, following this custom, give their surnames to their retainers. In the schools of artists a great many disciples have been given the surname of a founder. This is the beginning of trouble with family names and with families. Hence people of the same flesh and bones are looked upon as strangers and the evil custom came in of thinking people of other flesh and bones as being of one's own flesh and bones. Thus the people of to-day discard their family surnames more easily than they discard worn-out sandals. This is a barbarous custom which did not exist in ancient times, but it has thus come about that there is no difference made as to whether one has the right or wrong family name, and also none as between relatives and strangers. Then again, without any reason at all, some assume the mother's name, or children of forty-one years of age are not kept by their families, but are made the children of other people, and are allowed to assume the family names of others. Such like evil customs must be changed, and, beginning with the Daimyo and including, of course, Court retainers and the people generally, I would like to see true family relations established. This would be one way of stopping a serious abuse within the empire.

To take children of other families and adopt them, in order to carry on the family line, is a custom of barbarians, and is never practised in the country of the sages. Towards the end of the *Shu* (周) period, the country of *Tei* had no heir. The lord of the country of *Rio* being the son-in-law of the lord of *Tei*, and the child of the lord of *Rio* being thus an outside grandchild, he was made the heir of *Tei*. But in his work "*Autumn and Spring*" Confucius says, "*Tei* was destroyed by the people of *Rio*." The meaning of outside grandson is that the

child was born of a female who married into another family. In taking this child to carry on the family the blood and pulse of the country of *Tei* was stopped. The lord of *Rio* in sending a child to the country of his wife's father was guilty of the overthrow of the country of *Tei*. Confucius in writing that *Rio* overthrew Tei meant that both the lord of the country of *Rio* and his courtiers were guilty of this crime. By this one event the warning intended by the sages can be appreciated. Always when the children of some other than the real family are taken to carry on the State, the ancestral blood and flesh are stopped. If I take my child and make him the child of another to carry on the State of another, that means the overthrow of the State (國家) of that other. What occurred in the country of *Tei* was exceptional, and nothing similar was seen later. The Empress Dowager of *Rio*, grieving that the Emperor *Kei* had no child, secretly took the child of another and falsely made him the child of the Emperor *Kei*, but this was not the act of adoption. About the end of the *Kan* dynasty the custom of adopting a child as one's own gradually arose. This was truly the advent of a barbarous custom, and though the custom gradually increased it was found mostly amongst ordinary people and but seldom amongst the gentry and those above them. In the Ming dynasty it was prohibited and was made a crime by law, because the warnings of the sages were honoured and relationship was made important. In Japan also in ancient times this custom did not exist; it began gradually in the middle ages, and even until quite lately it was rare; but in this present reign it has become very prevalent. There is nothing worse than destroying the descent of man and harming the government of the country. Generally, relations that have the State's name are not direct connections. No matter how distant real connections may be, all are descendants of the first ancestor and in them remain his bones and flesh. Should one of the family who has no child himself take such a descendant to carry on his house, he and his ancestors will receive the worship of the one so taken. In the "Saden" it is written, "The Gods do not receive people of another family. People do not worship those who are of

another family." No matter how truly and reverentially beautiful the food that is offered may be, the worship of one of different blood and pulse is not received by the soul and spirit.

If worship is not received, then that soul and spirit, not being fed, will starve. Mencius' meaning when he speaks of the first of the three unfilial states is, not having descendants. But if there is no child of mine to carry on my house, then to choose one of my relations of the same name and adopt him and make him my child will be the right way for carrying on the descent of my ancestors. This is the child of adoption. If there is not a single relative of the same name and so no one to carry on the family line, then this is an overthrow of the house by Heaven. If it comes to overthrowal by Heaven who can find fault? Then accept the order of Heaven in peace, and decidedly do not adopt the child of a stranger. If the Government does not strictly prohibit such a custom as this, the evil will never cease. Now there is no law to prohibit this custom. A person having a number of children establishes his eldest child as his heir and gives over the next and following children to others to take their family names from them. A person with no son of his own passes by his relations of the same family name, or, some one looking for power or being lustful of money takes the child of another family name to carry on his family. Should a person with even a number of children, who has given all but the eldest to other persons, unfortunately lose his eldest child by death, then he would have to adopt some stranger to carry on his house. With the *Daimyo* and those below them this is not at all uncommon. This is the extreme of folly and wholly unfilial. Especially does this happen now when the Military Houses are troubled by poverty, as they adopt strangers and are sure to seek for money. And then, too, low born rich people take advantage of this state of affairs and have their children adopted by the gentry and courtiers.

By paying out several hundreds of money they attain to the families of the gentry and courtiers who are in receipt of incomes. One does not know how many thousands of base-

born persons of no lineage have by this means acquired the incomes of houses which from the beginning of the State have inherited the same for deeds of war and patriotism. There is no time to write about the lust for profit of the base-born. The gentry and courtiers are guilty of this evil. Why do they lie to the Government? It is because the adoption of strangers into the family name is not prohibited. Is this not sad?

Relationship begins with husband and wife. The married state comes into existence through the marriage ceremony. The ancient sages valued the commencement of marriage and defined the marriage ceremony, plainly distinguishing between man and woman, and so they gave us pure relationship. The meaning of this is shown clearly in the six classics. The true intention of this ceremony, though it greatly differs between modern and ancient times and between this country and China, is to choose a mate Hai (配). The meaning of Hai is married pair (Haigu 配偶 and Haihitsu 配匹), the Japanese meaning of which is "to put alongside" (Narabu). As husband and wife ought to be ranged together and put opposite each other, they are called Hai (配). If the mating of man and wife is not properly managed, then the home cannot be controlled. If the home is not controlled, then the relatives are not mutually at peace, and even retainers and servants think lightly of their superiors, and the result of this is misfortune and rebellion. "To choose a mate" means that I obtain by choice a mate suitable for me. The considerations for choosing a suitable mate are as follows:

First, virtuousness. Virtue means the natural inclination. Amongst men there are all kinds of different temperaments. The usual behaviour, too, differs according to the person's nature. As a man and wife are to be friends for life, those whose natures are suitably and equally matched should be mated. To be equally matched means to mutually obey. If the natures are not equally matched, then there is no peace within the wife's apartments, and there will be fierce glances between husband and wife.

Secondly, there is age. There is a proper age for both husband and wife. Although, of course, the husband ought to be older and the wife younger, yet for the husband to be very much

older and the wife very much younger is not good. This causes domestic disturbances. In the *Shuyeki* the expression "The old husband obtains a concubine in his wife" refers to this infelicity. Again, for a wife to be older than her husband reverses the proper order. It appears wrong to outsiders and is the beginning of trouble in the women's apartments. In the *Shuyeki* the expression "The old wife has obtained a strong husband" refers to this sort of thing. This second consideration is met by securing proper equality in years.

Thirdly, the families of both husband and wife are to be taken into account. The family, income and rank ought all to be chosen from equals. By family is meant the pedigree of the house as to whether it is of high or low degree. This is what is called either *Montei* (門弟) or *Monchi* (門地) family. Gentlemen (士) and courtiers (大夫) have pedigrees, salaries and rank. The rank, salary and family of husband and wife ought to be equal. The *Daimyo* having provinces descend to them from generation to generation, their descent is clearly known. Then again there are large and small provinces and high and low titles and rank. When the lord of a large province marries, he ought to seek a wife from a large province, and the small ought to look to the small. Persons of high titles should look for high titles; those of low titles should look for low titles. With regard to the gentry and courtiers, as there are all kinds of pedigrees amongst them, careful selection is most important. After this the difference is in great or small salaries and in high or low rank; thus suitable persons ought to be chosen. In short, gentry ought to be tied in marriage with gentry and courtiers with courtiers. But as courtiers are men advanced from among the gentry, so though a man may be to-day of the gentry, there is nothing to prevent his being a courtier at some later day. Hence there is no harm in the courtiers and gentry inter-marrying. But when the *Daimyo* and those below them forget and marry unsuitable persons, then there will be all kinds of harm done. If the husband's family is superior and the wife's inferior, it is easy for the husband to come to despise his wife. When the wife's family is superior and the husband's inferior, it is easy for

the wife to regard her husband lightly. Each of these reasons is a means of discord in the women's apartments. This is especially the case when the wife's family is rich and noble and the husband's poor and lowly, and then it is likely to happen that the husband bends to flatter the wife's family, or although husband to feel afraid of the wife. This is losing the right of manhood and is a pitiful state. In ancient times *So*, son of Duke *Tei*, who was lord of the country of *Tei*, did some work of merit for the lord of the country of *Sei*. The lord of *Sei* was pleased and said he would give his daughter to *So*. The duke's son *So* declined and said, " *Tei* is a small country and *Sei* is a large country, I am not a fit mate." Accordingly he did not obey the command. This I saw in the *Saden*. For this deed the duke's son *So* even in those times was applauded as clever.

The above three considerations are of the utmost importance in marriage. To be lustful and greedy for wealth is the way of the small man and not the way of gentry and courtiers. Those who keep prostitutes and employ concubines are right in choosing them from a lust standpoint, but he who takes a wife should not choose thus. The one who is greedy for wealth and chooses a wife from among the daughters of an unsuitable rich house is not following in the line of true manhood. Bunchushi's remark, " When marrying to argue over riches is the way of the barbarian," is a well-known saying. To argue over riches is to dispute as to whether the riches are much or little. Barbarians are Yeibus (barbarians). The way of barbarians is one that does not conform to the way of the Lords of the Middle Kingdom. It is not necessary to say it of marriage among ordinary people, but as the choice of mates by the gentry, courtiers and those above them is most important, the Government ought to make strict regulations to cause them to choose mates with the utmost care. Especially if, when the gentry, courtiers and those above them are about to marry or give in marriage, the law requires them to notify the Government and get its permission, the Government can then investigate whether the parties are suitable or not. If amongst these there are

some who fabricate lies and deceive the Government, they must be severely punished. This is a way for purifying relationships. But as there are now no such regulations, if there are lewd persons amongst the gentry and courtiers, there will be some who will marry outcasts and prostitutes, or some greedy ones who will marry the daughters of farmers, artisans, merchants, shopkeepers or such like low-class people in order to get a large amount of money. Especially is this so amongst the gentry and courtiers of to-day who are very poor and hard pushed. When taking wives they obtain large sums, even thousands, of ryo and are thus relieved of their immediate necessities. When this money is spent they treat their wives cruelly. When the wives can bear this cruelty no longer and apply to be sent away, they are glad, for, though returning the wife, they do not return the money; and then again they proceed to marry some other daughter of a rich house and repeat what they have already done several times. There is nothing worse than this inhumanity, wrong, rudeness and unlawfulness. Amongst the *Daimyo* sometimes the lord of a small province will become the husband of a wife from a big province and because of this favour he will flatter and cringe. Then, again, amongst the lords of the small provinces there are many persons hard pushed for money who, while marrying a wife, are sure to ask for money. There is nothing worse than this for destroying uprightness. This is the general result of having no regulations relative to the choice of a mate. In China in the *Nansai* Dynasty there was a man called *Ogen* of *Tokai*, whose house through several generations had reached high rank, and he passed as a *Daimyo* and was ranked as one. There was another, *Man Shoshi*, who was a wealthy person of *Fuyo* but whose family was not of much account. *Shoshi* had a son called *Ran*. *Ogen* had a daughter. *Shoshi* wished to get her for his son and appointed one named *Rinshishi* as go-between, asking for marriage with 50,000 *sen* as a dowry. *Ogen* was well pleased with the proposal and the marriage with the *Man* house was arranged. There used to be an office called *Gyoshi Chujo*, the duty of the official occupying it being to correct the wrong doings of the retainers. There was an official named Chinyaku who

was Chujo at that time and he wrote a document called *Danji*, impeachment, memorializing about this matter of *Ogen*, saying that he should be deprived of his office and rank and be imprisoned. This document is found in the *Monsen*. This is what happens in China. Not only are the gentry and courtiers not allowed to choose mates indiscriminately, but the people too are not allowed to choose. Those who take prostitutes and outcasts as wives are judged guilty of crime, and there are punishments inflicted according to law. Prostitutes and outcasts are called *Zakko* (雑子) and are considered different from ordinary people. They are now regarded as "not human" or as persons "different from men." If in China the choice of a wife by one of the common people is of this nature, how much more strict is it for the gentry and courtiers. In Japan our not having these regulations is a great oversight. By the law of the present times the *Daimyo* and those below them, and the gentry and courtiers and those above them, who between the ages of seventeen and forty-nine have no sons, are, in case of death, allowed to take each the child of another and by adoption provide for an heir. After they are fifty they can apply to be allowed to adopt a child to provide for the inheritance; otherwise when about to die they are not allowed to so apply. Before the age of seventeen is reached permission is not granted to appoint an heir by adoption. For this reason all persons dying younger than sixteen have no heirs. With the *Daimyo* this means loss of province, and with the gentry and courtiers the end of the family. Some of these, because of the honorable deeds of their ancestors, or some because they have relations connected with the State, or for some special reason, have each an heir appointed by special favour from among distant relatives, and these are granted from one-tenth to one-fifth of the original incomes to carry on the worship of their ancestors. This favour is determined by the circumstances of the case. This has been an important law of the State since the time of the God-Ancestors and has never been changed. My private thought is, however, Did the God-Ancestors in their holy wisdom establish such a law? It is very difficult to understand

the thoughts of the Gods. At present this damages the government of the State. To speak briefly, during the time of their remote ancestors, they had done service for the State, some of them throwing away their lives in their zeal of patriotism, and as recompense for this, according to the greatness or smallness of the service, they were given land and rice-fields and titles of control for their children and grandchildren perpetually. This is the way to encourage the fidelity of retainers. Therefore, so long as such a meritorious retainer had children and grandchildren his province or family would not disappear and worship could be continued. How is it then that when the head of the house is not fully seventeen an heir cannot be appointed from within the family and the house must be overthrown? No matter how many dynasties or generations have passed, and no matter how distant the connections may be, if they are of the same family in each case, they are after all from the same ancestors; and if such ones are appointed and they offer up worship, the ancestors are sure to receive it. But if the family is destroyed because of some one's not reaching the full age of seventeen, this will be what the ancients called Little Favour. In later times, from the opening of the country, the number of meritorious retainers who have had their families overthrown, such as the Honda family, are very numerous. What I secretly pray for is that the law which has existed until the present shall be changed, and that of the descendants of meritorious retainers, no matter how many generations removed, so long as they are descendants of the same blood and pulse, some one shall be taken from this same kindred and the house carried on. And if the law which does not allow adoption below sixteen be abolished, this will be good government. As I have already said, the adoption of persons of other families must be severely prohibited. If there is not one of the extreme branches of the kindred of a meritorious retainer left, and if it is quite certain that there are none of the same more immediate family to carry on the house, then the province or the house must be removed and the family worship must cease. This sort of overthrow is a stoppage by Heaven. Generally if the house of a man has no descendants and so is overthrown, it

done by Heaven. It is not an overthrowal by order of a prince. Who can find fault with an overthrowal by Heaven? There is no one who will think that the house has been overthrown and caused to disappear by the Government. To put a stop to the adoption of people of a different family name, and allow only persons of the same family name to be chosen, no matter how distantly related, so that from among the relations the house can be carried on, would have for effect that people would naturally love their relations of the same family name. As now no successor can be appointed by adoption by one who is under sixteen, it is usual for the heirs of the *Daimyo* and those below them to lie about the year of their birth, and a child born this year is said to be four or five years old. This occurs in nine cases out of ten. This is a case of the lower lying to the upper. This ought not to happen with the gentry and courtiers. This has arisen because the evils of adopting those of a different family name are not prohibited, and because adoption by those under sixteen is not allowed. After even a thousand autumns and ten thousand years, if the Kenkan had no heirs, would any one but a man of the Tokugawa name be appointed? In case the lords of the three provinces of Owari, Kishiu and Mito had no sons, would persons of other surnames be taken and made heirs? This is surely never likely to occur. Therefore it is not right that people below these, such as the lords and masters of small provinces and houses, should take persons from strange families and make them their children. Should it be intended to prohibit the adoption of those of other family names, then those who have already been adopted should return to their original families. If this is not done, it will be difficult to purify the names and families. After adopted children have been returned to their original families, then the adopting father must choose children from among his own relations to carry on his house. This is the way to purify the names and families, to strengthen relationships and to show love of country. This method ought to be carried on in all the provinces of the *Daimyo*. I hear that as the applications to adopt below the age of sixteen are not permitted, the

lower classes are guilty of all kinds of evil and deceive those above them.

The way to govern the country is to make it of the utmost importance to bind the gentry and people into bands of five soldiers (卒伍). The law relative to bands of five soldiers has been treated of in detail in my former essay on Military Preparation. In times of peace these are called Neighbouring Bands of Five (鄰伍) and in the Military Camp they are called Soldier Bands of Five (卒伍). It would be difficult to govern the people without the law of the Bands of Five. At present the law of the Bands of Five exists for the people only, and no such law exists for the gentry. In the Military Law of this Dynasty there is the law of the Bands of Five for the soldiers (卒). The Sotsu (卒) are similar to the present Doshin, 臣心 (lowest officials under the Tokugawa Government) and Ashigaru, 足輕 (lowest feudal retainers). For the mounted gentry and those above them there is no law of the Bands of Five. Even as regards a single regiment, the men are mostly scattered and are not collected in one place. Those who live in houses but are not of Neighbouring Fives do not call and see each other and do not know what happens in each other's houses. And if those in charge, such as captains of the guards and heads of companies, live at a distance, they are especially not likely to know. It is because of this that in the present Banshu (番衆) and Kofushinshu (小普請衆) there are so many worthless (無賴) people and people of bad character. For instance, even if they are of the same regiment and live in neighbouring houses, as there is no law of the Bands of Five in ordinary times, they do not associate intimately. If they see or hear of evil deeds, they usually let them pass as if they did not know about them. This is the cause of the gentry not doing their duty. But if it is desired to purify the future conduct of the gentry, then Military Preparations must be strictly carried out, and the mounted gentry and those above them must be formed into Bands of Five the same as the present Ashigaru, and they should be caused to live together. This law ought to be strictly enforced. After the Bands of Five are established, then ordinarily those of a single Band of Five will be mutually friendly

with the neighbouring houses. There will be no difference of outside and inside and they will talk freely with one another, and when there is sickness and death or other sudden misfortune, they will mutually help one another the same as if they were relatives. Again, should there be any evil done, the neighbouring houses will mutually teach and admonish. If these admonitions are not followed, then the head of the Band must be notified and he must admonish. This head of the Band is the Chief of the Band of Five. He is the head of the huts of the Ashigaru. If these several admonitions of the Band are not listened to, then the Superintendent of the Guards must be notified. By this method the manners of the gentry will naturally become purified and there will be very few worthless fellows.

Taking women of pleasure and such like as wives is not limited to the people. Amongst the gentry and courtiers there are many in receipt of salaries who do this. Then again, in the cities the residences of outcasts and those of good citizens are mixed up together without distinction. This is the very reverse of doing honour to the people.

Again, during the reigns of Kembyo and Bumbyo, as they, the rulers, were fond of the Sarugaku (a kind of comic dance), the performers of the Sarugaku were advanced to the rank of gentry, and they mingled with gentry and courtiers whose families were several generations old. The worst of all was when they were advanced to the fifth rank, or, as in some cases, they actually became *Daimyo* or keepers of castles. This is the worst cause of all of the mixing up of different kinds of people. That is to say, this is the beginning of the decline of the samurai spirit. During the Kyoho period (1716-1735) beggars of all description had to cut off their hair, and by this means were differentiated from ordinary people and were forbidden to mix with them. This was a most fortunate act of Government. What I should like well to see, in addition to this, is that all outcasts should be segregated, their appearance be made distinctive, and severe laws be adopted to prevent them from associating with good citizens, and, further, that this separation should be maintained for all time. In this Dynasty there are those

who grant Field Stipends to the performers of the Sarugaku. From the time of the Muromachi the Classical Music of the Kuge has not been used. As the Sarugaku is practised at the Palace, naturally the Sarugaku performers come to be thought of highly, and it has become the fashion to grant them salaries. As they become part of the ceremonial of the Palace, it is right that they should have grants of rice, but not right that they should be given Field Stipends. The fact is that farmers are the uppermost class of the people and are the foundation of Society. To give Field Stipends, therefore, to the Sarugaku is to give them the people. The Sarugaku performers are outcasts and cannot be regarded as good citizens. They are low persons. To give them Field Stipends is to give them the government of the people, and that is a topsy-turvey state of things and the reverse of right. If possible, Field Stipends to Sarugaku performers should be stopped. It is right only to give them grants of rice.

Generally speaking, the men of the country are the subjects of the king. The fields and houses were originally the ground of the king. In the Moshi it is written, "Under the universal heavens there is no ground which is not the king's." This meaning is there expressed. Usually the farmer, having received his rice-fields from his lord, cultivates them and pays taxes to the government.

For rice-fields there are rice-field taxes, and for residence land there are building land taxes. The taxes on building land are lighter than on rice-fields. The artizans and merchants have only building land whereon to reside; therefore they pay building ground taxes to the government. This is the law of the former kings. The corvée labour does not vary as regards artizans, merchants and shopkeepers. In Japan ground taxes were collected from the citizens of Kyoto from ancient times. Akechi Mitsuhide killed the Shogun Nobunaga, and in order to gain the allegiance of the citizens of Kyoto, he relieved them from the payment of ground taxes. This was but a temporary scheme of Mitsuhide's and was not a permanent law of the State. After this Toyotomi killed Mitsuhide and himself governed the whole of Japan; but not

knowing much about State business, he was guided by the retainers of Mitsuhide's government and did not return the ground tax law to its former condition. Later on, though Toshogu governed Japan, he determined, as a temporary measure, not to collect the ground tax in the cities, and this continues up to the present. Not only in Kyoto (平安城), but even in Yedo, Osaka, Nara, Sakai etc., there is only the corvée and no ground tax law is enforced. It is not right that one should live on the lord's ground and not pay a ground tax. This differs greatly from the laws of the former kings. When the government granted household ground to the gentry and courtiers and those above them living on the ground of the king, there was no ground tax levied upon them. But from others, whether much or little, a ground tax was always demanded. This was an established law from ancient times.

As the men of the Empire are, generally, as stated above, the subjects of a king, the way of the people is to pay out taxes and to be used in the corvée. But since Buddhism has come to prevail in the land, there are many amongst the people who leave their families and become priests. After they leave their houses, they become separated from the census enumeration and are outside the pale of the four classes of the people. They become people of leisure who do not pay taxes and are not subject to the corvée. For this reason in China people are not allowed of their own free will thus to separate themselves from the census enumeration and become priests. People who wish to become priests there apply for permission to do so and are given Buddhist priest diplomas and are then allowed to leave their houses. Without diplomas they cannot leave their families and shave their heads. Should they break this law and privately shave their heads, both teachers and disciples are punished by law. This law has existed from ancient times and has never been changed. In Japan in the Kuge period Buddhist priest diplomas were issued by the Gembaryo (玄番寮 Bureau of Foreign Affairs). The diploma was a written document giving permission to leave one's house (or family). Even in the Buke (military) times, down to the Kamakura period, the house could be left only on receiving a diploma from the Gembaryo.

I saw some time ago in an old temple in Oshi a diploma that had been given by the Gembaryo to a disciple of the Kenchoji of Kamakura.

Some time in the not remote past this law was abolished, and the gentry and common people were left free to separate themselves from their houses. This is the reason why there are so many priests now and that so many among them are worthless and bad. But I should like to see the old regulations revived and those leaving their houses in future given diplomas as a preliminary to their doing so. If they leave their houses, they become separated from the four classes of the people and so escape the payment of taxes and also the corvée. Therefore, when applying for diplomas, men ought to pay money for the permission involved (身ぬけ金). This is not harsh government and the principle ought to be adopted and enforced. Again, the Yamabushi (山臥) (travelling priests) of the country are similar to the conjurers (道士) of China ; and as in China the conjurers are given diplomas, much more ought our Yamabushi also to be given them.

In China none but priests shave off their hair. In this country, however, there are many who shave their hair without being priests ; with the result that priests and ordinary gentry and common people are often not distinguishable from one another. There are many bad fellows who are priests and falsely impersonate ordinary people and are guilty of illegal and evil actions. If it could be forbidden to shave the head to all but priests it would be to the advantage of the government of the people. In ancient times, the Koreans, in mentioning Hayashi Razan, called him a priest (釋道春), and it is said that Razan was vexed. It was right for Razan to be vexed ; but, as in China none but priests shave the head, it was natural that our people should think that persons arriving in the country with shaved heads were all priests. Such things are to the shame of the State.

In appointing the various kinds of officials, it has been the rule from ancient times to keep civil and military offices separate. As I have already said in my former essay on "Officials", unless the civil and military offices are kept

separate, it is difficult to formulate a satisfactory method of government. At present, as the civil and military offices are not separated, there are many points of difficulty in the conduct of government. Even if all officials cannot be so appointed, the civil and military officials at least ought to be separated the one from the other, and these rules ought to be made to apply also to the feudal provinces.

Generally, rank separates high class people from low Therefore, in ancient times there were the nine classes of rank from the first to the ninth grade (命); but later on the nine Hin (品, qualities) of rank were established and these were divided into Sho (正) and Jiu (從), making in all eighteen classes.

In Japan from the first rank (位) to the third, these are divided into Sho and Jiu. In the Sho and Jiu from the fourth rank to the eighth, there are again high and low. The ninth rank is what is called the first rank. In this there are great, small, high, and low sub-classes. Thus there are in all about thirty steps (階). The above ranks and steps are divided very minutely and the quality of the people is arranged in definite order. At present even when Kuge give rank and steps, they advance at once from no rank to the sixth, and from the sixth to Jiu number 5 low. From the people and gentry to Jiu number 4 low, there are only three classes. This is a very crude method of advancement. To divide the quality (品) of the people into high and low in this way is very difficult. Therefore, the different offices (役) are divided into the honourable and the humble respectively, and the people are divided into high class people and low. To divide offices in this way means to do injury to good government, because it is difficult on any such principle to appoint men to office according to their merits. Then again, in the matter of rank (爵位), where there are Sho and Jiu, this generally means that the Sho is the true (眞) rank of that class, and Jiu means to follow after, that is, to come next, just as one might say that he comes after so-and-so.

Sho number 5 rank is the true number 5 rank. Jiu number 5 rank means to follow after number 5 rank, i.e., to follow after a person of the true number 5 rank and come next to him in line. In the present Buke (Military Houses) there is no such

thing as Sho number 5 rank. Generally, people of the number 5 rank are all Jiu number 5 rank low. People of number 5 rank and above are courtiers, and, generally, when speaking of persons of number 4 and number 5 ranks, the different courtiers are referred to. In the present Military Houses, when men of small stipends or unimportant offices are given rank and become courtiers, they are given Jiu number 5 rank low, and Bangashira (番頭) and those above them in important offices are given Jiu number 5 rank low. Daimyo of ten thousand koku and over, up to even the heads of castles of one hundred thousand koku, are Jiu number 5 rank low. The number 5 rank has four classes, and the Jiu low is the very lowest in it, in which the honorable and the humble are not differentiated the one from the other. To be given this one step and there remain is very generous. In the case of Daimyo of ten thousand koku and over, there are some of Sho number 5 rank and some of number 4 also. In the case of the Daimyo of large provinces and also of smaller stipend officials under the flag, if they rise to number 4 rank, they are all Jiu number 4 rank low. As rank generally separates high class people from low, this is the reason of all these divisions. If there is any confusion in this matter, when people are ranged in line, there will surely be trouble.

The following is written in the Saden, "In ancient times there were no hereditary Kyo (卿). Kyo and courtiers are those who govern a country. When the descendants of such inherit their rank they are called hereditary Kyo. This is said not to be an old law. There are both Buke and Kuge hereditary officers. No question is raised about their cleverness or foolishness; the descendants succeed, generation after generation, to the offices of their ancestors. This does great injury to government. It is very seldom that a man's descendants continue clever from generation to generation. Officials are the instruments for the government of the State, and trust should be placed in those only who are chosen for ability and cleverness. But to give official position to people without capacity simply because their ancestors were officials is not right. If the descendants of a person are clever and are his equals in ability,

then it is right that they should succeed him in office; but if this is not so, then other people should be chosen.

The hereditary stipends of the persons employed in the government of Buno were the means by which Buno established his kingdom. The Japanese Government of this age, too, extends its influence by means of hereditary stipends. This is the way by which Iyeyasu established the country's prosperity within the seas for all ages. For it is right for those who have served the State, either in civil or military spheres, and have performed very meritorious services, to have their descendants enabled by means of hereditary stipends to offer them worship. It is by the beneficence of the government that the lords of men can repay their retainers for their meritorious deeds. Even if there is no great work to be undertaken, the way to encourage fidelity is to nourish by hereditary stipends the descendants of those who have died for their lords. But this is no precedent for the treatment of civilians or military men who are employed merely for their skill in the arts. Those who excel in the arts and who are bidden to come forth should be given salaries; and should their children have sufficient skill to succeed to their positions, they may be given the same salaries. But if they cannot carry on the work of their fathers, after the fathers die the salaries ought to be stopped by the government and the children returned to the ranks of the people. Generally, there is only one child in a thousand who can succeed to his father in learning, workmanship and the arts. For a son, then, to get the same stipend as the dead, quite irrespective of his personal worth, this is not the way to obtain men with ability. If this were done, the persons in receipt of hereditary stipends would gradually increase, so that it would be difficult to continue rice-field stipends and grants of rice, and there would be no inducement for any such person to perfect himself in the work of his father and ancestors. Satiated with food and heated by clothing, he would idle through life. This is called Eating the Stipend without having merited it (尸位素餐), or being a parasite, as it is put in the people's vernacular. As the children of the artisan gentry have all hereditary stipends, their positions are mostly sinecures, and even should there later appear

excellent artists amongst the lower classes, as the stipend rice has all been apportioned, it would be difficult for the government to bid these artists to come forth. The above remarks apply at present to doctors, who are specially numerous. From the beginning of the State, doctors especially have been called forth, and now their descendants are said to number over three or four hundred men. This is a very large number. But if one wishes to find a really skilled doctor, only one or two in a hundred can be found. The others are all useless ordinary people, and those who know nothing of doctoring can be measured by the bushel. During the reign of Kembyo, in the Genroku era, there was a sorting out of doctors and a great many pleasure-loving, lazy descendants of hereditary doctors were deprived of their status and pensions, which was an act of good government. To-day, too, those of the hereditary doctors who are of no use should be sorted out, and from now on those who are not competent to succeed to the work of their fathers should have their salaries withdrawn and be caused to return to the ranks of the people. Before they become scholars men ought not to be given audience. If now the law of hereditary salaries is revised and those qualified in the arts are newly called out, people will apply themselves honestly to scholarship and the arts, and by these means the number of skilled people in the country will be increased. This applies not only to the doctors, but to Confucian scholars and to all connected with the arts and with manufactures. It may appear unkind to stop the hereditary salaries, but it is not unkind. As it is designed to bring out the ability in man, it is quite the reverse. It is humane government.

What are called servants (奴婢) in China are here called Fudaimono, 譜弟者 i.e., kept from generation to generation in the family. Laborers (傭工) are employes, some engaged for the day, some for ten or twenty days and some for a month or for two months. These are called day or month employes. In China there is no class similar to that of the house servants of these times, who are what might be called changers (出替). The laboring class is something like this, but is not the same. The present changers (出替) are men who may be said to be employed by the year. That is, they change

their masters each year, and therefore their employers do not show them much kindness, and the employes show very little fidelity towards the masters. Especially is this so in Yeddo, where a great many runaways and worthless fellows congregate and become changers and thus pass through life, and where there are a great many who run away. Those who act as the sureties of these are worthless citizens and no trust can be placed in them. The number of employers using these changers, and who yearly lose money and valuable property in consequence, cannot be estimated. Though the gentry and courtiers with field stipends can call up and employ men from their estates, the people living in the city without rice stipends can find only these changers to employ. This was not so in Japan in the olden time, it first came to pass in this present reign. This is a great misfortune for the gentry and the people of these times. In a word, as the citizens cannot employ the Fudaimono, they are obliged to have resort to the changers. In times of peace they can manage by this means to live through a year, perhaps; but should anything happen to the State and these changers enter the punitive army, then of what use would they be? For instance, should they be put in the ranks and be let out of the gates, they would be sure to run away. Therefore these changers are a great injury to the government of the State. If possible, let this state of affairs be changed, and, as in ancient times, let the servants be employed for a long time. If it is realized that they are to be employed for long periods, then the masters will forgive small mistakes and treat them kindly. And then if the servants know that if they leave this family there will be no other to go to, it will be natural for them to overlook small cases of dissatisfaction without feeling spiteful, and to work faithfully in their masters' houses. Men are not all friends, nor are they all enemies. If people become masters and retainers, or become friends or associates, and so pass through years and months, then through their mutual love, charitable loving hearts and hearts of fidelity will be developed. This is the humane way. It is what is generally called the humanity of the sages, and can only spring from intimacy. The changer has neither humane nor dutiful

feelings. For destroying the humane way there can be no evil to exceed this. When people hire a person's house, they generally have a surety and a book for receipts. At present, in Kyoto and Osaka, when putting forward a surety, it is not a question of his being of greater or less importance, but of whether or not he is the owner of a house. It is the law that if a person does not own even a small house he cannot stand as a surety. For this reason it is not easy for a runaway or worthless person to rent a house. This law is said to be that of the Shoshi (the Shogun's representative at Kyoto), Lord Itagura Shigemune, but this law does not obtain in Yeddo. Though a person has not even a small house, he nevertheless can stand as a surety, and accordingly runaways and worthless people easily rent houses and live in them. When they do anything wrong and it is discovered, if the tenant runs away, so does the surety, and if the surety's surety is inquired after, he also runs away; so that in most cases, as there is no responsible person to lay hands on, the matter is finally allowed to drop. This is because the person who does not own a house is of no consequence and it is very easy for him to join disorderly bands and run away. The Kyoto law is a good one. As for the Yeddo law, although it is convenient for the people, it is to the ultimate benefit of runaways and other worthless characters, and of course leads to the increase of crime.

In the government of this Dynasty different kinds of officials have been established and the control of the gentry and people within the four seas is most severe. In Yeddo there are Commissioners of Shrines and Temples, Commissioners of Finance and City Governors. By these three kinds of Commissioners and Governors (Bugyo 奉行) the people of the city are governed. Priests, nuns, priestesses, Shinto priests, etc. all are attached to the Commissioner of Shrines and Temples; artizans, business men and city people generally are attached to the Commissioner of Finance: so that there would appear to be no citizens who are not under the jurisdiction of one or other of the three Bugyo. And yet at present in the city there are two kinds of people who have no office to control them. One of these is that of the outlaws (Ronin 浪人), and

the other, that of the Doshinsha (道心者, begging priests). The outlaws are what are called in China Shoshi (處士).

In ancient times Doshinsha was the name for priests who, because they were priests, had understanding hearts. At present uneducated priests are called Doshinsha. Jurisdiction means to be above, have power over, or govern, all, and is what is now called control. The gentry in general came originally from the farmers. The old rule was that if one resigned from the gentry he returned to the original farmer status. But now in Japan people are divided into two fixed classes, gentry and farmers; and, as the gentry family line continues to be gentry, if any resign from it, they do not return to the farmer status. If they are employed as feudal officials, they become courtiers and are given salaries; otherwise they become Shoshi and work at any sort of thing for a livelihood. Such persons are now called outlaws (Ronin). Ronin are not allowed to live in Kyoto, Osaka, and other cities. As they are also barred out of the provinces of the Daimyo, there are no places in these where Ronin can live. But as Yeddo is the Imperial Capital, there has been from ancient times no prohibition there to Ronin. And as it is easy for them to live in the place, a large number of Ronin assemble in the Eastern Capital. Although they usually live at ease, yet under certain circumstances they are officially inspected and some are made to suffer. In the places where the Ronin wish to live, the owners who let building land and rent houses think it will cause trouble to rent to Ronin, and so they keep the Ronin at a distance. This is one of the causes of suffering for the Ronin. The Ronin are not under any control, yet when anything special occurs, they are attached to the city governors. When all is peaceful, they are not subject to government orders; but when anything special occurs, they appear at the governor's office and are treated the same as the merchant class. Thus the bodies of gentlemen are disgraced. Though they are Shoshi to-day, they may be employed to-morrow as officials or even court gentry of the State.

To treat a person who may become the courtier of a *Daimyo just as a shopkeeper* is treated is not the way to

develop uprightness among the gentry. As the Doshinsha are priests, if any thing happens and they have to report at an office, it is at that of the Commissioner of Shrines and Temples. But, as this officer has no jurisdiction over them, the Doshinsha usually do not receive the commands of the government. Usually there are different sects connected with the temples. Within any one sect there is a Manager (僧祿), and there are Head Temples (本寺), and a Junto (徇頭), or Head of the Means of Communication, each supervising its own department. Educated priests are controlled by the Chief Head Temples (本山寺) of a sect. In this way they receive the orders of the government. There is a kind of priests called Loafing Priests (賴人). These are men like the beggars and pariahs. They are the beggars among priests, and though they are the very lowest type of the class, they too have supervision and are governed under one head. So they receive the orders of the government. It is only the Doshinsha who have no supervision. The two (the Ronin and Doshinsha) are outside the purview of the law. My private opinion is that the supervision of the Ronin ought to be entrusted to an Imperial Courtier of the sixth rank or over, having an assistant official and infantry under him to supervise the different Ronin throughout the city. All Ronin living in the city ought to have their former domicile clearly defined, and their ancestors plainly specified and their names and places of residence in the city registered; and of those Ronin having ancestors who are honest and who are wealthy in houses and goods, one in each of the four quarters of the city ought to be appointed as head to communicate the government orders to the rest. If such like arrangements were made, the Ronin would become more upright, and there would be very few worthless gentry. Again, there are now men who are not Ronin by descent, but are in fact farmers, artizans, merchants and shopkeepers, and who merely present the appearance of samurai. Lying, they call themselves Ronin. There are living in the city a great number of this sort of men, who, wearing two swords, deceive the gentry and the common people. If there were a control office for Ronin, and if the places whence Ronin have come were

there verified, then such fellows as these would naturally cease to exist. This would help to maintain peaceful government, and also help forward military preparations. The proper temples for the Doshinsha should all be in one part of the city, and the members of the class, no matter of what sect, should all be placed under the jurisdiction of these temples, and the native place—the place where he came from, and the business of each of these Doshinsha should be clearly stated. The temples from which they have severally obtained permission to become priests should send certificates to the temples of their particular jurisdiction, and the temples of jurisdiction should issue certificates, or wooden tickets, to be worn during life, to the Doshinsha; and from their number they should have several chiefs appointed, as has been said, to communicate all ordinary government orders. Generally, there are very few Doshinsha who live in temple buildings. Most of them live in cities and villages and mingle with other people; but, as there is no supervision over them, there are a great many worthless fellows, and these never cease to do evil. If there were supervising offices and they were made subject to inspection from time to time, then the worthless fellows would have no places to hide in and the evil would be gradually checked. This would materially help the government of the State.

The regulations with regard to the State crowning are as already explained by me in my essay on Distinctive Clothing. At the present time it would be difficult to make regulations at once for distinctive clothing; but if the clothing of the gentry and common people could be regulated, it would be of advantage to them. The former Shogun ordered that the women of the gentry and common people should not wear small sleeves and clothing sewn with gold thread, and the clothing of farmers, artisans and merchants was limited to silk and pongee. At that time the women of the gentry and common people were ordered to take the gold thread out of their small sleeve clothing, and to take off the gold covering. But in a short time this law was abolished, and afterwards the women of the gentry and common people wore in public small sleeves and clothing sewn with gold thread. This is what was called "the law of

the three days." After abolishing this law, should again the wearing of gold thread be generally prohibited to the women of the gentry and common people, it would become a great misfortune. That is to say, if small sleeves and embroideries are once prohibited and the wearing of them is stopped, it will cost the homes of the gentry and common people who ordered them a large sum to buy new silk, cotton and linen clothing etc. If silken small sleeves have to be sold off, there will be no buyers; but if it is seen that silk, cotton and linen are immediately wanted, the prices will become high. If this happens, then the troubles of the gentry and common people will be doubled. Again, for the clothing of small sleeves sewn with gold thread to become useless and good for nothing, is not in accordance with the laws of heaven and earth. This is not good government. The common people alone should be prohibited from using splendid embroideries; while the men and women of the gentry and those above them ought to be allowed to wear splendid embroideries. If this is done, all of the splendid embroideries of the common people will have to be sold off, and those people who cut up these splendid embroideries will of course sell them cheap, and this will result in all of the beautiful clothing of the people being returned to the gentry, there being a difference in rank between the gentry and the common people, that of the gentry being high and that of the people low. This wearing of embroideries by the gentry would be the distinctive clothing of the period. Generally, the clothing worn is what distinguishes the noble from the ignoble and the high from the low. As there are at present no regulations with regard to the clothing of the gentry and common people, there is no means of distinguishing between the high and the low, especially when the gentry and courtiers are poor and wear poor clothing. As the rich among the common people are many and they wear plenty of beautiful clothing, the gentry are always pressed down by the people as if they had no shadows. Because of this, the gentry and courtiers naturally toady to such fellows as merchants and shopkeepers. This is not the kind of thing to advance the spirit of the gentry. Is this not sad?

In China the people have the five terms Sei (姓), Shi (氏), Mei (名), Ji (字) and Go (號). Sei applies to one family line from the first ancestor down. In Japan we have the Sei shown in examples like Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara and Tachibana. Shi is a term used for the division of descendants and is taken from the districts they severally govern. Or, it is the taking by a family for its own name of the name of the place of domicile. This appears in the term Shizoku (氏族). In Japan we have examples of this in the Minamoto, Nitta, Ashikaga, and so on. This is what we now call surnames (苗字). Mei is the name (名) given at the time of birth by the father. In Japan we have examples of this in Yoritomo and Takauji etc. What the vulgar now call Nanori (名乘) is just this. Ji (aza 字) is the name given to one on his arriving at the age of fifteen and when the ceremonial hat and coat are put on by the godfather. The name being given to show the person's virtue, it is called the name for showing the virtue (表德號). Therefore, when a person refers to himself he speaks of his Mei (名), and when spoken of by others he is called by his Ji. This is according to the rules of etiquette. Go is the name used temporarily by other persons when the Mei (名) and Ji (字) are not used.

These are, as above stated, the five kinds of names used in China. In Japan there are three kinds, namely, Sei (姓), Shi (氏), and Mei (名). The other two, Ji and Go, do not exist. The ancients had such names (名) as Taro and Jiro, but these are not really names (名), they are Gyotei (行第). Gyotei are brothers in order of birth. In the To dynasty of China, when a man was spoken of, he was wont to be called by his Gyotei. The Japanese, following this example, called people by their Gyotei. Where we at present call a man Sayemon, Hioyei or Daiyu, it is because in ancient times a warrior named, say Goro, who was, perhaps, Jo (尉) of the Guards (衛), was then called Gorobyoei. Again, Jiro as Jo of the Guards (Sayemon, 左衛門) was called Jirosayemon. The Jo of Eimon and Hyoyei (Guards) were sixth rank officials (官), and if they were advanced to the fifth rank, they were called Daiyu (大夫). Yoshitsune being Kuro (ninth brother), when he became Jo of the fifth rank, he was called Kuro-Daiyu-Hankan (九郎大夫判官),

that is, the judge of the Eimon and Hyoyei. Then again, when the samurai, Sayemon of Minamoto, became Jo, he was called Minamoto Sayemon. When a samurai of the Taira became Jo of Hyoyei, he was called Heiyoei. These are all the names of officials. This custom has remained until these latter times. Persons who were not even officials of the Guards copied from the ancients, and, using the official names, were guilty of practical rebellion. Again, people of to-day who call themselves So-and-so Nosuke, So-and-so Nojo and So-and-so Noshin etc., are all using the names of officials. Again, take those who to-day are appointed to the Jiu fifth rank and who call themselves Lord of Yamashiro or Lord of Yamato, these are using the official names of governors

Nakatsukasa-no-Taiyu, Kamon, Uta, Chumu, Jobu, Gagaku etc. are all official names. The present custom of thinking that these are all mere names is a great mistake. Names are what we now call nanori. The Japanese have never as a rule had Ji and Go. It is a private affair of scholars if they have Ji and Go. In ancient times it was usual for the Kuge, Buke and common people to be called by their given names (名); but in later times it has become the custom to call people even privately by their official titles (官名). The use of given names (名) has gradually disappeared. It is now only the Kuge who retain the old custom and make use of them. The Buke are never so called; so that amongst relatives and friends they mutually do not know each other's given names (名). Even in the ceremonies at Court these given names (名) are not used. And as in the State Registers they are not recorded and only official names are given, it is difficult to understand who So-and-so really is. It is very usual in these late times, for father and son for generations to succeed by common custom to the official title. Again, in the same family you will find that the official title by which that man was called yesterday is used for this man to-day. For instance, where formerly the Prince Matsumoto was called Midzuno, Lord of Hiuga, afterwards when Prince Matsumoto was overthrown, Yuki, who succeeded him, was also called Midzuno, Lord of Hiuga, and so on.

Especially when there are a great many, in addition to the Daimyo, who are called Matsumoto, and when one official title is used for this and that man indiscriminately and only the surname and official title are given, there will be no means of knowing who any particular man is. If these kinds of people do not use their given names (名) but only their official titles, and if in the Court Records etc. the given names (名) are omitted and only the official names or titles recorded, there will be great confusion, and, much more, it will be impossible to tell who a man is after five or ten years. Thus of what use will the register be? This is a great oversight from the point of view of the law. Even now there are Kuge who have existed from ancient times, and who commonly use their given names (名). There are such names as Konoye and Kujo, but these are not individual names. The offices of *daijin* (大臣) and *nagon* (納言) are not the offices of an individual, and when those who fill them speak of themselves officially they do not use their given names (名). But as there is no reason why they should be called ordinarily by the names (號) of their houses or by their official titles, they should call themselves each by his own given name (名). This does not apply to Kuge only, but to religious officials as well, such as those of Kamo and Yoshida, who use their given names (名) in a similar way. When I visited Kamo some time ago I saw in the reception guard room the names of Negi etc. There were several long boards hung up with the names of Negi written on them. The ranks of Juigoika, Shorokuijo etc. were written above, and the surnames (姓名) Kamo So-and-so written below, with surnames (苗字) in addition for each house. They had such official titles as Sakon, Hoyobu etc., and they were usually called by their surnames and their temporary official titles. For instance, although they were called Ichojo, Mimbu, Nashimoto, Zakyo etc., in the register of the head of the shrine they were not so recorded, but only their rank, position and surnames (姓名) were given. This was according to the old laws of Japan and also to the Etiquette of the Middle Kingdom. Actors, too, have surnames (苗字) and official names, and are usually called by them; but in the Index of Museums only the surnames (姓名)

are recorded, as in the case of the religious officials of Kamo. They all continue in the good old fashion. I would like to see the present Kuge follow this custom, if that were possible.

The local officials in calling upon daimyo and those below them, and ordinary citizens in calling upon their lords or upon courtiers and gentry, should use their given names (名) below and in conjunction with their surnames (苗字) and official titles (官名). In a catalogue of presents, too, whatever the rank of the giver, the given name (名) should certainly be written. Courtiers, gentry and common people should use them in their every day letters, and in State Records the documents of the Emperor should certainly contain such names (名) as occasion requires. In daily intercourse, when speaking of oneself, the given name (名) should always be used, just as it is with Kuge. If this were done, then given names (名) would be currently known and people would mutually remember them. And if the given name (名) remained on letters, then, even after a lapse of years and months, there would be no confusion as to personal identity. Since at present the given name (名) is not used, it often happens that during a person's whole lifetime his name is not known even amongst his relations, friends and near acquaintances. Generally, from the Emperor down to the Daimyo, gentry and common people, there are no true names (名) except nanori (名乗). Amongst the people the true name (實名) is known as the nanori. It is called nanori because it is the name (名目) by which a person calls himself. Again, lately, amongst the common people the custom has prevailed of having good-luck and bad-luck names (名). Great weight is put on the rhythm of the ideograph sounds, and because of the choice of characters on the basis of their fortunate sounds there is a great similarity in names (名). Inasmuch as the gentry and common people are very numerous, it is impossible to say how many persons there are having the same given names (名). Even amongst the daimyo, whose number does not exceed three hundred, there are many of the same given name (名). Then, there are a great many who because of good or evil fortune change their given names (名) several times during their lifetimes. To change an official

title it is necessary to apply for permission from one's lord, but the given name (名) is changed repeatedly without any such permission. Is this not wrong? It is the height of stupidity and altogether against reason. I should like to see an order issued by the government that rhyming names and the liberty to change given names (名) at will be strictly prohibited. Rhyming names of course exist in China; but in Japan they came into vogue only seventy or eighty years ago, and the custom is a very bad, foolish and unreasonable one. If it were prohibited, it would be the best of good fortune for the nation. Should given names (名) become current in the way I have indicated, people would naturally avoid using the same names; and if rhyming names and the matching of names were abolished, then a wider use of characters, and, likewise, the use of dissimilar characters, would come to prevail, so that the employment of the same given name by different persons would grow more rare. But if a law as to names cannot be established, then the matching of sounds must be prohibited.

In ancient times in Japan when marquises, lords courtiers, gentry and the common people addressed each other they were wont to use the word Dono (殿). This we may find in old books. When Genkei was Emperor, Kin saw this in the Etiquette of Letters. From the time of Muromachi the custom of calling a person Sama (様) began, and it has continued to this day. In early times all, both the honorable and the humble, were called Dono; but now we have the two forms used, Dono and Sama. In China the Emperor (天子) is called Heika (陛下) and the Crown Prince (大子) is called Dono and Princes of the Blood (親王), Cabinet Ministers (宰相) and other high officials are called by a name meaning Excellency (閣下). There is also the custom of calling them Sokka (足下). Even in Japan the Ministers (大臣 are called Denka (殿下), but as Dono (殿) has the meaning of Denka, there is some reason for the practice Not only, however, is there no reason for using Sama, but Sama really approaches the form of the language of women. Again, in the story books written in Japanese (in Kana) Dono, and not Sama, is commonly used. This Sama is a very vulgar form of address. If possible I

would like to see the use of Sama abolished and all the people, high and low alike, return to the old Dono usage. Even now the Kuge do not use Sama. To preserve old customs is a very good thing.

Good citizens are generally those who engage honestly in agriculture, handicrafts, mercantile business or shop-keeping. The rest are outcasts (雜戸). This is as has already been shown. It is natural for some men to like honest work, but for others not to care for it, and to prefer instead the dishonest work of the outcast. Those who like dishonest work are all worthless fellows. To educate and change these worthless fellows into good citizens was more than the Emperors Kyo and Shun could accomplish. Therefore, there were established in their Imperial cities and in the castles of the Princes all kinds of diversions, which were made the occupations of the outcasts, such diversions namely as had their centers in the theatres, pleasure-women houses, hair-dressers' establishments, those of conjurers etc. The number of these places was according to whether the number of the citizens in the city was great or small. The castle-capitals of Japan at present are Yeddo, Kyoto and Osaka. Osaka is smaller than Yeddo, but, although Kyoto is smaller than Osaka, the number of theatres, hair-dressers' establishments etc. is several times greater there even than in Yeddo. Yeddo is the greatest city within the seas, and it is not known how many millions of courtiers, gentry and common people live there; but, apart from the pleasure-women houses of the Yoshiwara and the theatres in Boundary Street, there are practically no theatres or hair-dressing places. Those which existed until recent times were all abolished under Shotoku and Kyoho (1711—1735). As for the worthless fellows who had previously lived by their dishonest efforts, having no means of livelihood and having lost their occupations, there were unknown thousands and tens of thousands of them to be found any day who were cold and starving. As they were originally pleasure-loving, lazy, worthless characters, they could not learn to do honest work and become good citizens; and as they could not support life by pleasure and idleness, they naturally became gamblers, and,

finally, falling into extremities, they became evil doers such as robbers and incendiaries. This is a natural result and cannot be helped.

Therefore, in Imperial cities and Princes' castles it is a part of good government to establish a number of pleasure-providing places, such as theatres, pleasure-women houses etc. There are three advantages that naturally result from so doing. One is that because of these various pleasures the city flourishes. The flourishing of the city is one sign of peace. Without it the city would be dull and lonely. Loneliness is a sign of decay. The second advantage is that worthless fellows are thus enabled to make a living, and so are naturally deterred from committing such bad deeds as robbery and incendiarism. Such fellows when they do evil do it knowing that they must be punished. It is not because they like evil; they do it because they cannot help themselves. As for the third advantage, it is this, that gold and silver, generally speaking, should circulate and not remain idle. If these pleasure places are many in number, then the gold and silver of the rich among the citizens will be scattered and thus pass into circulation. If there are no pleasure houses, then the gold and silver of the rich will not be so scattered, but will remain hoarded up in strong rooms for long periods of time, and the gold and silver that is current will become scarce. These three things are all for the good and evil of the state, and the government officials who, without perceiving the good and evil involved in them, prohibit all such pleasuring are men who do not know how to govern peacefully. If possible I would like to see the prohibition avoided. There are, however, two things which ought to be prohibited to citizens. In the first place, while it is right and proper that Buddhist priests should expound the law in temples, they now gather foolish people together in market places and shops and expound the law to them there; and there are even some of the laity who thus expound the law. This is against both the Buddhist law and that of the State. Secondly, in ancient times there was no such doctrine as that of Shinto. The present day Shinto was first started by Urabe Kanetomo (Ashikaga Period). It is a doctrine used by

priests and priestesses acting for the Gods. It has nothing to do with the governing of the State or with the care of one's body. It is of no profit for the ordinary person to study it, but quite the reverse, the study will only do harm. If this doctrine is to be preached, then only priests and priestesses should be assembled, and that at the houses of priests and priestesses. Ordinary persons should not have it taught to them. But now such as are not even priests or priestesses learn the doctrine and get foolish citizens together in market places and shops and preach to them, and even passers-by on the roads are caused to hear. These two things do a great deal of harm to government, and if possible they should be strictly prohibited. When the State does not prohibit that which ought to be prohibited, and prohibits that which ought not to be prohibited, it simply means that its offices are filled by officials who do not understand the first principles of government. At present the daimyo have caretakers in their palaces in the Eastern Capital, whose business it is to hear daily of the various matters of State government and of any changes or good or evil fortune that may come to other daimyo of the same rank. These are called Caretakers (Rusui 留居) or Listening Officials (聽役). This custom did not prevail at the time of the beginning of the State (third Shogun, Iyemitsu), but began at some unknown subsequent period. At present the office is a most important one relative to the daimyo. At first this rule for the officials of the daimyo obtained informally and only in this dynasty has it been made into a State law. It is not right, however, that these officials should inquire into the changes, losses and gains of daimyo of the same rank as that of their masters. If they have their masters' interests at heart when they appear at Court, they should not concern themselves about the interests of others. Should anything untoward happen, or should they decide upon action based upon the knowledge and decision of their lords, they would have no time to concern themselves with the affairs of others. In ancient times the Daimyo were wont to decide all matters for themselves, whether public or private, and it could therefore be clearly seen whether they were clever or foolish, loyal or

otherwise. At present the listening officials ask about the affairs of daimyo of the same rank as that of their masters, and the result is that all things are done in the same way and no one daimyo is permitted to excel another. Even if one is determined to perform some extra act of duty, he may not do so. Consequently even a mediocre lord does not fall behind others. This is what is called advancing or retreating in companies. By advancing or retreating in companies is meant that all of one rank advance or retreat together. In this way the cleverness and stupidity of the daimyo are all mixed up together. They cannot decide on matters of duty themselves, but must leave all to the listening officials. Thus, these officials, having public duties entrusted to them, gain power in the daimyos' palaces, and the lords and courtiers all, being afraid of them, yield to their wishes in all things. The listening officials, taking advantage of the positions they thus occupy, are guilty of the offenee of pushing their own selfish interests. And then, again, these listening officials of various daimyates combine with one another to thwart their respective lords in every way. That a man's retainers should not have intercourse with strangers is the way of the samurai; but the present day listening officials think most of outside intercourse and despise their lords. These officials are all guilty of rebellion against the way of the retainer. The reason for the overthrow of the customs of the daimyo lies in origin just here. This injures the government of the local officials in their several jurisdictions. If possible I should like to see this custom abolished and the daimyo left free, as in ancient times, to do their public duty as they wish. If not prohibited by the government, why should not some lord (daimyo) who is greater than the others make bold to put a stop to the custom?

With regard to the daily affairs of government, these could be ascertained through one of the Court gentry. With regard to the changes for good or ill with daimyo of the same rank, news could be had through kind friends giving information. That which could not be gained in this way could somehow be learned later. But even if no news were obtainable regarding these matters, that would not cause any suffering.

Other matters than these, such as particular duties and social calls and presents given in times of joy and sorrow, all these could be dealt with personally. By thus attending to all matters, even if there were no listening officials, nothing would be neglected. But as there are now no daimyo of exceptional ability, they have been led by custom—it has not been by regulation of the State—into this listening officials arrangement, with the result that they have lost their awe-inspiring status as lords, and the listening officials their sense of duty as retainers. Is this not a sorrowful condition of these latter times? Generally, the retainers who stand near the left and the right hands of their lords are not allowed to mingle with outsiders. This is an ancient practice. It prevents the useless leakage to outsiders of the lord's private affairs. But if the near retainers go abroad, they can sell their power and knowledge and get private gain; and the gentry and common people take advantage of this fact to obtain gain and such things as are not good. In this way a great deal of harm is done to government. Therefore, from ancient times, we have had the saying that the retainer standing near his lord should be prohibited from mingling with outsiders. This is a matter of which the lords of men ought to take careful notice. In governing a State the fact that the gentry and common people are attached to the soil belongs to the beginnings of things. This has already been said. Therefore, when the daimyo have once become established in a province, they ought never to leave it, but always to remain there like the hardening rock. The government, however, is repeatedly moving the daimyo to other places, and this leads to the decay of the State. In times of peace it means hardship for the royal house, and in rebellious times it means deficient war preparations and easy overthrow. In order to the peaceful government of the State it is certainly best that the Daimyo be not thus moved about. We have in this dynasty what is called "changing of places." It is customary for hereditary daimyo and friends to move and exchange fiefs. There are some daimyo who change their places several times during a single lifetime. This leads to trouble for the daimyo, is tiresome for the people and contrary to human government;

and it makes light of the necessity for military preparations. If possible, this changing-of-places system should be abolished, and the daimyo be made to govern each his own province continuously and for a long time. This would be the way of peace and a method of government in conformity with that of the sages.

The Recording Secretary then read the following comments on Mr. Kirby's paper from Mr. John C. Hall, British Consul-General in Yokohama:—

For English readers Mr. Kirby may be considered the discoverer of Dazai, and his translations from that author's works I regard as amongst the most valuable portion of the material for sociological research to be found in the Society's transactions. Dazai was a vigorous thinker of the old or conservative school of Confucianism, a profound student of the ethical philosophy of China and of China's political history; always on the alert to apply the wisdom gained from his studies to the institutions and manners of his own country. His remarks on the institutions of marriage and adoption in the paper which has just been read, show him to be a man of strong common sense, and the boldness of some of his criticisms would seem to show that a very considerable measure of freedom of thought was permitted to philosophical writers under the Tokugawa regime.

The paper also reveals to us another side of Dazai's character. Like his model, Confucius himself, he was an aristocrat by position and temperament, and had his full share of the prejudices peculiar to the *Samurai* caste. While ready enough to approve of the intermingling by marriage or adoption of the military, baronial and knightly families with those of the sacred circle of the Kyoto Court nobility, he was strongly opposed to the commoners achieving social promotion by admission into the rank of the *bushi* or *samurai*. In this he faithfully reflected the prejudices of his own class and time. Throughout the earlier centuries of Japanese feudalism, from the times of Yoritomo to those of Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, it was usual for the ranks of the *samurai* to be recruited from the wealthier members of the farming class; but for more than a century before the close of the Tokugawa regime this avenue of social promotion was entirely shut off from the commonalty, and this exhibition of caste injustice was one of the underlying causes that helped to precipitate the overthrow of Japan's feudal dynasties.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Kirby's example will be followed by other members of the Society, and that side by side with papers of original research, our transactions will contain translations from the classical writers of the Tokugawa era; which, after all, was the true Augustan age of Japanese civilization.

After Mr. Hall had finished, the Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Kirby for his interesting translations of Dazai's voluminous writings.

THE ANCIENT SHINTO DEITY

AME-NO-MINAKA-NUSHI-NO-KAMI

SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.

BY

GENCHI KATO, BUNGAKUSHI,

LECTURER ON THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION

IN THE

IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO.

1908.

THE ANCIENT SHINTO DEITY

AME-NO-MINAKA-NUSHI-NO-KAMI

SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

R.A.M.—The Records of Ancient Matters (*Kojiki*, 古事記).

C.J.—The Chronicles of Japan (*Nihongi* 日本書紀).

A.M.N.K.—Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami.

E.R.A.M.—The Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (古事記傳).

E.C.J.—The Exposition of the Chronicles of Japan (日本書紀傳).

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CHAPTER I.

THE STRANGENESS OF THE DEITY'S CHARACTER FIRST ATTRACTS OUR ATTENTION.

1.—THE DEITY MENTIONED ONCE AND ONCE ONLY IN R.A.M. AND IN C. J., IN CONTRADISTINCTION TO THE OTHER TWO DEITIES IN THE SAME TRIAD.

Every one who has once read the *Kojiki*, or R.A.M., will remember that at the very outset the compilers of the book mention the name of a deity called A.M.N.K., the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, along with the names of other deities called Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (or the Lofty-Producer) and Kami-musu-bi-no-kami, the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (or the Divine-Producer). But, strange to say, the first deity at once after its appearance disappears from the long, varied scenes of the heavenly dramas described in the *Kojiki*, while the latter two deities are reckoned among the chief actors, always playing remarkable parts in the book. First of all, it is certain that this curious fact demands the reader's attention. It is said, by the way, that these three deities probably may once have formed a triad (or trinity, like Brahma, Śiva and Viṣṇu in the Hindu trimūrti, A.M.N.K. taking the head position just as Brahma took first rank in Hinduism), according to the view of the authoritative commentators, N. Motoori, A. Hirata and many others. This view, however, is not altogether convincing.*

* Motoori and Hirata interpret the meaning of the word "next" as not implying time-succession, but rather as signifying a spatial relation, which means juxtaposition, "next" = *tsugini* (次ニ); if so, these three deities may have once formed a triad, or trinity. Vide Chamberlain's *Kojiki*, T. A. S. J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15; also, Motoori's E.R.A.M., vol. iii., pp. 11-12; and Hirata's E.A.H., vol. i., p. 16.

2.—NO AUTHENTIC SHRINE WAS EVER DEDICATED TO THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-AUGUST-CENTER-OF-HEAVEN IN ANCIENT TIMES; WHILE THE OTHER TWO DEITIES IN ONE AND THE SAME TRIAD, VIZ., THE LOFTY-PRODUCER AND THE DIVINE-PRODUCER, HAVE BEEN VERY POPULAR EVERYWHERE IN JAPAN SINCE COMPARATIVELY REMOTE TIMES.

But let us consider whether there is any *historically authentic* sanctuary that was in ancient times dedicated to the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. It is true that, according to a certain tradition, Wada Jinja (和田神社), at Mukogun (武庫郡) in Settsu, is a shrine dedicated to A. M. N. K.; but the origin of the shrine dates back to only about 250 years ago (A.D. 1659). To make matters worse, according to another tradition, the deity of this shrine is not A. M. N. K., but *Kuni-toko-tachi-no-kami*, or the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity (see the *Settsu-meisho-zu-e* 攝津名所圖會). Besides, we are traditionally told that Oka-da Jinja (岡田神社), in the same district, is dedicated to A.M.N.K.; but, according to the painstaking investigation of the famous Shintoist, Suzuka, it is by no means certain which god is worshipped in the shrine (see the *Jinja-kaku-roku*, or *Catalogue of the Shinto Shrines*, 鈴鹿連胤著神社覈錄上, p. 583).

It would seem to be quite unnecessary to consider here any other of the so-called shrines of the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, of which the origin is either uncertain or dubitable, but let us examine two cases out of many which appear at first sight to deserve the privilege of being accounted shrines raised to this Deity.

Some scholars hold the opinion that the two sanctuaries mentioned below were erected in honor of the same Deity *in remote antiquity*; they insist on the view that the *Ten-ichi-Kuwa-da-no-jin-ja* (天一鍬田神社), at Suzukagun (鈴鹿郡) in Ise, and the *Ten-ichi-kan-tama-no-jin-ja* (天一神玉神社), at Sayogun (佐用郡) in Harima, which are mentioned in the *Institutes of the Period Engi* (901—923), or *Engi-shiki* (延喜式), are both shrines that were dedicated to A. M. N. K.; they interpret the Chinese characters *ten-ichi* (天一) as being A. M. N. K. (天御中主), on the ground that the Chinese "*ten-ichi*" is to be identified with the Japanese

naka-ga-mi (奈加加美 or 中神) in the "*Japanese Words Classified and Explained*," or *Wa-myo-rui-ju-sho* (和名類聚鈔), and suppose *naka-ga-mi* to be A.M.N.K. As is easily seen, however, this interpretation is too far-fetched to be convincing, and it is beyond all doubt that the hypothesis is after all nothing but a bold speculation. Consequently, most competent Japanese commentators are opposed to the view. In short, the *earlier traditions* of Japan are utterly silent as to the existence of any *authentic* sanctuary of the Deity. It goes without saying that I do not mean to include in this statement shrines of modern origin that are dedicated to A.M.N.K., or to refer to any sort of worship of the Deity practised by certain modern Shinto sects, e.g., the Mitakekyo, the Shusei-ha, and many others.*

3.— THE NAMES OF THE ONLY TWO FAMILIES WHO CLAIM TO BE DESCENDED FROM THE DIETY ARE MENTIONED IN THE SHOJIROKU, OR CATALOGUE OF FAMILY NAMES.

In the *Catalogue of Family Names* a great many noble families who are reported to be of divine origin are mentioned, and certain numbers of them claim to be the descendants of the above-mentioned two Wondrous-Producing-Deities, while those descended from A.M.N.K. are counted to be two families and two only. They are called respectively *Mi-te-shiro-no-obito* (御手代首) and *Hattori-no-muraji* (服部連). This fact leads us to the question: Why has such a supreme deity in the triad as A.M.N.K. so few descendants, in contradistinction to the numerous descendants of the two Wondrous-Producing-Deities? Is this not a fact which is inexplicable to an ordinary mind? What light can be shed on this strange phenomenon from the comparative study of religion, the reader will find at the end of this short treatise.†

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* Vide Motoori's E. R. A. M., vol. iii., pp. 9, 10; Hirata's E. A. H., vol. i., pp. 12–16; Sato's (佐藤信淵) *Yo-zo-ka-iku-ron* (鎔造化育論) or *Cosmogony*, p. 1; Suzuki's (鈴木重胤) E. C. J., vol. iv., pp. 64–88; Matsuoka's (松岡調) A. M. N. K.—ho-shi-jin-ja-sho-zai-ben (天御中主神奉祀神社所在辨), or "Where Can We Find the Shrine of A. M. N. K.?" and Aston's *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, p. 142.

† Besides, we meet with one more descendant of A. M. N. K., called *Ame-no-hi-waki-no-mikoto* (claimed to be the 12th descendant of the Deity), a companion of the Emperor Jimmu, in the *Ko-fu-do-ki-itsu-bun*, or *Fragments from the Older Topographies*, compiled by the late Professor Kurita of the Tokyo Imperial University (栗田寛古風土記逸文上 p. 8).

4.—THE DEITY'S GRADUAL DISSOLUTION INTO THE GENERAL TERM "HEAVENLY DEITIES," OR AMATSU-KAMI.

As is shown above, the name A.M.N.K. is mentioned once, and once only, throughout the whole of the book *Kojiki*, and afterwards the name disappears entirely. Whither has it gone? Nobody can tell. The collective appellation, *Amatsu-kami*,* the Heavenly Deities that are afterwards often mentioned in the *Kojiki*, naturally leads us to suppose that A.M.N.K. may have been included under this collective appellation and therein may have continued its existence. The learned Suzuki adopted this view. Let us, therefore, assume this interpretation to be correct; and yet we are still inclined to say that the idea of A.M.N.K. had already been losing even that implication of the so-called Heavenly Deities, even in the fabulous Divine Age, and we see very often that the seat of A.M.N.K. was taken by either the two Producing Deities or Amaterasu-o-mi-kami, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. This fact proves that the belief in A.M.N.K. was not constituting the actual central part of the religious consciousness of the ancient Japanese even in so remote a time as the legendary Divine Age.

5.—WHAT IS THE SEXUAL DISTINCTION OF THE DEITY?

Last of all, what is the sexual distinction of A.M.N.K.? Is the deity a god or a goddess? Strictly speaking, to this question we have no positive answer, being left wholly in the dark; or, more precisely, we can not in fact draw a decisive conclusion, either from the etymological analysis of the divine name or from the contexts of the *Kojiki*, except that the Japanese etymology of *nushi* (master or lord) or *ushi* (superior) hints slightly that the deity might be a male, as the Japanese *nushi* or *ushi* is used mostly for a male rather than for a female, while the Japanese *toji* (刀自, lit. door-keeper, i.e. mistress or madam) is used for a female only. The opinions regarding the sexual distinction of the deity naturally differ

* E.g., the *Kojiki* says: "Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land." Chamberlain's R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 3, p. 19.

among the exegetical commentators. Consequently, one party hold it to be a male, a second insist that it is a female, and a third maintain that it is of both sexes, i.e. bi-sexual, or rather that the deity is super-sexual, and is therefore a spiritual existence. This last logical deduction is certainly one of later origin invented by some of the Shinto theologians. Above all, Suzuki can rightly be reckoned among the ardent advocates of this view.

CHAPTER II.

A FURTHER CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF R.A.M.

1.—THE INTERPRETATION OF THE EXPRESSION "*mi-mi-o-kakushi-tamainu*" (隱身也).

Such is the strangeness of the character of A.M.N.K. This fact is known by every one who has taken the trouble merely to cast a glance at the first page of the *Kojiki*. Now, let us examine more closely the actual text of the *Kojiki*. We shall first quote from the English translation by Chamberlain. It runs as follows :—

"The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, next, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, next, the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15).

Notice first of all the expression "hid their persons". Chamberlain comments on this passage, agreeing very closely with Motoori's view. He writes, "They (the above-mentioned three deities) all came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, i.e. died" (p. 16). Here the question arises: Does the expression "hid their persons", i.e. *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* (隱身也), mean "died", as Chamberlain renders it?

Chamberlain takes the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* for the expression "retired," i.e. "died," or *Kan-sari-mashinu* (神避坐也), as conveying the same signification as "to die" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, pp. 15, 16; and sec. 7, pp. 33, 34); but this is rather objectionable from the customary usage of the earlier Japanese language. In the older diction "*Kan-sari-mashinu*" means "to die," as Chamberlain renders it, but "*mimio-kakushi-tamainu*" has a somewhat different signification, i.e., not "to die," but simply "to hide or conceal" one's bodily form behind something, even though one does not really die; e.g., to take an imaginary case, a comet appears, and after a short interval of time it disappears, but we cannot conclude from this that the comet has died or that it has been annihilated. Thus it is clear that the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* signifies, not to die, but simply, to be concealed from bodily sight, or, so to speak, the deities' fleeing from man's field of bodily vision to the Epicurean *intermundia*. Consequently, the true meaning of the text here is simply this, the existence of the deities is real, or is a matter of actual fact, like that of the sun, but the human naked eye cannot see the divinely fine ethereal body. What I have here said is, I think, the true meaning of the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* as it is used by the *Kojiki* compilers. In this sense, "*mimio-kakushi-tamainu*" (隱身也) can be read as "*kakurimi-nari*", which really means a hidden body, i.e. (divine) ethereal body imperceptible to man's naked eye. Hence, the acute-sighted Shinto theologian, Suzuki, further thought that the Divine Body of A. M. N. K. is invisible, in other words, the Deity is spiritual. The reader will not fail to see that this idea of Suzuki is only his speculative conclusion in regard to the Deity, and not the actually existing primitive belief of our ancestors. For, how lofty a nature has been ascribed through the long course of theological developments to the Deity! *

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* Vide Suzuki's E. J. C., vol. v., pp. 1, 2; iv., pp. 48, 49, 64, 69, 70, 71, 75; vol. iii., pp. 8, 9.

2.—THE SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE THREE TRIUNE DEITIES AND THE OTHER TWO DEITIES, *i.e.* UMASHI-ASHI-KABI-HIKOJI-NO-KAMI AND AMENO-TOKO-TACHI-NO-KAMI, IN THE SAME PAGE OF R. A. M.

I have just quoted a few lines of the first page of the *Kojiki*. Continuing therefrom the text is as follows :—

"The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Deity, or Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-jino-kami, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, or Ameno-toko-tachi-no-kami. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15).

Here, as we can clearly recognize, there is a sharp distinction between the preceding three deities, i.e. the above discussed triune deities and the two deities just mentioned, because the former do not come out of any material substance outside of the deities, while the latter are born from a medusa-like matter, i.e. chaos. It seems to us that in the former case the three deities stand aloof, apart from matter, and so are self-born, i.e. without beginning, limitless, infinite, supreme; while in the latter case, on the contrary, it is clear enough that the two deities are more or less restricted by matter outside of themselves out of which they have come into existence. If this explanation of the text of the *Kojiki* is not objectionable, we can easily see that the former three deities, i.e. the triune deities, occupy the highest position in the Japanese pantheon, and that *a fortiori* the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is the divine King of Kings, the Deity of Deities.

3.—WHAT IS THE PLAIN OF HIGH HEAVEN, OR TAKA-MANO-HARA ?

Where is the Plain of High Heaven, or *Takama-no-hara*, in which these first three deities came into being? What is that Plain of High Heaven? These are the questions which have often hitherto attracted the keen attention of our inquirers. It seems to me that those who tried to determine its situation historico-geographically failed to succeed, because

they mistook a myth for a real historical fact. I partly agree with Motoori's and Hirata's view, that the Plain of High Heaven is nothing but this visible aerial sky or ether, in other words, *hoc sublime candens*, as the Latin poet puts it. The Greeks once called it the Olympos, where the gods and goddesses had their abode and held their councils. The ancient Teutons called it the *Asgard*, a *civitas deorum*, or the garden of the gods, where they peopled the divine *Aesir*. The ancient Persians called it the *Hara-berezaiti*, which is the heaven mountain whence the sun rises, and upon which is the abode of the gods. The Plain of High Heaven of the ancient Japanese is a mythical place in heaven, where the divine tribes assembled and took council. If so, it is self-evident that those historians, e.g. H. Arai (新井白石),* who tried to discover it historico-geographically, did not succeed in reaching their goal.

4.—THE SIMPLE NATURE-WORSHIP AND THE COMPLEX: THE POSITION OF A.M.N.K.

The Latin poet sings of his supreme god or Heavenly Father, Jupiter :—

Adspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Here certainly the heaven or sky itself, which can be seen by the naked eye, is revered as a god. The Greek *Zeus* and the Indian *Dyaus* were all, at the beginning, just this visible heaven or sky. And besides, the Indian *Vata* was originally the physical wind which one feels and hears. *Agni*, the Vedic fire-god, was at first simply any and every fire, i.e. the physical flame: *Sūrya*, the visible sun; *Ushas*, the dawn etc. In ancient Greece, *Apollon*, according to A. Weber, was the sun and its fire, and *Pallas-Athene* was the palpable storm itself. In ancient Egypt, besides the sun (*Ra*, *Re*, or *Aten*, *Aton*), heaven (*Nut*) and earth (*Seb*) were originally taken for the gods themselves. Moreover, among primitive peoples, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, mountains, forests, birds and beasts as such are all worshipped as gods. This stage of the religious developments of a race I should like to designate as the stage of simple or

* e.g. Vide *The Koshi-tsu* (新井白石著古史通); also, Hirata's refutation, entitled *Zoku-shinto-taii*, or *Outlines of Popular Shintoism*, vol. iv., pp. 9-11.

primary nature-worship. We do not find any difficulty in tracing this stage of religious development in ancient Japan, though in the *Kojiki* there are a few signs of it, and most deities were already advanced to the next stage in the development. *Naru-kami*, or "thundering god", may be simply a thundering natural phenomenon in origin; *ōkami*, which means etymologically "great deity", is originally nothing but a great beast, a wolf etc. In my opinion these are probably remnants of the primary nature-worship found among the words now in daily use. Modern uneducated people in Japan worship every morning the sun itself which is visible to man's naked eye, clapping their hands as they do so. The Japanese words *kushi-bi* (奇霊), or simply *hi* (火,日) whose nigoried form is *bi*, which is in fact nothing but physical fire or the sun, means "wondrous"; so, from time immemorial, the Japanese may have been worshipping the visible sun itself as "The wondrous", i.e. the Divine, as is customary among Indians, Greeks, Babylonians and Egyptians in ancient times, who all alike, without exception, worshipped the visible sun as divine. The Indian *Surya*, the Greek *Apollon*, the Babylonian *Shamash*, the Egyptian *Aten* or *Ra* are among the names given. I shall quote a few lines from E.R.A.M. (Aston's translation) in order to illustrate this point. "There are many cases of seas and mountains being called Kami (deity). It is not their spirits which are meant. The word was applied directly to the seas or mountains themselves as being very awful things" (Motoori's E. R. A. M., vol. iii., p. 7) . . . . . Furthermore, Aston adds: "Motoori declares explicitly that when a sea or a mountain is called Kami, it is not the spirit of the sea or mountain which is meant, but the sea or mountain itself. A poet of the Man-yo-shiu says of Fujiyama :—

'Of Yamato, the land of sun-rise,
It is the peace-given, it is the god,
It is the treasure.'

Even Motoori says that it is the actual sun in Heaven which we worship as *Amaterasu-O-mi-kami* (the Heaven-shining-great-august-deity) . . (*ibid.* pp. 9, 17, 24). This is

perhaps one of the primitive phases of the evolution of religion, and indeed this may be a beginning of religion. After some lapses of time the knowledge of those peoples increases, until each of them conceived of and paid homage to a Heavenly Father who presides over the visible Heaven which was previously a divinity itself. In this second phase of religious development, the Hindu-Aryans called the heaven *Dyaush-pito*, the Greeks *Zeus pater*, and the Romans *Jupiter*. This higher stage of naturism I denominate the complex, or secondary, nature-worship. It is clear that the Israelite God *Jahveh*, the feller or shudderer in storms and lightnings on Mount Sinai, is a deity in the second stage of development. It is a complex nature-worship.*

The religious development of ancient Babylonia from the Heavenly God *Ana* to *Anu* gives us an actual and appropriate example of the transition from the simple nature-worship to the complex. The Babylonian heaven god *Ana*, which means "Exalted One", is nothing but the personification of the actually visible high heaven itself; so that this *Ana* is a good specimen of the religious stage of simple nature-worship. Besides *Ana* we have *Anu* in the Babylonian pantheon, which means "Hidden One", i.e. the "Invisible God", presiding over the visible heaven. This invisible god *Anu* is clearly a heavenly master whom no naked eye can ever perceive. Still, its existence in heaven is real as the visible *Ana*. It is certain that both "*Ana*" and "*Anu*" are of the same origin with the Babylonian word "*an*" which signifies heaven. So the worship of *Ana* is a simple nature-worship, while that of *Anu* belongs to the region of the complex.†

The nature of the Babylonian god *Anu* is comparatively universalistic from the earliest times, according to Professor M. Jastrow. He speaks of *Anu* as follows:—

"*Anu* is practically freed from local associations, and is viewed as a god for the gods rather than for men—a deity who exercises a general supervision over all the gods. . . .

* Exod. xix., 16-18.
Judg. v., 4, 5.
Ps. xviii., xxix., 3.

† *Vide* D'Alviella's *Conception of God* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 126.

He is the lofty god, and it is significant that as early as the days of Hammurabi (circa 2500 B.C.) he is in fact designated simply *ilu* " (M. Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia*, in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 540).

Jastrow's description of *Anu* reminds us of our A.M.N.K. It is true, of course, *Anu* was born from parents called *Anshar* (=Heavenly totality, or universe) and *Kishar* (=Earthly totality, or universe), while A.M.N.K. is self-born from eternity. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that there is a certain close resemblance between these two deities. First, both are heavenly gods; second, both are lofty and supreme (transcendent); third, both are freed from local associations, in short, comparatively universalistic.

Two more examples may be added: the Indian *Aditi*, and the Finnish *Ukko*. Both deities are comparatively supreme beings in their respective pantheons, and their position is aloof from that of the ordinary gods and goddesses in these pantheons. True, the Indian *magna mater*, *Aditi*, may be of later origin than her two sons, *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, as Professor Hopkins* thinks; but the goddess is by no means of a speculative invention, as the learned Max Müller declared in refutation of such an opinion. He made use of it as an illustration of his theory of the origin of religion as derived from the " Apprehension of the Infinite ". Originally, *Varuṇa*, the Greek *ouranos*, must have been the visible all-embracing sky itself and *Mitra* the very actual sun. This is, in fact, a simple nature-worship, as above explained; and it is probable that the Hindu-Aryans advanced thence by degrees to the second stage of religious development, i.e., the complex nature-worship, and worshipped the god *Varuṇa* apart from the visible sky, and the god *Mitra* as distinct from the actual sun. Just at this stage of religious ideas the Hindu-Aryans probably worshipped the rather abstract deity *Aditi*. Unless my hypothesis be erroneous, it is obvious that *Aditi* is a goddess in the complex nature-worship stage. Professor Max Müller speaks thus of *Aditi*: " *Aditi*, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of

* Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 73.

a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky" (Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v., p. 37).

Ukko, the heavenly god of the Finns, is probably more primitive than *Aditi*. See how Professor Tiele describes him in his book:—"High above all the other spirits, however, stands *Ukko* (the old man, father, grandfather, the venerable), the creator (luoya) and deity (yunâla) *par excellence*, the ancient one in heaven, mightier than the mightiest enchanter, whose aid is invoked by all heroes and spirits. Only one step remained for the Finns to take in order to rise from polydaemonism to polytheism . . . The ethical element is almost entirely deficient. Even in the representation of *Ukko* I have not succeeded in discovering it" (Tiele, *Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions*, pp. 23, 24).

This description of *Ukko* at once sheds light on A.M.N.K., the Deity *par excellence* in the Japanese pantheon, and it can not but lead us to conclude that our A.M.N.K. probably stands on the same level of religious development with *Ukko* or *Aditi*.

From this little digression let us come back once more to A.M.N.K., the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. From the etymology and contexts of the *Kojiki*, we can easily see that this Deity is a nature-god, or a lord or master of the visible sky, which is known as the Plain of High Heaven, as the primitive Japanese called it. Motoori and Hirata agree, in the main, as to its etymological analysis; although there is some discrepancy between them regarding the minuter points, Hirata being rather a learned rational-minded theologian, while Motoori discards all such scholastic rationalizing tendencies.

According to the view of the above-mentioned two expert and eminent commentators, A.M.N.K., broadly speaking, means the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, precisely as Chamberlain rendered it. In short, as it seems to me, the Deity occupies the same position as the Egyptian *Nutar nutra amtu heret*, or the Almighty Power which is in Heaven.

[*Vide* Renouf, *Religions of Ancient Egypt* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 103.]

In the meantime, Ikarimaru Watanabe (渡邊斑夫郎 嵐石丸) in his book entitled, Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami-kō (天御中主神考), maintains the opinion that "*nushi*" is not merely 'master," but "jewel-like master or rather owner", in other words, "precious or noble superior"; and, further, the learned Suzuki advanced another explanation as to the origin of the divine name, although he did not quite reject the view of Motoori and Hirata. For instance, he interprets 天之御中主 to be 天之精武魂主. His A.M.N. (天之精武魂主) means the lord or master of the primordial substance of Heaven, or rather of the Universe; and, still more, and not without reason, he identifies the Fore-ancestor Deity, Amami-musubi-no-kami (天魂神), the Heaven-Producing-Deity, or Heavenly-Producer, with A.M.N.K. (Suzuki's E. C. J., vol. iv., pp. 70, 71). From what is mentioned above we know clearly that the belief in A.M.N.K. of the ancient Japanese represented that second phase or stage of religious development which the recent scientific inquirer would designate as the complex nature-worship. Therefore, Aston rightly speaks of A.M N.K. as follows :—" The sky is not deified in Japan as it is in China. *Ame* is the region where the gods dwell, is not itself god. Possibly, however, we should regard A.M.N.K. (Heaven-August-Center-Master), as a personification of the sky, which has already reached that secondary phase in which the god has become distinct from the natural phenomenon. Some have endeavoured to make of him a sort of Supreme Being. But his cult is recent. Motoori says that he was not worshipped in ancient times " (Aston's *Shinto*, p. 142).

5.—A. M. N. K. COMPARED WITH " ONE DEITY " IN THE CREATION-STORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

In the good old creation-story of Egypt we have a deity, whose name is unknown to us, which occupied just such a position as A. M. N. K. Wiedemann describes this deity in his *Religion of Egypt* as follows :—" According to a widely diffused notion, in primeval times the heaven, *Nut* (thought of as a female), reposed in the close embrace of the earth, *Seb* or

Keb (thought of as a male). Besides the primeval fluid, *Nu*, there existed, according to Egyptian ideas, prior to the creation, *one deity*, who appears sometimes alone as a male god, and at other times falls apart into a male and a female form. This deity calls into existence from *Nu* the world that is to be" (Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 178).

This *one deity* reminds us of our A. M. N. K., but surely I am not going to dream of any historical connection between Egypt and Japan in ancient times on the ground that there is a similar deity in the pantheons of both, as the chauvinistic Hirata and Shinen Sato are apt to do. I think this coincidence is nothing more than a like mode of manifestation of one and the same human nature. As Professor Ladd says, "It is human to be religious."

CHAPTER III.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE IDEAS OF THE DEITY AMONG JAPANESE SAVANTS.

Let us now examine still more closely the course of development of the ideas of Japanese savants regarding the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. We have already seen how Motoori, Hirata, Suzuki, and Watanabe explained etymologically the name of A. M. N. K. each from his own separate point of view. And what was to be thought of as a mere nature-worship, according to Motoori, the learned Hirata explained more scholastically by the help of his knowledge of Chinese astrology, or even of modern European astronomy; so that, according to his view, A. M. N. K. was identified with the Pole Star, and the visible endless aerial expanse of the sky, called the Plain of High Heaven, was said to be the North Pole.*

A farther step in the speculation is taken by Suzuki, according to whom A. M. N. K. is thought of, not only as a Being or "I am that I am", but as a purely *spiritual* Being. What a lofty conception is this of the deity who was once

---

* Hirata's E. A. H., vol. i., pp 4, 5, 11-16, and his "*Tama-no-mihashira*" (靈之眞柱).
O'Neill's *Night of the Gods*, pp. 535, 536.

simply a master of the visible sky! There is no doubt that this idea is one of later origin among the modern Japanese *literati*, and not the true, real belief of the ancient Japanese. The Johannine Gospel says:—" God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth " (4 : 23). How sublime a conception of God this is! It was quite foreign to ancient Japan. As for the agriculturist, S. Sato*, he goes so far as to make of the deity the First Principle in his astronomical doctrine. And, besides, he identifies it with the Egyptian Creator-god, *Chnuphis* or *Chnum* (*Kneph*), in accordance with the view of Hirata and Suzuki.†

Last, Watanabe's‡ chauvinism led him even to attempt to expel the Christian God from the native soil of Japan, substituting for it our A. M. N. K., the idea of which was much remodelled and spiritualized by the author's erudition. By thus restoring the ancient inborn monotheistic deity of the land as well as reforming the idea of it, Watanabe tried to satisfy the need of the religious spirit of the times following the Restoration in 1868.

I by no means blame Suzuki, Watanabe, and S. Sato for their theologico-speculative attempts to advance the position of the Deity-Master to monotheism in its true sense, which, as we have seen, took place with the sublime idea of the Israelitish Prophets, or in the Zoroastrian religion, or the religion of Jesus. Far from it. I take this as an expression of the necessary consequence of religious development in Japan in accordance with a tendency everywhere operative throughout the world of mankind. It was once so in Israel, in Egypt, in Babylonia, in India, in Iran and in Greece in ancient times; and it must have been the same also in Japan in the corresponding stage of religious development. With regard to this point, we confess that modern Shintoism owes much to the genius of the above-mentioned scholars; but at the same time it must be borne in mind that the monotheistic spiritualization of the Deity-Master is a speculation of those learned *literati*, and was not the actual belief of the simple-minded folk in the old days of Japan.

* Sato's " *Yozo-ka-iku-ron* " (鎔造化育論) and " *T'en-chu-ki* " (天柱記).
† E. C. J., vol. iii., p. 17.
‡ Watanabe's " *Shin-tenshu-kyo-setsu-ryaku* " (眞天主教說略).

CHAPTER IV.

A FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE DEITY, AND THE CONCLUSION.

1.—THE PERSIAN "ZERVANEM AKARANEM" AND THE AME-YUZURU-HI-AMENO-SAGIRI-KUNI-YUZURU-TSUKI-KUNINO-SAGIRI-NO-MIKOTO COMPARED WITH A.M.N.K. A TENTATIVE HYPOTHESIS ADVANCED.

At this point in our investigation another hypothesis may naturally be brought forward in explanation of A. M. N. K. What is this new hypothesis? The reader who is acquainted with the religious history of Persia will have noticed that in the period of the Sasanian Dynasty, after the Christian Era, Zoroastrian theologians introduced a unifying principle called *Zervanem Akaranem**, which is nothing more nor less than a personification of endless time, and thus tried to unify the two opposite principles, *Ahura-Mazda* (the Good Spirit) and *Ahriman* (the Evil Spirit) by means of a third and higher principle.

Here the question arises: is not A.M.N. K. a *Zervanem Akaranem?* I reply to this question emphatically, No! It is probable that the Deity called *Ame-yuzuru-hi-ameno-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-tsuki-kunino-sagirino-mikoto* (天譲日天狭霧国譲月国狭霧尊) in the *Sen-dai kuji-hon-gi* (先代舊事本紀), or Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, is nothing but the Persian *Zervanem Akaranem*. But the case of A. M. N. K. is, I think, quite different. Most of the *Sen-dai-ku-ji-hon-gi* is of later origin. And what is meant by Ame-yuzuru-hi-ameno-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-tsuki-kuni-no-sagiri-no-mikoto? Let us think about this! The name of this one deity is simply an artificial compositum of the words *ame* (heaven), *kuni* (land), *hi* (the sun), *tsuki* (the moon) and *kiri* (fog or mist). The reader will readily call to mind (from the *Kojiki*) *Ama-terasu-omi-kami* (the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity), *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami* (the Moon-Hades or Moon-Darkness), and *Ameno-sagiri* (Heavenly Pass-Boundary, as Chamberlain put it).†

* D'Alviella's *Conception of God* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 226.

† "*Kojiki*," T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 6, pp. 29, 40. Also, Aston's "*Nihongi*," vol. i., p. 7.

It is stated that these deities of the *Kojiki* are all the offspring of Izanagi (the Male-Who-Invites) and Izanami (the Female-Who-Invites); but, from the analysis we have here given, it is quite clear that that god is rather a result of later theological speculation.

There are some who hold the opinion that the original home of the Deity will have been China, where the Supreme Heaven God, *Shangti*, was worshipped in remote antiquity, and the name of the Deity called A. M. N. K. naturally hints at the idea that the Deity may have been imported from China from time immemorial. This hypothesis, *prima facie*, might be true, but there is neither solid ground for the argument nor any historical fact convincingly supporting this view; on the contrary, it is, in my opinion, nothing more nor less than a mere conjecture originating from an accidental similarity in the names of the gods and notwithstanding certain differences in their respective characteristics. Therefore this hypothesis cannot be accepted. It is true that in the *Nihonkoki* (a Japanese history) we are told that the authorities concerned at that time (A. D. 801) prohibited Chinese and Korean sojourners in Japan from announcing themselves to be descendants of A. M. N. K., for the reason that the deity was already counted a forefather of the Japanese. This historical fact is here mentioned, but seems to me to give no positive proof of the Chinese origin of the Deity; on the contrary, some Japanese scholars even take the fact as proving that the Deity is of genuine Japanese origin.

2.—THE SHINTO, OR WAY OF THE GODS OF THE GEKU SCHOOL (外宮派) AND THE MYTHOLOGICAL CAGN AND PULUGA.

On the contrary, however, we do not find any trace of such an artifice in connection with A.M.N.K.; none of the acute-minded commentators made any such remarks. So I must discard as illegitimate the above-mentioned tentative hypothesis. Hence the result that the foregoing researches naturally lead to the conclusion that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is not an artificially contrived *theologumenon*, but a natural outcome of the ancient Japanese thought. Putting aside the fraudulent half-pious and half-political contrivance of the Gekuha-Shintoists, or

the Geku-school, which identified A.M.N.K. either with Toyoke-daijin (豐受大神), otherwise called the Deity-Princess-of-Great-Food, or O-ge-tsu-himeno-kami who is enshrined in the Geku, or Outer Temple, in contradistinction to Ama-terasu-o-mi-kami, or the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity of the Naiku, or Inner Temple, or with Kuni-no-Toko-tachi-no-kami, the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity who is considered as the first and mightiest god in C. J., the identification of A.M.N.K. with those other and minor deities is, in my view, nothing but a mythologizing of the *comparatively* lofty transcendent Deity A.M.N.K. It seems to me that it was solely with the aid of this mythological garment, that the uneducated minds of the ancient Japanese were enabled to comprehend such a Supreme Being as A.M.N.K., just as the Bushman Supreme God, *Cagn*, is only grasped by the uncivilized and undisciplined native mind of to-day under his mythical representation as an insect, or as the Andamanese *Puluga*, the invisible immortal God, is grasped by the simple-minded native worshipper in his mythical disguise, or, in other words, by means of the idea that *Puluga* lives in a large stone house, eating and drinking like a man, and is married to a green shrimp (*Vide* Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 195). In saying this, however, I do not mean that the ancient Japanese were on the same level of culture as the Bushmen and Andamanese of to-day. Far from that, the culture of the former was higher than that of the latter two beyond all doubt. Who can dispute it? Nevertheless, I compare them here from a religious point of view, simply because there are some resemblances, as above mentioned, in their way of religious thinking with regard to their respective supreme beings.

In order to facilitate the reader's understanding of this point, I will add the following quotation from Prof. Pratt's *Psychology of Religious Belief*. He says:—"The heathen armed with his fetich feels strong. He believes in it; has faith that it will help him. He can see it and feel it. He goes on his errand inspired with confidence of success . . . The Christian convert is weak in his faith. He would like something tangible. He is not sure that he will succeed in his errand. He

goes at it somewhat half-hearted and probably he fails. . . The weak ask the missionary whether they may not be allowed to carry a fetich only for show. A friend of mine living in Guatemala informs me that the Catholic missionaries who converted the natives to Christianity have allowed them to retain their fetiches, with the simple substitution of the name of some saint for that of the original god or spirit" (Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, p. 50).

3.—A TRACE OF THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE MONOTHEISM IN A.M.N.K.

From what has been said above, it is natural and safest to say that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is a manifestation of the so-called primitive monotheism. The reason is as follows:—

(1) The idea of the Deity is comparatively lofty and supreme above that of the other gods ; and

(2) It therefore has a deistic tendency, i.e., its worship is, in remote times, neglected, or displaced by that of the other minor deities, just as the Huron Supreme God, *Ahone*, has a deputy god, called *Okeus*, and as the supreme deity *Nyankupon* is thrust into the shade, while the deity *Bobowissi* takes his place, devoutly worshipped by priests and served with sacrifices.*

N.B.—As we have already seen, the identification of A.M.N.K. with the other inferior deities is nothing but a process of mythologizing the comparatively supreme incomprehensible deity, whereby alone the deistic and comparatively transcendent god can be, and is, made comprehensible to the minds of the ancient Japanese, who were incapable, relatively speaking, of grasping conceptions in the abstract. The Bushman god *Cagn* appears in two aspects: one, that of his supreme and monotheistic nature, the other, the mythological, and the same is true of the Andamanese god *Puluga* (A. Lang's *Making of Religion*, pp. 193, 195)

(3) We do not find any trace in A.M.N.K. of later inventions made by speculative minds.

(4) On the contrary, the idea of the Deity is rather monotheistic in origin, so that later theologians made use of this latent primitive monotheistic idea in Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami and went on to create out of it, on a grander scale, a pure spiritualistic monotheism, to which we very often see references made in the lofty monotheistic language of the religion

* A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, pp. 225, 227.

of ancient Egypt. This fact shows *indirectly* that the idea of the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven was perhaps monotheistic from the beginning.

(5) A comparative study of religion sheds a favorable light on this view.

Let us illustrate the point by comparing A. M. N.K. with other deities in primitive monotheism, found among different races still in the lower culture. We can not, indeed, forbear noticing the remarkable, though accidental, resemblance between our Deity-Master and the monotheistic deities of different low races.

In his *Making of Religion* A. Lang gives us a great many examples of primitive monotheism among the low races of the earth. He describes the Australian supreme deity, *Darumulun*, as follows: "*Darumulun* watched the youths from the sky . . . At the mysteries *Darumulun's* real name may be uttered, at other times he is 'master' (*Biamba*), or 'father' (*Papung*), exactly as we say '*Lord*' and '*Father*.' A representation is made of the master, *Biamban*, and to make such idols, except at the mysteries, is forbidden 'under pain of death'" (pp. 178,179). He traces primitive monotheism in the Australian *Kurnai*: "Long ago there was a great Being, Mungan-ngaur (mungan= father, ngaur= our), who lived on the earth. His son, *Tundun*, is direct ancestor of the *Kurnai* . . *Mungan* . . ascended to the sky, where he still remains. . A Being not defined as spirit, but immortal, and dwelling in heaven, is Father, or rather grandfather, not maker, of the Kurnai" (p. 181). Further he stated concerning the Andamanese *Puluga*: "Their god, *Puluga*, is 'like fire,' but invisible. He was never born, and is immortal. By him were all things created, except the powers of evil. He knows even the thoughts of the heart" (p. 195). "The Dinkas of the Upper Nile . . . pay a very theoretical kind of homage to the all-powerful Being, dwelling in heaven, whence he sees all things. He is called '*Dendid*' (great rain, i.e., universal benediction ?). He is omnipotent, but, being all beneficence, can do no evil; so, not being feared, he is not addressed in prayer." Of a supreme deity, *Nyankupon*, whose idea was widely diffused in West African belief,

Lang says: "He lives in no definite home or hill, but in '*Nyankupon's* country.' *Nyankupon*, at the present day, is ignored rather than worshipped, while *Bobowissi* has priests and offerings. . . . *Nyankupon* has no pretensions to be, or to have been, a spirit" (pp. 227, 228). He describes the Polynesian supreme being, *Taa-roa*, in the same manner: "*Taa-roa* uncreated, existing from the beginning, or from the time he emerges from the *po*, or world of darkness. . . . fatherless and motherless from all eternity. In the highest heavens he dwells alone. He created the gods of polytheism, the gods of war, peace, and so on. Says a native hymn, 'He was: he abode in the void. No earth, no sky, no men! He became the universe'" (p. 251). So also Professor Kuenen speaks of the Mohammedan *Allah* as follows, tracing it back to its monotheistic origin. "The recognition of *Allah taala*, the one supremely exalted God, is supposed to lie at the basis of Arabian polytheism" (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 13).*

Here, it may be well to recall Renouff's celebrated passages concerning the monotheistic manifestation of a Power or *Nutar nutra*:—"*Horus* and *Ra* and *Osiris* and *Seb* are names of individual finite powers, but a Power without a name or any mythological characteristics is constantly referred to in the singular number, and can only be regarded as the object of that *sensus numinis*, or immediate perception of the Infinite, which, like my learned predecessor, Professor Max Müller, I consider, not the result of reasoning or generalizing, but an intuition as irresistible as the impressions of our senses." [Renouf's *Religion of Ancient Egypt*" (*Hibbert Lectures*), pp. 103, 104.] Further, "That Power which the Egyptians recognized without any mythological adjunct, to whom no temple was ever raised, who was not graven in stone, whose

* Schaarschmidt says: „Es nicht an Spuren einer Hinneigung des arabischen Geistes zum Monotheismus fehlt. Freilich waren die alten Araber, ... Götzendiener, allein sie waren dabei dennoch nicht eigentlich polytheistisch gesinnt, sondern geneigt, das Göttliche, dem sie als solchem den Namen Allah d.h. eben Gott schlechthin gaben, neben der . . . . . Gottheiten als Einheit zu fassen, etwa wie die Griechen von einem *Theion*, die Römer vom *Numen divinum* sprachen. Allah ist also zunächst kein Eigenname, sondern hat einen viel allgemeineren Character" (*Die Religion*, St. 191, 192).

shrine was never found with painted figures, who had neither ministrants nor offerings and whose abode was unknown, must practically have been forgotten by the worshippers at the magnificent temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, Abydos, Thebes or Dendera, where quite other deities received the homage of prayer and praise and sacrifice" (*ibid.* p. 262.). We might add hundreds of other examples, but these will suffice for our present purpose.

If, therefore, the thoughtful reader will compare by himself the above-mentioned primaeval monotheistic phases of religion, as found among different nature-peoples, with the ideas on A. M. N. K. in the *Kojiki*, he will perhaps be able to agree with my conclusion, that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven shows in its origin a clear trace of primitive monotheism, when viewed in the light of the modern study of the science of religion.

At the close of the reading, the CHAIRMAN thanked Prof. KATO for his learned and interesting paper, which was well worth careful study. In answer to Rev. C H. SHORTT, who inquired if there was any shrine in Japan dedicated to that deity, Prof. KATO replied that he thought there was *no authentic one at least.*

Mr. LLOYD wished to emphasize the Chairman's words of thanks to Prof. Kato. It had given him much pleasure to think the old idea was now exploded that Japan was a nation all by herself, whose history and development had nothing to do with that of any other nation. He was glad to find the Lecturer emphasizing the fact that the Shinto system of Japan had been developed along lines quite analogous to the lines of development in other countries. It was also interesting to follow Mr. Kato as he led his hearers back through the stages of natural religion, through "Secondary Nature-worship," to the more primitive and primary forms, and to find that when we came to primary nature-worship in any country, we found behind all mythologies and developments one universally recognized, though vaguely conceived, spiritual* Being, dimly worshipped by primitive peoples. This he conceived to be the chief value of Mr. Kato's paper. He congratulated Mr. Kato on it, and hoped he would go on studying *Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no kami.*

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* The author of the paper would substitute *supreme* or *great* for spiritual in this connection.

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UNIV. OF MICHIGAN.

JUN 20 1914

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, LD.

TOKYO: Z. P. MARUYA & CO., LD.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & CO., LD.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

1908.

PRICE - - - - - - - - - - - Yen 2.50

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JAPANESE FEUDAL LAWS:

II.—THE ASHIKAGA CODE

("KEMMU SHIKIMOKU"—A.D. 1336)

BY

J. C. HALL, Esq.

The Asiatic Society of Japan.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Room, No. 1. Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, May 20th. In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President for Tokyo, the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. T. M. MacNair, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

The Recording Secretary announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Jas. Hazen Hyde, Esq., Tokyo; J. R. Kennedy, Esq., Tokyo; Howard May, Esq., Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Yokohama; J. Gasco, Esq, Italian Legation, Tokyo; Dr. M. W. de Visser, Dutch Legation, Tokyo; Dr. Rachel Read, Tokyo; Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Tokyo, and Dr. Paravicini, 64 Bluff, Yokohama.

The Recording Secretary also announced that Prof. B. H. Chamberlain had been unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society (applause); and that Rev. E. R. Miller, of Tokyo, had been elected a Member of the Council to fill a vacancy and to be Acting Librarian during Prof. Lloyd's absence abroad.

The Recording Secretary further read the following communication from the Corresponding Secretary:—

Some time ago it was reported that, in the fire which occurred in the building occupied by the Fukuin Printing Company of Yokohama, valuable manuscripts belonging to the Society had been destroyed. The Council was expressly so informed at the time: and though regret was expressed, amounting to censure of the management of the establishment that the Society's property should not have been kept safeguarded against the possibility of such a loss, no further information on the subject was received. The consequence was that, after waiting for a considerable time for the Fukuin Printing Company to get on its feet again and resume the work of printing with such duplicate manuscript material as might be available for the purpose, the Council made other arrangements and are now nearly ready to issue Part 2 of Vol. XXXV. This will contain, along with some new material, abstracts of the papers on Buddhism which had been read before the Society by Profs. Anesaki and Lloyd, and which were reported lost in the fire. It has now transpired, however, that the supposed loss was not a real one, and that the entire manuscript of Dr. Anesaki's paper on "The Four Āgamas in Chinese" was in the Printing Company's safe at the time of the fire, and with it were the O.K. proof sheets of Prof. Lloyd's four lectures on "The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism." Moreover, the "shells" of the Lloyd lectures, as well as those of a paper, nearly completed, on "The *Makura Kotoba* of Primitive Japanese Verse" by F. V. Dickins, Esq., of London, had been safeguarded in the same way.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary read the following communication about new books, etc.:—

In addition to the usual Transactions from kindred Societies, we have received one or two special gifts which deserve especial commemoration.

From Professor Frederick Starr, of Chicago, a *Catalogue of the Bulkley Collection of Shinto Objects*, and a *Reproduction of a Lolo MSS.* The Lolo MSS.," says Mr. Starr, "is an exact reproduction of one lately come into my possession. On account of the exceptional interest attaching to the Lolos, one of the little-known aboriginal peoples of China, and to their peculiar system of writing, I have had the MSS. accurately reproduced. Only fifty copies have been printed and they will not be placed upon the market.

They are intended to be used in a study of the Lolo system which I hope presently to publish."

Royaku Kanwa Jiten, is a new Japanese-Russian Dictionary recently published by one of our members, Prof. Posdneeff, already well known for his useful labours in making the Japanese language practically accessible to his Russian fellow-countrymen. Mons. Posdneeff bases all his linguistic work, which is eminently of a practical nature, on the Japanese *Tokuhon*, published by the authority of the Japanese Educational Department. Of these he has already published several adapted for use by Russians and is contemplating the publication of them all; so that when the Russian student of Japanese, who follows his course, has finished the whole set, he will be in exactly the same position, as far as theoretical knowledge goes, as the Japanese boy who has finished the ordinary school course, and thus be well equipped for those further advances into special departments of the language which the necessities of life and study make advisable.

The same thought underlies the Dictionary which has just appeared. It is based on the list of characters recommended by the Educational Authorities, with certain necessary additions. The whole number of characters given is 4,200, which, with combinations, yield about thirty thousand words. The words are arranged not alphabetically, but according to radicals and numbers of strokes, there being in each case a Romaji transliteration of the Japanese sound. One of the special features of the Dictionary is the inclusion of a large number of names of families and places, which is quite useful. The introductory chapters deal very fully with the system of writing,—ideographs, *Kana* and *Romaji*—, and the Appendices are very full. There are indexes of characters, according to radicals and according to sounds, lists of names of provinces, prefectures, prefectural cities, railway stations in Japan, Formosa and Korea, streets and wards in Tokyo, lists of newspapers published in 1907, holidays and festivals, and very full tables of weights and measures.

In a letter from Herr von Wenckstern, of Kumamoto, received a few days ago, there is a sentence which may be of interest to some:—

"In case you or other members of the Asiatic Society should have copies of Vol. I. of my Japanese Bibliography (if in a condition as good as new), I am willing to exchange them against copies of Vol. II. issued last year . . . Vol. I. has now only historical interest, while Vol. II. contains chapters on law, economics, industries, &c., of practical value for merchants, manufacturers, statesmen, &c." Herr von Wenckstern's address is 79, Kita Sendambata-cho, Kumamoto, Kyushu.

The Society then unanimously passed the proposed amendments to Art. VI. of the Constitution, so that it will read as follows:

ART. VI.

Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five yen and subscription for the current year. They shall pay an annual subscription of Five yen.

Any member elected after June 30th shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Ordinary members may become life members:

(a) On election, by paying the entrance fee and the sum of sixty yen;

(b) Any time afterwards within a period of twenty-five years, by paying the sum of sixty yen, less yen 2.50 for each year of membership;

After the expiration of twenty-five years, on application to the Treasurer, without further payment.

The Chairman called on Mr. John Carey Hall, H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Yokohama, to read his paper "Japanese Feudal Laws: the Ashikaga Code, A.D. 1336 (*Kemmu Shikimoku*)."

JAPANESE FEUDAL LAWS:

II.—THE ASHIKAGA CODE.

("KEMMU SHIKIMOKU"—A.D. 1336)

THE so-called Code of the *Kemmu* year-term (1334-1338) is a short instrument of 17 articles, which was promulgated at the end of the year 1336 of our era by Ashikaga Takauji, the founder of the second dynasty of Shoguns. Its connection with the first feudal code,* that of the Hojo *Shikken* or Power-holders, published 104 years previously, is not merely implied; it is explicitly avowed in the document itself; but the nature of this connection cannot be fully understood without a glance at the history of Japan during the interval and an account of the events which led up to the promulgation of this second code.

The political and juridical arrangements embodied in the Hojo code and the new laws enacted by it gave to the Japanese nation nearly a century of the best government it had ever known. Law and order reigned within the four seas. The taxes were lightened and impartially assessed. Justice was dispensed promptly and cheaply; the administrative conduct of the provincial officials was vigilantly supervised; and the one serious foreign danger that ever menaced the nation's independence—invasion by the hordes of Kublai Khan—was successfully repelled. But, withal, the political equilibrium was unstable; for the national organism was a monstrosity, having two heads. There was a sovereign *de jure* at Kyoto, whose right to govern was the cardinal doctrine of the national religion, and who, even in the darkest hours of the dynasty's fortunes, never ceased to be the sole fountain of honour; there was likewise a ruler *de facto* at Kamakura, whose title to govern rested on the double ground of victory over the sovereign in a stand-up fight for the prize of power,

* A translation of the Hojo Code is given in vol. xxxiv. of the Society's Transactions.

and of proved competence through several generations for the work of governing.

The political balance between these two heads—the nominal and the real head—was maintained so long as the Kamakura dictatorship was held by capable men. But no single family can furnish a succession of such men for many generations together. The seventh or, as otherwise reckoned, the ninth and last of the Hojo Power-holders, Takatoki, who, in the year 1316, at the age of 13, assumed the duties of his office, was a weakling. He deputed his task to an unworthy subordinate, whilst he amused himself with dog-fights, drinking bouts and dancing girls. This was an opportunity not likely to be neglected by the Imperial Court at Kyoto, ever wishful to regain its lost sway. The failure of public virtue in the line of the Hojo proved as strong a temptation to the reigning Emperor as the failure of heirs in the Minamoto line had been to his predecessor a century before. A further incentive to action was soon furnished, when it became apparent that the Hojo High Court of Justice, so long illustrious for its purity, was now open to bribes; and consequently land disputes in the provinces began to be put to the arbitrament of the sword.

The Emperor Go Daigo (1319—1339) now sent secret emissaries to Kamakura to intrigue, and, when they were discovered, had to disavow them and protest his innocence, under pain of being deposed. This was in 1325; and in the following years the rift in the lute was widened by a contest over the question of nominating the future successor to the enfeebled throne. Go-Daigo wished his own son to be acknowledged as Heir Apparent in accordance with a previous political arrangement; Hojo Takatoki objected, and proposed a son of one of the preceding Emperors, Go-Fushimi. This latter, after occupying the throne as a boy for nearly three years, had abdicated in his thirteenth year, and was now in the prime of life and strongly desirous of securing the succession for his own son. It was this dispute over the Imperial titular succession which occasioned the downfall of the feudal oligarchy at Kamakura and the destruction of the Hojo clan.

The Emperor Go-Daigo was a man of considerable tenacity of purpose. He had two ends in view, to overthrow the domination of the military power in the Kwanto, and to keep the succession to the throne in his own family. The first was a formidable enterprise; for he had no military force, and no party amongst the feudal nobility. But he had potential sources of support in the religious feelings and political instinct of his people, and in the sympathy of the wealthy Buddhist church. The great monasteries of Hiyei San had estates and tenants all over the country from which troops could be raised, to say nothing of the fighting monks themselves, whose predecessors had so often effectively intervened to settle disputes in the Imperial household. He therefore, in his capacity as head of the national religion, appointed his son Prince Morinaga to be Chief Abbot of the Tendai sect and began afresh to weave a secret plot.

The Rokuhara Lieutenancy of the Hojo power was not long in finding out what was going on, and reported fully to Kamakura. Takatoki promptly sent a force to arrest the Emperor, who fled for refuge to a mountain fastness in the neighbourhood. His deposition was pronounced at once, and the Hojo candidate raised to the throne. Then troops were sent to capture Go-Daigo; and, after a short imprisonment at Rokuhara, he was sent into exile on a small island off the west coast,o pposite the province of Hoki. Thus in the second of the two great struggles between the Imperial family and the Hojo usurpers, the latter had again apparently carried off the victory. But their triumph was of short duration.

When the second Hojo Power-holder, Yoshitoki, after defeating the similar attempt of the Court to regain its lost power 110 years before, had deposed the occupant of the throne and had sent no less than three ex-Emperors into exile, no serious movement was organized in their defence. But now, when that example was followed by his degenerate successor on a much smaller scale, public indignation was at once aroused. For the Hojo's peaceful sway had insensibly fostered national development, material, intellectual and moral. There was *now a wider public* opinion; and we may safely assume

that this nascent power was very naturally in favour of the idea that the Sovereign line should now resume its ancient rights; that the political unity of the nation should be re-established; that the Emperor himself should govern as well as reign. Consequently, when Go-Daigo, after a year or more of exile, made his escape from his island and reached the mainland, adherents flocked to his support. A force sent from Kamakura to re-arrest him in Hoki signally failed, and he set out under a resolute escort to re-enter his capital. His two chief supporters were Kusunoki Masashige and Nawa Nagatoshi, both minor barons.

Great was the consternation at Kamakura when this news was brought. A large force was promptly despatched, to occupy the capital, under the command of Ashikaga Takauji. This is one of the best-known names in Japanese history. A descendant of the Minamoto stock, he was connected through his mother with the Hojo, and therefore seemed to be a most suitable man to be entrusted with the defence of the predominance which his ancestors had built up. Yet when he reached Kyoto, so far from holding it against the Imperialists, he went over with his whole force to the Emperor's side. Meanwhile, soon after the Kamakura stronghold had been thus denuded of its defenders, and many of its adherents had deserted, it was swooped down upon by Nitta Yoshitada, was speedily carried by assault, sacked and occupied, and the whole of the Hojo family, with their relatives and chief retainers, to the number of nearly 300, committed *harakiri*, only one son of Takatoki succeeding in making his escape.

The Emperor re-entered Kyoto on the 20th July, 1333, and the three and a half years which elapsed between that event and the proclamation of the Ashikaga code was a time of storm and stress. It is known to Japanese historians as the *Chuko* episode, i.e. the temporary re-emergence of the autocracy. Only a bare summary of the chief events of this revolutionary crisis can here be given. The remaining months of the year were occupied with the measures necessary for suppressing various local risings on behalf of the Kamakura party and securing the new central hold on the more distant parts of the

empire. Their former ranks and offices were promptly restored to the Kuge courtiers who had shared in the Sovereign's misfortune. The exiled sons of the Emperor soon returned also, along with the Barons and Buddhist clergy who had been faithful to them; and Prince Morinaga, the ablest of the Princes, was appointed to the office of Sei-i Tai Shogun. In other words, he was made viceroy of the eastern half of Japan.

Early next year Ashikaga Tadayoshi, younger brother of Takauji, was sent to govern at Kamakura as *Shikken* or Power-holder to another boy prince, aged 11, sent to reside there as Shogun only; and a large new palace was built in Kyoto to replace the one that had been burnt down a century and a half before in the civil wars between the Taira and Minamoto houses. The provinces of Aki and Suwo were (that is, the taxes thereof) assigned by the Emperor to himself for his civil list; and at the same time a benevolence of one-twentieth of their incomes was levied upon all the land-reeves and the feudatories of the former Kamakura overlords throughout the empire. But risings in favour of the late régime now occurred in Kiushiu, Shikoku and even in Kawachi, Kusunoki Masashige's own province. These were all successfully stamped out, however, by various commanders; and the highly important function of distributing the rewards for military merits and services could now no longer be deferred.

It was a palpable public injustice as regards the performance of this function, some two centuries before, which had, like the working of Nemesis in a Greek trilogy, brought upon successive generations of the Imperial house bitter humiliation and trouble. In the latter half of the eleventh century the Minamoto clan, in a series of hard-fought campaigns, had suppressed a formidable focus of rebellion and reduced the north-eastern section of Japan to political subjection to the Imperial sway. But the generals had been obliged to begin the war promptly, and, once begun, to carry it through, without losing time in waiting for the issuance of the Imperial Commission formally required to legalize the war as an act of State. When the work was finished and the Minamoto

general, the famous Yori-yoshi, petitioned the Court on behalf of his forces for their well-earned rewards, his application was rejected on the technical excuse that no Imperial Commission having been issued, "the war was only a private quarrel." The Court had to pay dearly for this injustice. It was a lineal descendant of that injured general who, a century later, was commissioned by the Imperial House to deliver it from the tyranny of its Taira viziers; and, when Minamoto Yoritomo had finished the work, he took his own reward without the formality of a petition. He kept the eight provinces of the Kwanto for his own share of the realm, adding others afterwards; and he exacted his military tax from every province of the Empire, appointing, moreover, his own collectors. It was to this position that the Hojo had obtained the succession; and now that it had been wrested from them and the Sovereign had come to his own again, it was to be expected that the stern lesson as to the consequences of public injustice would surely not have been lost upon him and his courtiers, the *Kuge* or Ducal families, from whom his Ministers were drawn.

The three great generals, Ashikaga Takauji, Nitta Yoshisada, and Kusunoki Masashige being all descended from the offspring of previous Emperors, were of course rewarded first. Takauji was given the three finest provinces of the Kwanto, Nitta received two provinces, and his son and his younger brother a province each; Kusunoki two provinces, and Nawa, the noble who had sheltered and protected the Emperor when he escaped from exile, also received two provinces. The business of determining the rewards was conducted in this wise. A Fujiwara courtier was intrusted with the work of making enquiry into merits and recommending the rewards. He knew little or nothing about military affairs and was greedy of bribes. The Emperor paid little attention to his reports and recommendations. The really deserving warriors neither offered bribes nor truckled to back-stairs influence: the claimants for rewards swarmed in myriads and made interest through the ladies-in-waiting and through the intimates of the Sovereign, who was swayed most by the advice of the Empress; and she in turn was largely influenced by a favourite

dancing girl. After the lapse of several months some twenty odd rewards had been determined, and some others after having been determined and announced had been recalled. The corrupt and incompetent commissioner for rewards was dismissed and another Fujiwara of known probity was appointed in his stead. But there was no cessation of the wire-pulling and intriguing amongst the Empress's personal *entourage*. The second commissioner of enquiry into merit had not the courage to remonstrate, and resigned. Even enemies of the Court now received, through zenana influence, patents of assurance, and as many as five, and even ten, fiefs were granted to men who had not even been loyal. The Hojo's family estates were shared amongst the Imperial family, and the estates of the Hojo's more distant kinsmen throughout the empire were distributed to geisha and dancers, football players, mimics and buffoons and to officers of the body-guards, to ladies-in-waiting and to bonzes. At last an honest and capable commissioner was nominated, but still claims by courtiers and palace functionaries came into competition with those of the soldiers who had risked their all for the Imperial cause. Tax-free manors and estates were granted lavishly to undeserving intriguers; and by the time it came to rewarding the meritorious officers, there was not, says one chronicler, in all the sixty odd provinces of Japan as much undisposed-of land left as would suffice to stick a carpenter's awl into. This was at the end of 1334, more than a year after the business had been begun, and after three high nobles in succession had been ostensibly charged with the responsibility of it.

In other departments of government work the Emperor's interference and vacillation were no less disastrous. As regards judicature, what better could the new imperial administration do than follow the excellent system established by the Hojo? Accordingly new tribunals were set up at each of the palace gates for the trial of ordinary suits and plaints; whilst affairs of high importance were to be discussed and settled in council at the Record Office (*Kirokusho*). But often the decisions of the tribunals were reversed by orders from the palace, wh

private representations *ex parte* had prevailed; and although the council might discuss affairs of State at the Record Office, it was the Emperor who decided them in a small coterie of his chosen intimates, which went by the name of the Cave (*Kubosho*). During all this time the supreme influence was that of the Empress; and the surest means of access to her was through the favourite dancing girl, who of course had not been forgotten when the distribution of landed estates was going on. Outside of the court circles, Ashikaga Takauji was first favourite. He stood well with the Empress, who disliked Prince Morinaga; and the Emperor fully appreciated the fact that it was to Takauji's defection from the Kamakura interest that he owed his own restoration to power.

Disappointment and disgust at the state of affairs in Kyoto soon found expression. The great highroad between it and Kamakura became blocked with two crowds, one of which was going to the capital filled with hopes now that the rightful sovereign had regained his power; the other crowd returning to Kamakura, disillusioned, and determined to restore the former régime.

In July 1335 a complete change had to be made of the high ministers of State; but no improvement followed. Treason was beginning to be brewed in the capital itself. In August, Prince Morinaga, who had been banished to Kamakura some months before, was murdered there at the behest of Takauji, whom he had from the outset detested and antagonised. Then the only son of the last Hojo Power-holder, who had escaped from the annihilation of his family at Kamakura, now took courage and, with the support of the warriors of six eastern provinces, attacked the place and drove out the imperialist garrison and its commander, Ashikaga Tadayoshi. This was followed by the revolt of three of the northern provinces from the imperialist side; and it could no longer be concealed that the Emperor was fast losing his hold on the loyalty of the nation.

Takauji now sought the Emperor's permission to proceed to Kamakura and retake it from the insurgents. This was refused, and Takauji started, unauthorised, but, as he told the

Emperor, in the interest of the nation. He quickly recaptured Kamakura, and then proclaimed himself Sei-i Tai-Shogun. Takauji's motives for thus suddenly turning rebel have been elaborately discussed by native historians; some attributing to him crafty ambition; others, disappointed greed; others, revenge for ancestral wrongs; and there are other theories, all more or less unsatisfactory and discreditable. Another and simpler theory will be submitted presently, for what it may be worth.

The flames of civil war raged with redoubled fury after Takauji's revolt. Nitta Yoshisada was commissioned to punish him and marched upon Kamakura. Victorious at first in several engagements on his line of march, he was worsted at Hakone, and the two Ashikaga brothers then marched against the capital. The Emperor, carefully securing possession of the three divine emblems, fled for refuge to the monasteries on Hiyei-san. After much fighting in and about Kyoto the Imperialists were successful, and Takauji retreated to Kyushu. The Emperor then came down from his mountain retreat, and, thinking that all was now safe, sent back some of his defenders to their distant posts in Mutsu and elsewhere.

But the danger was not yet over. When Takauji showed himself in Kyushu the island went over to him *en masse;* and he was soon again in the field, marching up the Sanyodo at the head of a powerful army upon the capital. It was whilst on this march that a significant event occurred which cleared his action from the foul stain of treason. A noble named Akamatsu, who had been treated with exceptional and deliberate injustice by the Emperor two years before, and who had joined Takauji's standard, now advised him to obtain authorization in writing from one of the Imperial family. This was secretly obtained without much difficulty from the ex-Emperor Go-Fushimi; and henceforth the war assumed a new complexion. It was no longer a contest between constituted authority and insurgents, but between two branches of the royal family. The change of status put new heart into Takauji's army, and his assault upon the capital was successful. The Emperor fled a second time to the top of the

mountain, taking with him the divine insignia. The mountain was promptly stormed by Ashikaga Tadayoshi, and the two ex-Emperors were taken prisoners. Go-Daigo himself took refuge in the great monastery of Enryakuji, and by way of encouraging his supporters there to withstand the siege he issued a patent granting to the monastery the perpetual suzerainty of the province of Omi, in fee simple; also seven Shinto shrines and nine Buddhist temples with their numerous appurtenant estates; and to each of the eight hundred coolies who were to carry the commissariat supplies up to the mountain he granted a village in fee. The monks responded to this liberality by ineffectual attempts to dislodge the enemy or cut off his supplies, and then having rendered actual service in requital of their grant, desisted in despair.

In September Takauji set up a new Emperor in the person of Prince Yuta-hito, a boy of fourteen, younger brother of Ko-gon, the ex-Emperor who had been set up by Hojo Takatoki and who was afterwards deposed by Go-Daigo on the latter's return from exile.

Then followed a game of diamond cut diamond between Takauji and the closely beleaguered Emperor, in which the latter came off only second best. He was caught fast in a military trap; and his schemes were one after another check-mated without resort to violence. In December Takauji directed the Emperor to deliver up the divine emblems to his lately appointed successor. A counterfeit set, of recent manufacture, sword, seal and mirror, were handed over without demur. Takauji was thereupon appointed *Gon Dainagon*, i.e. Acting Chief Councillor of State. He then promulgated the Kemmu Code in 17 articles, and thereby established once more the military régime.

ARTICLES OF THE KEMMU CODE.

WHETHER THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS SHOULD BE AT KAMAKURA AS HERETOFORE OR AT SOME OTHER PLACE.

In antiquity, both in China and our own country, there have been frequent shiftings and changes in society, more than there is time to enumerate. When we come down to later times, we find affairs become much more complicated and troublesome, so that such transitions were probably not so easy to effect. Especially remarkable as regards local changes is the case of the district of Kamakura, where in the year-term of Bunji (A.D. 1185-1189) His Highness the Right Commander-in-Chief (Yoritomo) for the first time established a Military Office. In the Shokiu year-term (1219-1221), Yoshitoki, in rank a second-class Court noble (*Ason*) swallowed the empire. Must it not be called a lucky place for the Baronial Houses (*Buke*)! Their incomes were ample and their power great. They became, however, luxurious and avaricious, and did not reform accumulated evils; and at last (i.e. in Takatoki's case) brought upon themselves extinction. Even though their seat were to be shifted to somewhere else, if they do not mend their ways and abandon the rut that upset the cart, can there be any doubt that they will totter and be imperilled? Both the Chow and Tsin (Dynasties of China) were within the Yao-Han barrier; yet the Tsin were overthrown in the second generation, whereas the Chow maintained their line 800 years. The Dzui and the Tang dynasties both lived in Changan. The Dzui were overthrown in the second generation, whereas the Tang lasted for 300 years. Therefore the duration of a locality of power must depend on the goodness or badness of the system of government. It is not the badness of the locality but the badness of the men that counts. If any one desires to shift the locality of government, must he not follow the direction of *public opinion?*

[illegible]

[illegible] *Basara** the fashion [illegible] or originality [illegible] rarely mounted [illegible] and of everything calculated to [illegible] The age may almost be said to have become [illegible] Those who are rich become more and more filled with pride, and the less wealthy are ashamed of not being able to keep up with them. Nothing could be more injurious to the cause of good manners. This must be strictly kept within bounds.

2. Drinking parties and wanton frolics must be suppressed.

It is particularly important that excesses of this nature should be put down. Much more when, through infatuation for their mistresses, men have recourse to gambling. Besides these misdoings, under the pretext of holding tea parties or

* I conjecture that this word is Basra (or Bussorah), the river port where the manufactures of Bagdad were transhipped from river boats into sea going vessels. J. C. H.

under the disguise of poetical competitions, meetings are held for the purpose of laying gambling bets. Is not the waste caused by this course of conduct incalculable?

3. Crimes of violence and outrage must be quelled.

Robberies from houses in the open daylight, armed burglaries, murders and massacres occur frequently, and highway robberies take place at all the crossways, and the cries of distress from the victims never cease. For the prevention of such conduct imperative instructions must surely be issued?

4. The practice of entering the private dwellings of the people and making inquisition into their affairs must be given up.

When a person exerts himself to improve his condition in life and has a new or a bigger house built, he is immediately subjected to an inquisition (by his superiors) as to his means and so forth, and the house taken from him. Consequently he has no place wherein to hide himself, and he becomes a waif, and at last loses his means of livelihood. It is a most pitiable state of things.

5. In the present state of affairs, more than half the area of the capital has been reduced to vacant spaces (i.e. burnt down). Are they to be restored to their original owners and the rebuilding of their dwellings permitted?

The talk of the streets is to the effect that all who took part in the Imperial departure to the top of the mountain (Hiyeizan) are to be condemned, high and low without exception; and—without investigation as to the truth or falsity of the allegation—to have their properties confiscated, and so forth. Applying the provisions of the law to the matter, is there (not) a distinction to be made between the principals in turbulence and sedition and those who are only accomplices or merely their dependants and subordinates? Should (not) scrupulous investigations be made into each case, and the treatment be made different accordingly? Did an immense number of such confiscations (not) take place in the sequel of the Shokiu disturbance? If we are again now to take away the whole of their properties, will the Ducal Houses (*Kuge*) and the holders of Court offices (not) be reduced to [illegible] *destitution*?

6. Co-operative building clubs for the erection of substantial fire-proof houses to be promoted.

Whether we regard the immense contributions both in money and gratuitous labour that have been levied on the people, or the prevalence of the practice of breaking into their houses for booty, it is to be feared that the erection of houses will come to an end entirely, and so the commodities which all, both high and low, stand in need of will cease to be supplied, and the poor become unable to make a living for themselves. If the plan of having (substantial fire-proof) dwellings erected (by voluntary co-operative clubs) be carried out, will it (not) become a basis for giving a sense of security to all the people?

7. Men of special ability for government work must be chosen for the posts of Protectors of the provinces.

In a time such as the present are we (not) to call upon faithful warriors and assign to them the office of the Protectorship in the provinces; and for those who have merited rewards are we (not) to procure the grant of Manors (*Shoyen*)? The provincial Protector is an ancient military functionary; the tranquility or disturbance of the whole county depends entirely on that office. If men of unquestionable capacity and such only be chosen to fill it, will (not) the minds of the folk be set at rest?

8. A stop must be put to the practice of influential nobles and women of all sorts and Buddhist (Zen) ecclesiastics making their interested recommendations (to the Sovereign).

9. Persons holding public posts must be liable to reprimand for negligence and idleness; moreover, they should be subject to the principle of careful selection for their posts.

The above two provisions have been settled principles of government for generations; they are not at all in the nature of new-fangled changes.

10. Bribery must be firmly put down.

Although this principle also (like the two preceding) is by no means now enunciated for the first time, a special injunction of more than ordinary stringency is required to deal with it.

However subordinate his social position may be, were he worth only a hundred cash, the man who accepts a bribe must be excluded from all employment for an indefinitely long period; and if the amount of the bribe accepted be inordinate, he must lose all official employment for the rest of his life.

11. Presents made from all quarters to those who are attached to the Palace, whether of the Inside or Outside Services, must be sent back.

Whatever those in authority may be fond of, their subordinates will likewise affect. A reform in the direction of purity and honesty must be carried out. Rarities and curiosities from China and such like must particularly be disallowed as presents or souvenirs.

12. Those who are to be in personal attendance on the rulers (Sovereign and Shogun) must be selected for that duty.

It has been said: "If you want to know what sort the prince is, look at his ministers; if you want to know what sort a man is, look at his companions." Hence, seeing that the goodness or the reverse of a sovereign is at once apparent by looking at the character of the ministers he has under him, must they (not) henceforth be chosen on the ground of their capabilities? Again, when members of the ruler's entourage form cliques and in concert recommend or disparage some one, can anything be more calculated to engender quarrels and disorder? In the histories of the Chinese royal families and in the history of our own we have numerous instances of this. Then again, there is a further source of abuses when, for the sake of affording amusement, artistic performers, by their skill or beautiful costumes, work their way into royal favour and regard. Such adventurers should not be admitted to the royal entourage. Ought not this to be seriously considered [by the Sovereign]?

13. Ceremonial etiquette to be the predominant principle.

For regulating a state there is nothing that surpasses a regard for ceremonial formalities. For the prince, there should be a princely style of ceremonial; for the vassal (or minister) there should be a ministerial style. In all matters the distinctio

between higher and lower should be maintained; and both in speech and demeanour the observance of ceremoniousness should be deemed of cardinal importance.

14. Men noted for probity and their adherence to high principles should be rewarded by more than ordinary distinction.

That is the way to advance men of worth and to get rid of the bad. Directions should be issued by those having authority marking this distinction of character, by expressions of commendation or the reverse.

15. The petitions and complaints of the poor and lowly must be heard and redress granted.

In the administration of Yao and Shun this point was held to be of the first importance. In the Canon of History it is said, "What the ordinary man holds to be of small account the sage deems to be of high concern." This must be carefully borne in mind by those in power. Pity and commiseration find their appropriate objects in the poorer classes. Their distressful petitions should be entertained and dealt with; and it is imperative that instructions in that sense should be issued.

16. The petitions and claims of temples (Buddhist) and Shrines (Shinto) are to be dealt with on their merits, and are either to be approved, or, on the contrary, to be rejected if they deserve to be rejected.

In some cases these make a display of their spiritual influence: in others they make a pretext of establishing or enlarging their religious edifices: or again they make a display of mysterious signs and wonders, or proclaim that it is for the purpose of offering up prayers; and other such like motives are put forward as the ground of their petitions. The closest investigation should be made before sanctioning such requests.

17. There should be certain fixed days appointed for the rendering of decisions and issuance of government orders.

As a cause of distress to people in general nothing is more vexatious than remissness and neglect on the part of those in authority over them; and on the other hand matters should not be hastily dismissed off hand without going to the root of the questions at issue. Definite decisions should be given for one side or the other. That there should be no grievances left

for the people to complain of is the chief object of authoritative instructions.

Such, in effect, is the purport of the foregoing seventeen articles. Although I, Ze-yen, am a scion of the stock of Li Tsao, I have become an unintelligent rustic of the moors and wilds; yet I have had the honour of being called in to advise respecting the principles of stable government; and the above is the outcome of what I have gathered from the study of the history and institutions of China and Japan in ancient and modern times. At the present day throughout all the provinces there is no rest for the shield and spear. Ought we not indeed to stoop and pick one's steps warily? The ancients had a saying:—"When living in safety, nevertheless take thought for danger." But we are now living in danger, and should we refrain from taking thought for the dangers we are in? Now is just the time to be apprehensive: these are the days when it behoves us to be circumspect. Looking back to distant times, let us take example by the virtuous influence of the two sage Emperors of the Yengi and Ten-ryaku periods (Daigo, 898 — 930, and Murakami, 947 — 967); to nearer times, by the example of the practical activity of Yoshitoki and Yasutoki, father and son. Let these be our teachers for the modern time. Above all, if we can dispense a system of government such as the myriads of the people can look up to with respect, will not this be the foundation for complete and peaceful security within the four seas? Accordingly the above is, in general terms, the tenor of the suggestions which we have the honour to submit for consideration.

(Signed) SHIN-YEI
(") ZE-YEN.

Kemmu, 3rd year, 11th month, 7th day.
(A.D. 10th December, 1336.)

Present at the Council:—The ex-Minister of the Interior; Ze-yen (Lay name Dosho or Michitaka); Shin-yei (Bonze); Gen-yei Hoin (Bonze); Dazai Shoni; Akashi Mimbu Tai-yu; Ota Shichirozayemon no Jo; Fuse Hiko-Saburo *Niudo* (i.e. religieux); Eight persons as above.

Such is the second of Japan's feudal codes, and such the circumstances under which it was put forth. It is evidently, in its essence, more of a political manifesto than a legislative enactment. The name of code, *Shikimoku*, was doubtless given to it only by way of indicating its connection and continuity with its predecessor, the Hōjō Magisterial Code. In the fierce hurry of civil war, there was no time to redact its articles into legislative style, so the draft was promulgated as it stood. In substance, it is mainly a re-affirmation, with amplifications, of the political sections of the prior code. Its most important parts, indeed, are not its seventeen statutory sections, but its preamble and its epilogue. Taken together, its three portions amount to a revolutionary pronunciamento against the monarchical restoration. It is an appeal to public opinion, to men's reason and common sense, as against their instinctive political bias and their ingrained religious prepossessions. There is abundant evidence indeed that men's religious feelings exercised greater sway over the movements of the time than did considerations of political expediency. The coincidence of the number of 17 articles in this code with the same number in the code of Shotoku Taishi, the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism, as he has been called, is suggestive. As a matter of fact, the influence of the saintly Prince's name had been invoked and secured a few years before for the Imperialist cause, by means of a deliberate forgery. The story of Kusunoki Masashige's pretended discovery of a scriptural prophecy, being somewhat long, is told in a note appended to this paper.

Japanese historians in general display very shallow judgment in dealing with this portion of the national history. All their admiration is reserved for the devoted loyalty of Masashige; none of them has a good word to say for the motives, the policy, or the work of Ashikaga Takauji. Yet the patent and irrecusable facts of history prove him to have been one of Japan's greatest and noblest men. He was amongst the first to hail the legitimist restoration: but less than two and a half years' experience of the restored theocracy were sufficient to convince him that the nation had outgrown it; that its traditions, its spirit and its basic ideas were incompatible with the

welfare of the body politic as a whole. The broad facts which demonstrate his insight as a statesman, and claim from his countrymen a rehabilitation of his reputation can be briefly told. Go-Daigo escaped capture and set up his court at Yoshino, some forty miles south of Kyoto. For more than fifty years thereafter there were two rival Emperors of Japan. This was the period known as that of the Northern and Southern Courts. But it was the Northern line, set up and supported by the Ashikaga party, which prevailed in the end and continued the Imperial succession to the present day. Go-Daigo's successor in 1392 surrendered to his northern rival the genuine regalia. By that time the portion of the country that acknowledged allegiance to the Southern Court had diminished almost to vanishing point. Thus, whatever the native historians may say, the facts of history prove Takauji's forecast to have been correct and his policy sound. He was clearly the foremost statesman of his age; and the return to the effete theocratic régime was a deplorable mistake, at once reactionary and abortive.

But it was doubtless inevitable; for the stream of a people's progress seems sometimes to wind backwards, and it takes time for men's religious ideas and sentiments to adjust themselves to an altered arrangement of economic and political conditions. The feudal form of land tenure, however, was now too widely and firmly established to allow of the old courtier caste of Kyoto resuming its former political ascendancy in the state; and the Buddhist religion had developed in a new and secular direction, its two latest sects, the Hokke and the Zen, having assimilated a few of the elements and much of the spirit of the Confucian ethico-political teaching. In short, the spirit of the age in Japan was, under a different outward form, virtually the same as in contemporary Europe,—a tendency towards the secularization of political affairs. The same fourteenth century of the Christian era witnessed the decline of the power of divinely descended Mikadoes in Japan and of divinely commissioned Popes in Europe; and just as in the second half of that century there were two rival pontiffs in Christendom so there were two rival theocrats in Japan. In

both cases the old titular unity was restored in less than two generations, but the sway of the Kuge, the ruling caste of the Japanese theocracy, was over, never to return, whilst that of the Buke, the feudal military caste, was yet in its lusty youth. More than five centuries of social and political development had yet to be passed through before the Japanese nation, having achieved coherence under its Tokugawa overlords, and suddenly swept into a strange international environment, was to find in a reversion to the titular Imperialism of the Meiji era the foothold necessary for grappling with its new vital problems, and the starting-point of its career of modern progress.

NOTE TO THE ASHIKAGA CODE.

The story of Kusunoki Masashige's pretended discovery of an ancient scriptural prophecy is as follow:—

"On the 25th of August, 1332, Kusunoki Masashige went to the shrine at Sumi-yoshi to worship and presented three horses to the god. On the following day he repaired to the monastery Tennoji in Osaka and presented a horse with a splendid white saddle and a white-mounted sword and a suit of armour to the temple. This was an alms for the reciting of the Dai-han-nya Kio (the Nirvana Sutra). When the reciting was over the venerable Abbot of the Monastery presented the books before him. Kusunoki Masashige met him and said:— 'My undertaking the present great enterprise [i.e. of restoring the power to the Emperor] may seem presumptuous in so insignificant a person as myself; but the Emperor's Commission is not a thing to be disregarded and I have put away all concern for my own life; and after being somewhat victorious in two battles the soldiers from all the provinces are rallying to my standard without waiting to be summoned. Such a fortunate conjuncture as this can only be due, I consider, to the special providence of the gods and Buddhas. Whether it be true or not I cannot say, but I have heard that Jōgu (i.e. Shotoku) Taishi, pondering over the future of the monarchs of his line and the course of their destinies as regards safety or

danger, composed and left behind him a book of prophecy. If it be not asking too much, I should like to be allowed to look at the work and see what its purport is as regards the circumstances of the present age—that one volume only." The venerable Abbott replied as follows:—

"After the Prince (Shotoku) had vanquished the rebellious minister Mori-ya, and founded this monastery and from hence disseminated the Law of the Buddha, he composed a work in ten volumes, entitled "Sen-dai Kiuji Hon-ki" (i.e. Original Chronicle of the Old Affairs of Former Ages), recording events from the beginning of the age of the gods to the time of the Empress Jitō. His work was preserved in the family of Urabe no Sukune, and from their possession of it is derived their profession of diviners (*urabe*). Besides this work, there was also a Japanese book in one volume, which is preserved here. This consists of a forecast of what the vicissitudes of the Empire would be in the reigns posterior to the Empress Jitō; and of the fortunes of the successive Sovereigns. Although it is not at all an easy matter to allow this work to be shown to any one, yet I will make an exception in your favour and show it to you"; and taking from a secret recess a silver key, he opened a drawer and drew forth a scroll wound round a golden roller. Masashige was delighted, and at once unrolling it read it and found the following strange passage:—

"When the ninety-sixth of the human sovereigns comes to reign, the empire will be convulsed with disorder for a time and the sovereign himself be ill at ease. At this time a fish from the East will swallow up the four seas; the sun will be submerged in the Western sea, and after more than 370 days a Western bird will come and devour the Eastern fish. After that the whole empire will be reduced to unity and allegiance for three years, and then a monkey-like being will deceive the empire for 30 years. Then the great disaster will undergo a change, and the land will return to a single allegiance."

Masashige was greatly astonished, and after deeply reflecting what this passage might mean, it occurred to him that the preceding emperor (Go-Daigo) was the ninety-sixth in succession from the first human Sovereign; that the words

"the empire for a time convulsed with disorder and the monarch ill at ease" applied exactly to the present time; that the Eastern fish that swallowed the four Seas was (Hojo Takatoki) Sagami Niudo and his following; that the Western bird that was to devour the Eastern fish must be the men who were to destroy Kamakura; that the Sun sinking into the Western sea was the Emperor exiled to Oki; that the 370 and odd days would mean the spring of next year, when the Emperor would proceed from Oki and regain his former imperial position. Having thus thought out the meaning of the prophecy he confidently concluded that the overthrow of the imperial authority was not going to be of long duration; so he presented a gold-mounted sword to the venerable Abbot, and made him put back the scroll into its secret drawer. He consequently now took great care of himself and, saying that he awaited the Emperor's coming triumph, he posted troops at Akasaka, and entrenched himself at the fortress of Chihaya.

Tradition says, with regard to this prophecy, that it was devised and the plan carried out by Masashige himself. Having talked the religious functionary over to the idea, he gave him the scroll and told him to put it into the safety-closet where the Prince's (Shotoku Taishi's) relics were kept. He carefully kept the fact concealed even from his own family and followers and, fixing a day for the purpose, applied for the prophecy to be shown to him. Then, with manifestations of great delight he called Maeda Onchi and others to his side, and said, "Look here, look here: a prophecy put forth by one who wielded the supreme power regarding the ages to come has here been left to us. The Emperor's good fortune cannot now be long of coming. Let us each and all rejoice"; and taking a piece of paper he copied out the passage and showed it to them all around. The knowledge of the incident spread from one to another, and soon everybody in the empire had a sight of it. The device proved to be a great success, and even where it was not at first successful, the thought that the Prince of Holy Virtue had foreseen a time when there would be a usurped government by the Buke, and that that time had now come, wrought powerfully in their minds, and though they

might adhere to the Kamakura Government for the moment outwardly, yet in secret they were all the time thinking which of the generals they would elect to serve under, and at length joined either Takauji or Yoshisada.

There was part of the prophecy which turned out to be correct, that, namely, about the unity of the empire lasting for three years. The part about the monkey-like being swallowing the empire for over 30 years must refer to Takauji. Whether it was a subsequent addition to the original words, or whether it really was part of what Masashige wrote, cannot now be determined."—(From "Buke Hyorin," Vol. 41.)

At the conclusion of the reading the CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. HALL for his excellent paper, which had been of great interest to those present to hear it, and would make a very valuable addition to the Transactions.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE TENGU.

BY

Dr. M. W. DE VISSER.

Asiatic Society of Japan.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the British Embassy, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, June 17. The President, H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, H.B.M.'s Ambassador to Japan, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

The Recording Secretary announced the election of the following persons as members of the Society:—

G. A. Scott, Esq., c/o Takata & Co., Tokyo;
Dr. W. W. McLaren, Keiogijiku University, Tokyo;
Prof. W. E. L. Sweet, Higher Normal School, Tokyo.

The President then introduced Dr. M. W. de Visser, of the Dutch Legation, to read his paper on "The Tengu."

THE TENGU.

By Dr. M. W. de Visser.

ONE of the most interesting figures in Japanese demonology is the so-called Tengu (天狗). The question of the origin and significance of this being has been considered by Japanese scholars as one of the greatest importance. Even the famous Shintō reformer HIRATA ATSUTANE [1] and the learned novelist KYOKUTEI BAKIN [2] made a deep study of this subject. The former is responsible for an elaborate work called "*Kokon Yōmikō*," [3] and the latter devoted an article to it in his "*Nimaze no kizenshū*."[4] HAYASHI RAZAN,[5] also, deals with the Tengu in a chapter of his "*Honchō jinjakō*." [6] Many times we find quoted the book of a Buddhist priest, TEININ,[7] entitled "*Tengu meigikō*." [8] But this work, as well as SORAI'S [9] "*Tengu-setsu*" [10] and HIRAGA GENNAI'S [11] "*Tengu-ben*" [12] are condemned by BAKIN [13] as superficial or misleading. By far the clearest and most profound of all the older writers on this subject is BAKIN himself. HIRATA, indeed, displays an amazing range of learning, but by the great number of his quotations and by mixing up his subject with many things that do not belong to it, he becomes obscure and confused.

But there is also a modern Japanese scholar who works in this field, namely, the well-known philosopher and folklorist INOUE ENRYŌ.[14] He treats the Tengu most thoroughly in his highly interesting work "*Yōkwaigaku kōgi*," [15] and in a

1. 平田篤胤, who lived 1776—1843.
2. 曲亭馬琴, who lived 1767—1848.
3. 古今妖魅考, written in 1831.
4. 烹雜記前集, written in 1811.
5. 林羅山, who lived 1584—1657.
6. 本朝神社考, 下之六 p. 7, Sōjō ga tani, 僧正谷.
7. 諦忍 8 天狗名義考.
9. 徂徠, that is, OGYŪ MŌKEI, 荻生茂卿, who lived 1665—1728.
10. 天狗說.
11. 平賀源内, who lived 1722—1779. 12. 天狗辨.
13. l. l. p. 8 a. 14. 井上圓了.
15. 妖怪學講義 (1896), Third edition (1897), vol. ii. ch. 40, pp. 235—239, and vol. iv. ch. 38, pp. 245—275.

separate treatise entitled "*Tenguron.*"[1] Especially, the latter has great value on account of the systematic arrangement of facts and arguments. Yet the former work is more complete, because it gives more and unabridged quotations. It is a pity that the writer does not pay the slightest attention to the historical side of the question. Not one word does he say about the times in which all the books on this subject were written, nor does he follow any chronological order.[2] He overlooks some of the most important old works, which fact he himself acknowledges at the end of the "*Tenguron.*" As to the quotations he makes, we frequently have to be content with only the title of the book, without chapter or page. Nevertheless his works are of the utmost value as a basis for further research.

I.—THE CELESTIAL DOG IN CHINA.

The first question always to be asked by the student of Japanese folklore is this: Have we to do with an original Japanese belief or must we look to China for its origin? Generally he finds that the latter is the case; for China, the great maker of old Japan, had a mighty influence on its superstition too. It is Professor DE GROOT's masterpiece, "*The Religious System of China*", which gives the student abundant information on all kinds of subjects belonging to this branch of study. And the present subject is no exception to this rule. In part 2 of vol. v., which treats of Demonology, we find on pages 574 *seqq.* many interesting details concerning the "Celestial Dog." Professor DE GROOT's quotations from old Chinese works are as follows:

Standard Histories, *History of the South* (南史, 420—589), ch. 7, l. 10: . . . . "And in the 5th year of the Ta t'ung period (A.D. 539) the story was circulated in the Capital

1. 天狗論, Part 3 of the *Yōkwai sōsho*, 妖怪叢書, 1903.

2. The only reference he makes to the time of the Tengu legends (*Tenguron*, p. 23) is not only very vague, but he speaks there of the *Kujiki* as having been written according to MABUCHI's opinion 700 or 800 years before that authority's time; as we will see below the *Kujiki* mentioned by MABUCHI is quite different from the *Kujiki* in which we find a passage about the Tengu.

that the Son of Heaven took livers out of men for food of the celestial dog."

The *History of the North* [1] states that a celestial dog came down, and ceremonies were performed to counteract the ills resulting therefrom; on which occasion the Emperor fell from his horse, which was scared by a hare, and expired soon after.

SZE-MA TS'IEN [2] says: "It has the shape of a large moving star, and produces a noise. When it descends and reaches the earth, it resembles a dog. Whatever it falls upon becomes a flaming fire; it looks like a fiery light, like flames flaming up to heaven. Its base is round and covers a field of several acres; its upper part is pointed and spreads a yellow colour over a thousand miles; it may defeat armies and kill the commanders."

The *Shan hai king* [3] states: "Midway in the large plain or desert there is a red dog, called the celestial dog. Wherever it descends, armed violence will prevail."

In the "*Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty*" [4] we read: "In the second year of the Chun-kwo period (A. D. 882), in the tenth month, thunder resounded in the North-west in a cloudless sky, and this was called a descent of the celestial dog."

The "*Old History of the Five Dynasties*" [5] says: "In the third year of the T'ung-kwang period (A. D. 925), in the ninth month, on the day ting-wei, when dark clouds covered the sky everywhere at night, a noise as of thunder was heard in the north, and the wild pheasants screamed. This was what people call a descent of the celestial dog."

Professor DE GROOT states that he is unable to trace the origin of the belief in that bloodthirsty anthropophagous monster, but that what SZE-MA TS'IEN describes is evidently an enormous dog-shaped meteor, confounded with a comet in the

1. 北史, (386 –581), ch. 7, l. 30.

2. 司馬遷, *Historical Records*, ch. 27, l. 31, 史記, section 天官書.

3. 山海經, a very old classic mentioned already by SZE-MA TS'IEN n the *Historical Records*, ch. 122; ch. 6, 大荒西經.

4. 舊唐書, ch. 19, ii. l. 25.

5. 舊五代史, ch. 33, 1, 5.

sky. Further, he says that it is the name of a star placed somewhere about Cancer.

The Japanese authors quote several other Chinese works containing different tales about the celestial dog. As to the *star* or *comet* or *meteor* they belong to the Han, Sung, Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, and contain the same facts as the texts quoted by Professor DE GROOT. One of the quotations from the *History of the Han Dynasty* (漢史) runs as follows: "In the North-west there are three big stars. They look like suns; their name is Celestial Dog.. If a Celestial Dog appears, people bite each other (that is, war is coming)."

In the work "*Ho t'u*"[1] we read: "If the Great White Star (太白星) divides itself, it becomes the Celestial Dog" (this means: the Celestial Dog is a part of the Great White Star). In the old Japanese historical works, which, as a matter of course, follow the Chinese traditions, the Great White Star is often mentioned, apparently as an omen of war and calamity.

A curious story is told by WANG TING[2]: "The mother of the Empress I Teh saw in a dream the moon falling into her lap and rising again in an eastern direction. The moon's splendour was so great that she could not look at her. Gradually she (the moon) rose to the middle of the sky, when suddenly she was devoured by a celestial dog. The lady awoke with a fright and the Empress was born."

In the *Shuh i ki*[3] we find a story which is supposed to have happened in 1672. Early in the morning a villager saw on the roof of his neighbour's house "a being resembling a dog, but standing erect as a man. It had a sharp beak, the upper half of its body was red, the lower half blue as indigo. Its tail was like a broom, several ch'ih long. Frightened, he called his neighbour and told him what he had seen. As soon as the latter opened the

1. 河圖
2. 王鼎, in his work *Fan tsiao luh*, 焚椒錄, written under the Ming dynasty.
3. 述異記, written in 1701 by TUNG HIEN, 東軒. Another much older work of the same name is mentioned by DE GROOT, l.l. vol. iv. p. 156, note 1. Comp. also WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 200.

gate, the being ran up to the clouds and suddenly there was a sound as of thunder. Winding as a snake it went away in a southwestern direction. During its ascent a fiery flash shot out and brushed the sky like a broom. After a while it was extinguished. Several tens of miles around its sound was heard, and there were people who saw its splendour. If a so-called Celestial Dog falls on the earth, it gives out a sound as of thunder. In the year Kiah-Yin of the same period (K'ang-hi) (1674) there was a rebellion (of 靖南王)."

A benevolent celestial dog we find in the *San ts'in ki*[1]: "On the Plain of the White Stag there is a citadel called Keu kia. In the time of Siang Kung of the Ts'in dynasty (249—206 B.C.) there was a celestial dog which descended above that place. When robbers came he barked and protected the place against them. Therefore the whole citadel was without any fear."

Finally, an extract may be taken from the *Wuh li siao shih*,[2] in which we read: "A falling star becomes a stone in the shape of a dog's head. Therefore it is called 'Celestial Dog.'"

All these writers bring the "t'ien keu" in connection with the sky or the stars. But there are others who place them in a quite different light. The poet Tu Tsz'-mei[3] of the T'ang dynasty, for instance, says in his "Poem on the celestial dogs"[4]:

"Sometimes they are above and fly to the clouds,
Sometimes they are below and become wild animals;"

and elsewhere in the same poem we read:

"The celestial dogs live *on the top of the high mountains*,
Their spirit (氣) touches the divine excellence,
Their colour resembles that of the wan-i,[5]
They are small as wan-k'ang.[6]

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1. 三秦記, cited in the *Pei wen yun fu*, 佩文韻府 (compiled under the special superintendence of the Emperor, and published in 1711).

2. 物理小識, written by Fang I-chi, 方以智, during the Ming dynasty.

3. 杜子美.

4. 天狗賦.

5. 狻猊, fabulous lions.

6. 猿猨, gibbons.

An author of the Yuen dynasty, I SHI-CHEN,[1] says in his "*Lang hüen ki*"[2]: "In Kiün-Tsz' land there is the Phoenix-peak. From thence the celestial dogs come. Another name for them is '*t'ai chen nü sien*' (胎產女仙, pregnant verbose female *sien*) . . . . . They are *sien*, called celestial dogs."

In other places they are mentioned as a kind of badgers, living in the mountains,[3] or as birds or plants (the ginseng, 人參), or dragons.

As to their anthropophagous character, spoken of in Professor DE GROOT's first quotation, we can compare therewith two other references. In a work of the Ming dynasty, the *Wuh tsah tsü*,[4] we read: "According to the popular belief, the celestial dog always devours, wherever he stops, the infants of the people. For this reason he is very much detested by women and children."

HIRATA, who cites this passage in his *Kokon yōmikō* (ch. 1, p. 4 b), adds: "This is a strange being that lives in the mountains and flies through the air. Although it has the shape of a big shooting star (流星), in reality it is no star. Therefore it cries loudly, seizes, where it descends, the infants of the people, and devours them. It is a kind of mountain demon."

Another book of the Ming dynasty, the "*Ku kin t'an kai*,"[5] states: "There was a sorcerer who wept and said: 'My child has been killed by a Celestial Dog.' Suddenly several blood drops trickled down from the air, and after a while the head and the legs fell as falling stars."

Although in the following stories the celestial dog is not spoken of, the resemblance of those mountain demons with the Tengu of Japan is too striking to leave them unmentioned.

LI CH'OH[6] gives a legend the events of which happened at the time of a great meeting in a Buddhist temple. "In the

1. 伊世珍. Comp. DE GROOT, l.l. vol. iv. p. 105, note.
2. 瑯環記.
3. 狸, in the *Shan hai king*; or 山狗獠, in LI KAO's *Shih wuh pan ts'ao* (李果, 食物本草, Yuen dynasty).
4. 五雜俎, written by SIE CHAO-SHWAH, 謝肇淛, about 1592.
5. 古今談概, written by FUNG MUNG-LUNG, 馮夢龍.
6. 李綽, in his "*Shang-shu ku shih*," 尚書故實, written under the T'ang dynasty.

garden all kinds of games took place. A boy ten years old was dancing on the top of a bamboo-pole, when suddenly there appeared a being resembling a fish-eagle (tiao-ngoh, 鵰鶚), seized the boy and flew away. The crowd got very confused and stopped dancing. Some days afterwards the boy was discovered by his parents, lying on the top of a high pagoda. They took a ladder and brought him down. His mind had become dull, but after a while he spoke to the following effect: 'A person resembling one of those "Yakshas which fly in the sky" (飛天夜叉) on wall-paintings carried me to the pagoda and fed me daily with fruits, the taste and origin of which I did not know.' After ten days his mind was as well as before."

In the "*Kwang si t'ung chi*"[1] we read: "More then ten shepherd's boys were playing together when suddenly they saw half way up the mountain slope a man, about two chang (丈) in length, with a face more than three ch'ih (尺) broad and twice as long. His hair was tangled; he had a bird's bill, and two wings on his back. He looked down on the dancing boys and laughed with delight. After a while he let his tongue hang down; it was so long that it hung over his belly. The frightened boys all ran home, but he called them back, shouting several times in the pure language of the barbarians: 'Halloo, halloo, don't be afraid, don't run away; enjoy yourselves by song and dance and flute playing.' At these words the boys returned, played on the flute and sang and danced. The man clapped his hands with pleasure and laughed loudly. His voice resounded in the wood. Again he let his tongue hang down as before. After a long while he went away and did not appear again."

LIU KING-SHUH[2] gives in his work entitled "*I yuen*"[3] the following: "In the period Yuen-kia (151—152) a boy twelve years old saw a demon, three ch'ih long, with one leg, bird's claws and on his back a shell of scales. He came and

1. 廣西通志, ch. 42, written by WU HING-TSU, 吳興祚, in the K'ang-hi era (1662—1723).

2. 劉敬叔, an author of the Sung dynasty.

3. 異苑.

beckoned to the boy, who got confused and disturbed, and did not play any longer. His parents beat him, but suddenly they heard a voice in the air saying: 'This is what I taught him; don't punish him.'"

The fact that he had one leg shows that it was a mountain demon, one of the so-called *khwei* (夔) and *sao* or *siao* (梟, 蟲) of the Chinese mountains and hills (DE GROOT, l. l. v. pp. 495 *seqq.*)

In a work of the Tsin dynasty, the '*Sheu shen ki*,"[1] we find a description of the bird called *chi niao* (治鳥), which lives in the depths of the mountains. It is a kind of demon in bird shape, who, just as the Japanese Tengu, can change himself into a man, and sets the houses on fire of those who have him harm.

Considering the foregoing texts we find that in most of them the demon in question descends from the sky in the shape of a dog, amidst thunder and fire. INOUE, who points out that the Chinese authors describe the being as having the *shape* of a shooting star, but not as a shooting star, or comet, itself, thinks that we have to do with the thunder-beast (雷獸) (Tenguron, pp. 10 *seqq.*). This would be a very plausible explanation, if the appearance of the being was not spoken of in a way which shows that it is considered as rare and very ominous. Wherever it descends it brings war, something hardly to be ascribed to an ordinary thunderstorm. Therefore I prefer the explanation of the phenomenon as being a *meteor*, confounded, as Professor DE GROOT suggests in view of the words of SZE-MA TS'IEN, with a comet. This is a general mistake of primitive man, who considers both comet and meteor as falling stars or demons bringing calamity. In FRAZER'S *Golden Bough*[2] we find a great number of instances of this belief, collected from all parts of the world. It is no wonder that the Chinese had the same idea. Their rich

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1. 搜神記, a work written in the first decades of the fourth century by Yü PAO, 干寶 or, according to others, KAN PAO, 干寶. Comp. DE GROOT, l. l. vol. iv, p. 78, note 1.

2. ii. pp. 18 *seqq.*

phantasy compared the queer-shaped meteors with dogs and brought them into connection with war and death.

But besides this meteor-demon we find other beings of the same name. In TU TSZ'-MEI's poem we read of two kinds of celestial dogs: demons in the clouds and animals on earth, living on the tops of the mountains and nearly equal to gods. This gives us for the first time a link between the meteor and the animal-shaped demon of the mountains and woods. Especially the badger, well-known in Chinese and Japanese folklore for its supernatural powers, obtained the name of the mighty demon of the sky. Even to the miraculous human beings, called *sien* (仙), who lived in the depths of the mountains, were immortal and could fly through the air, the name "t'ien keu" was applied. This proves that the latter was familiarly associated with the mountains in a supernatural sense.

We therefore arrive at the conclusion that in China the meteor-demon was confounded with an animal-shaped mountain demon, but that of the two the former had by far the predominance.

In Japan we see just the contrary. Introduced into this mountainous country, the name "celestial dog" wholly lost its primary meaning of meteor-demon and was used only in its secondary sense of demon of the mountain recesses and the depths of the woods. But in that character it was much more developed than in China itself. On comparing the above legends, in which the name "celestial dog" is not mentioned, with the Japanese stories about the Tengu, we will see at once that the latter has a complexity of qualities proper to several other Chinese mountain demons. In this way the Japanese Tengu became a being quite different from the Chinese t'ien-keu, although there are some characteristics of the latter to be found in him.

II.—THE CELESTIAL DOG IN JAPAN.

§ 1.—*Eighth Century.*

The number of Japanese Tengu tales is enormous. Therefore we can only give the most remarkable specimens of the different kinds of legends, which have circulated in the course of the centuries. Quoting the principal sources we will treat them in chronological order.

In the oldest historical works, which date from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, the Tengu is not to be found except in one passage of the *Nihongi*. Thus, we read in chapter 23 (K. T. K.[1] i., p. 405) of this work, which was written in 720, the following particulars:

"In the spring of the ninth year (of the Emperor Jomei, that is, 637) on the 23rd of the second month a large star shot from the East to the West. At the same time there was a noise as of thunder. The people said: 'It is the noise of a shooting star'; others said: 'it is earth-thunder.' Thereupon the Buddhist priest[2] BIN spoke, saying: 'It is no shooting star, it is a Celestial Dog. Its barking is like thunder.'"

The same story we find later in the *Fusō ryakki*[3] and in the *Genkō Shakusho*[4]. All three tell us, immediately after recounting the incident, that there was a rebellion of barbarians in the same year. But only the third writer speaks of any connection between these two facts. According to his account the priest said: "This star is called 'Celestial Dog.' Perhaps there will be a revolt in the East." "And really," the author states, "there was an insurrection of barbarians."

From the statement of the *Nihongi* we can easily deduce the fact that the Celestial Dog was wholly unknown to the

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1. K. T. K. is *Kokushi taikei* (國史大系), a modern edition of old historical and legendary works. Of the same kind are the *Shiseki shūran* (史籍集覽) and the *Gunsho ruijū* (群書類從) (1795), while the *Hyakka setsurin* (百家說林) contains a great number of works of the Tokugawa period.

2. Only *Buddhist* priests are referred to in the following pages.

3. 扶桑略記. ch. 4, K. T. K. vi. p. 506; written by the priest KŌ-EN, 皇圓, in the 12th century.

4. 元亨釋書, ch. 20, K. T. K. xiv. p. 987; written by the priest SHI-REN, 師錬, who lived 1277—1346.

Japanese people of that time. The priest BIN was a Chinese who taught them in this way what he had heard and read in his own country. The fact that the demon is not mentioned anywhere else in all the old historical works, although they very often speak of shooting stars or comets, shows clearly that this Chinese belief never got hold of the Japanese people.

But there is still more that we can learn from the simple words of the *Nihongi*. At the side of the characters 天狗, "Celestial Dog," we find kana, reading "*Ama tsu kitsune*" or "Celestial *Fox*." Now, the latter is also a well-known Chinese demon. Professor DE GROOT (Religious System of China, v. p. 587) quotes the *Huen chung ki*,[1] which states: "And when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven and becomes a celestial fox." The Japanese authors cite also the work *Wuh tsah tsü*,[2] where we read: "When a fox is a thousand years old, it ascends to heaven and does not haunt (the people) any longer."

Different is the description given by the *Kwang i ki*,[3] which says: "The Celestial Foxes are the oldest (of all foxes). They are mere spirit (精神) without shape. Therefore they possess persons, commit all kinds of strange witchcraft and cover in a moment, quick as the wind, a thousand miles forward and back." In the same book a curious story is told about a celestial fox which visited a person in the shape of a Bodhisattva, riding on a lion in the midst of a five-coloured cloud, and made the man sit down for seven days in meditation (dhyāna). Driven out according to the advice of a Taoist doctor by throwing a charm into the well and making the patient swallow another, the fox returned after many years as a great lord with a long train of retainers. He forced the man to give him the hand of his daughter, but again he was beaten, though this time with more difficulty, by the same Taoist doctor. In his original shape of an old fox he was put in a bag by the latter and brought to the Emperor, who by the

1. 玄中記, written before the 6th century.

2. See above p. 29, note 4.

3 廣異記, a work written by TAI KIUN-TSZ', 戴君子, after the T'ang dynasty, and quoted by HIRATA, l.l. ch. 1, pp. 6 *seqq*.

advice of the Taoist banished him to Korea by means of a charm. The fox flew away with the charm and was ever afterwards worshipped by the people of Shiragi[1], one of the old kingdoms of Korea.

It seems to have escaped the attention of all the Japanese writers on this subject that the Celestial Fox is spoken of in the *Shoku Nihon kōki*,[2] which dates from 869. There we read how one evening in the year 834 "the sweeping of wings and crying was heard above the Palace. It was a flock of several hundreds of beings, whose voices were like those of seabirds, called 'kamome' (seagulls). Some people said that they were not seabirds but *Celestial Foxes*. The soldiers of the Body-guard all looked up to the sky, but the night was so dark that the beings could only be heard, not seen."

The *Ainōshō*,[3] an encyclopediacal work dating from 1446, states that Celestial Dogs and Celestial Foxes are mixed up in writing. HIRATA (l.l.) points out the great resemblance between the Chinese legends about the Celestial Fox and what the Japanese tell about their Tengu. Moreover, ASAKAWA ZENAN[4] mentions in his *Zenan zuihitsu*[5] three images of a Small Tengu, riding on a fox: Dōryō Gongen of Odawara, Izuna Gongen in his temple on the top of the Izuna or Fox-sorcery-mountain in Shinano province, and a third god in Shimōsa province; which all show the connection between the Tengu and the fox.

Indeed, it is remarkable how many characteristics the Japanese Tengu shares with the Chinese fox. Both impose upon man in the shape of a Buddha[6], or set houses on fire,[7] or possess persons,[8] or know everything which happens at a distance of more than 1000 miles.[9] Chinese werefoxes are supposed to have a mysterious pearl,[10] and, according to

1. 新羅.
2. 續日本後記. ch. 3, K. T. K. iii. p. 192.
3. 壇書鈔, ch. viii. nr. 312, p. 38, 2.
4. 朝川善庵.
5. 善庵隨筆, written in 1850; *Hyakka setsurin* (see above, p. 34 note 1) vol. 正上 pp. 671 *seqq.*
6. Comp. DE GROOT, l. l. vol. v. p. 590.
7. Ibidem, p. 596.
8. Ibidem, p. 586.
9. Ibidem, p. 586.
10. Ibidem, p. 593.

the *Shasekishū*,[1] a Japanese work dating from the beginning of the 14th century, "whosoever becomes a Great Tengu gets a pearl, red as agate. If one holds this pearl before his eyes or ears, he can see or hear all that happens in the three thousand worlds." Although the power, ascribed to the pearl, is different from that of the Chinese belief, yet the resemblance is remarkable.

If we combine these facts with the vague term used by FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA,[2] who writes in his diary, the *Taiki*,[3] about the image of the "Heavenly Lord of Atago-yama," the celebrated Tengu mountain (犬公, pronounced Tengu), we arrive at the conclusion that the Japanese had no clear ideas about the difference between the Celestial Dog and the Celestial Fox, and that they confounded them in such a way, that the name of the former was applied to the characteristics of the latter.

§ 2.—*Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.*

The first work in which the Japanese Tengu appears is the *Utsubo Monogatari*,[4] the oldest collection of Japanese tales. It is quoted already in the *Genji Monogatari* (1004) and in the *Makura-zoshi* (1000), and dates from the end of the tenth century. In chapter 1, entitled Toshikage (俊陰), nr. 16, 2, appears the following story: "That day being the day of the Emperor's going to Kitano, he went to see the neighbouring mountains. His attendant of the day, Udaishō no otōdo (Commander of the Right Imperial Guards), turned his horse and said: 'Hark! there is some one playing on the koto.' His elder brother, the Migi no otōdo (Udaijin, Right-Minister) responded: 'How well the sound reverberates in this Kitayama! It is as if there were a whole orchestra playing. It must be a koto like the Setakaze in the Palace. Come, let us go nearer and listen!' His brother replied: 'Who would be playing for his pleasure in such a distant mountain? I am sure it will be a *Tengu*; don't go!' But the other retorted: 'Sennin play in

1. 沙石集, see below.
2. 藤原頼長, who lived 1120—1156.
3. 台記, a diary which runs from 1142—1155; see below.
4. 宇津保物語.

this way; well then, I go alone.' " Going into the wood he found a beautiful girl playing the koto, but coming back he said that he had not seen anybody. His companions were convinced that it was the work of a Tengu.

This story shows clearly that in those early days the Tengu was considered as a mountain demon, who deluded people and decoyed them into the depths of the wood.

The next source is the *Konjaku Monogatari*,[1] which dates from before 1077. This highly interesting work contains an enormous number of legends from India, China and Japan. Chapter 20, which has been omitted in the *Kokushi taikei*, vol. xvi., is to be found separately, together with chapters 17 and 19 in vol. xxiii. of another modern collection of old books, the *Shiseki shūran*.[2] This chapter includes the following Tengu stories.

No. 1 (p. 134). A Tengu, on his way from India to China, hears the sea (!) singing a Buddhist text. Immediately he decides to put a stop to it, and goes in the direction of the sound. In this way he comes via China to Japan, continually hearing the voice without finding its origin. At last he arrives at the foot of Hieizan, the centre of the Tendai sect near Kyōto, and lo! there are the Four Kings of Heaven and the angels who protect the Law of Buddha, sitting as guardians by the small river, which flows from the mountain. The water of the river is singing the holy text, which he heard already at such a distance. After a while he ventures to ask the reason, and an angel tells him that this rivulet sings the text and is guarded in this way, because it is the privy of so many learned priests of Hieizan. At once the Tengu loses his desire to stop the singing, makes a vow to become a priest of Hieizan, and disappears. Really he is reborn as a man and attains episcopal dignity.

No. 2 (p. 135). A strong Tengu comes from China to Japan in order to see whether the Japanese priests are as easy to deal with as are the Chinese. With a Japanese colleague

1. 今昔物語, written by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, who died in 1077. K. T. K. vol. xvi.
2. 史籍集覽, nr. 21, pp. 134—196.

he flies to Hieizan and tries his luck, but is shamefully beaten by a bishop, who by means of a tantra appears on the top of his sedan chair in the midst of a high flame. Twice more his efforts end in failure, and at last he lies down, kicked and beaten by boys. Then his Japanese friend, who has seen it all from a distance, asks him with a jeering laugh whether he had much success, smears his loins with ointment and sends him back to China.

No. 3 (p. 139). In the Engi era (901—922) there appeared in a big kaki-tree in the neighbourhood of Kyōto a Buddha, surrounded by a brilliant glare and a rain of flowers. During more than seven days high and low came from the capital in order to worship him. At last a very clever minister, who suspected that it was a mere Tengu trick, decided to go and have a look himself. The minister reasoned thus: "Wicked sorcery (gejutsu, 外術) does not last longer than seven days; to-day I will see what it is." On arriving at the spot he sent the crowd away and stared for an hour from his sedan chair at the Buddha, who continually caused a rain of flowers to fall. But lo! at once his power came to an end under the constant glare of the minister. He changed into a big kite (kusotobi, kestrel), which fell out of the tree with broken wings and was killed by a little boy.

No. 4 (p. 140). A Buddhist priest who passes for a very holy man, lives as a hermit on Takayama. By his incantations he can check the wild beasts in their course and make the birds fall down to the ground. One day the Emperor (Enyū, 969—984) becomes ill and the priests at the Court try in vain to cure him by means of their incantations. Now the holy man of Takayama is called and cures the patient in a very short time. This rouses the suspicion of the other priests. With the utmost fervour they all recite their incantations before the curtain behind which the mysterious man finds himself. Suddenly a loud cry is heard and the Emperor's room is filled with the stench of dog's urine. The priest tumbles from behind the curtain and is nearly beaten to death. Praying for his life he confesses that he worships the Tengu on Takayama in *order to be revered* by all mankind, and that the fact that he

was called to the Palace and cured the Emperor was a result of his prayers to them. Thereupon he is ignominiously driven out of the Palace. The author observes: "Thus, although a person who worships such beings has an extraordinarily miraculous power (reiken, 霊験), yet at last it comes to light. Nobody knows what became of the priest. Even to-day there are traces on Takayama of the place where he worshipped the Tengu."

No. 5 (p. 142). While a bishop is praying before the image of Buddha a Tengu in the shape of a nun steals a box containing sacerdotal vestments. On being discovered and pursued by the bishop, she climbs up a tree, but tumbles down by the power of his incantations, and the bishop recovers the box.

No. 6 (p. 142). During two years a Tengu tries in vain to seduce a pious priest by means of a woman whom he possesses. At last she gets so vexatious that the priest prays to Fudō Myōō to help him, whereupon the Tengu is bound by the god. The woman turns round as a top, knocks her head against a pillar of the temple, and cries loudly for help. The demon, speaking by her mouth, says that he has been wholly weakened by the miraculous power and that his wings are broken. As he beseeches the priest to let him go, the latter supplicates the god again and by virtue of this prayer the Tengu is allowed to leave the body of the woman. She recovers her senses, runs away and never troubles the priest again.

No. 9 (p. 147). A bonze who practices wicked sorcery (gejutsu, 外術) (just as the one in story No. 4), transforms clogs and sandals into little dogs, makes a howling fox leap out of his bosom, enters a horse or cow from behind and comes out through the mouth, and so on. After having done this for many years, he takes with him one day a young neighbour, who would like to learn his art, to an old priest in the mountains. At his advice the youngster first purifies himself by seven days of severe fasting and ablutions, and takes some rice with him in a new, clean bucket, but contrary to his teacher's prohibition he hides a small sword under his clothes.

As soon as they arrive at the priest's house in the mountains, the mysterious old hermit says that he knows quite well that the visitor carries a sword, and orders a servant to take it off. But the lad, fearing that his last hour has come, decides to sell his life as dearly as possible, and jumps at the old man with his sword drawn. Suddenly mountain and house and priest vanish altogether and they find themselves in a temple in the capital itself. The sorcerer goes away, crying and lamenting that his work of years has been spoiled. A few days afterwards he suddenly dies. The author adds: "We do not know exactly the reason, but probably he was a devotee of the Tengu. The young man disappeared; likely he died also. A man who is clever in such arts, is deeply guilty. Therefore nobody who believes in the Triratna would desire to learn them. Anyone who does so is called a man-dog (人狗) and is, according to the tradition, no man."

No. 11 (p. 153). A dragon having the shape of a small snake is basking in the sun on the bank of a lake in which he lives. Suddenly a kite swoops down and carries him off to the mountains, where the bird drops its prey into a deep cleft in the rock. It is a Tengu who plays this trick on the dragon, knowing quite well that the latter cannot take his own shape nor fly into the air without the aid of water, though even a single drop. The cleft is quite dry and the dragon is about to die miserably, when, after four or five days, a second victim is thrown into the aperture. This time it is a priest, who, coming out with his pitcher on the verandah of his house in the midst of night, has been caught by the Tengu, lying in wait for him on the top of a tree. The dragon, strengthened by the drop of water that is left in the pitcher, changes at once into a little boy, flies into the air amidst thunder and lightning, with the priest on his back, and puts him safely down at his house on Hieizan. In the meantime the Tengu has taken the shape of a priest and is collecting wisdom in Kyōto, but the dragon throws himself upon his enemy and kicks him to death.

No. 12 (p. 155). A wholly ignorant but devout priest was prostrated in prayer before a Buddha image in the dead

of night, when suddenly he heard a voice in the air, saying: "Because your trust in me is so full of devotion and you recite so many prayers to me, I will come and fetch you to-morrow at the hour of the sheep. Do not neglect your prayers." The next day the priest and his pupils, with their faces to the West, were absorbed in devotion. At the hour appointed a blinding light appeared in the neighbourhood of a fir on the top of a mountain in the West. Looking with folded hands they saw the head of Amida Butsu, surrounded by a golden halo. Enchanting music was made by several Bodhisattvas, and a shower of flowers was falling from above. Kwannon, in the midst of a purple cloud, brought a golden seat for the pious priest, and Amida, enthroned on a lotus, took him along to the West. The disciples, thinking that he had gone to the Western Paradise, bowed low in devout prayer. But when a monk, some seven days afterwards, went into a distant valley, he heard the sound of groaning above his head. And lo! it was the same priest, stark naked, and bound on the top of a tree. The monk untied him, but the unfortunate man cried, "Why do you do that? Buddha has said to me that I should wait a little and that he would come back and fetch me." "Amida Butsu," he then exclaimed, "here is a man who kills me!" The bewitched priest was raving mad and died after a few days. He had been deceived by Tengu because he had no knowledge and did not understand the difference between the work of demons and the world of Triratna.

In other chapters of the same work the Tengu is mentioned only twice. In ch. 10, no. 35,[1] we read among the legends, which all begin with the words "Once there was in China" a.s.o., the story of a hermit, who, banished by a king on account of the abuse of his queen, died of grief in exile and became a king of Tengu. At the head of 10,000 of them he went to another country, because some of the Tengu would not hold any intercourse with one who died under such circumstances.

In chapter 28, no. 28,[2] Buddhist nuns, who are made drunk by eating mushrooms and are dancing in the mountains, are believed by the woodcutters to be Tengu.

1. K. T. K. xvi. pp. 517 *seq.*
2. K. T. K. xvi. p. 1337.

If we reflect upon these tales we see the Tengu everywhere, except in the Chinese legend, playing the part of the sworn enemies of Buddhism. In their fight against Buddha's Law they appear as a Buddha or as priests or nuns. Their real shape must be that of a *kite*, for as such they fall out of a tree and carry away a dragon and a priest. They try to seduce a priest by means of a woman whom they possess, and to bring other bonzes on the wrong path by giving supernatural power to those who worship them. But woe to him who does not hold the power gotten from them in due veneration, for he dies within a few days. Buddha's Law, however, is still mightier than these demons. They can be subdued by means of incantations, provided that these are thoroughly carried through. Carrying off men and especially priests, who are afterwards found in a state of madness or stupefaction, was already in those days one of their favourite sports.

If we may believe MABUCHI,[1] one of the most erudite students of old Japan and its literature, the *Kujiki* or *Sendai kuji hongi*[2] was written 700 or 800 years before his time, that is, in the tenth or eleventh century. BAKIN, on the contrary, contends in the *Nimaze no kizenshū*[3] that it was compiled later[4] by a Buddhist abbot called CHŌ-ON (潮音), who used several old books in producing a counterfeit substitute of the lost work *Kuji hongi* of SHŌTOKU TAISHI (572—621). It seems to me that MABUCHI and BAKIN spoke about different books. The former probably had in view the *Kuji hongi* which we find in K. T. K., vol. vii., the latter another much later work of the same name, but both counterfeit substitutes of SHŌTOKU TAISHI's book. In the oldest of the two the Tengu is not mentioned, but in the latest we find him mentioned once. The

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1. 眞淵 who lived 1697—1769; quoted by INOUE, *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, ii. p. 236.

2. 先代旧事本紀

3. l.l. p. 1055.

4. According to the *Nihon kodai monjikō* (日本古代文字考) of OCHIAI NAOZUMI (落合直澄) (1839—1891), CHŌ-ON wrote the book in the Tenwa era (1681—1683). Before he had published the whole work, it was found to be a mere substitute, the labour of his own brain. The editor was *banished and CHŌ-ON* would have undergone the same fate but for the *protection of the Shōgun's mother.*

value of that passage, however, seems to me very little, as it stands alone in the whole of Japanese literature. It runs as follows: [1]

"Susanowo no mikoto's wild spirit filled his breast and belly. The superabundant part of it became saliva, and this became the Celestial Dog-Deities (天狗神, with the kana-reading 'Ama no zago-kami'), female but powerful gods. Their body is human, but their head is that of an animal with a long nose, long ears and long teeth."

Further, the author states that they easily get into a fury and are then very wild. When they push a god or a man, however strong he may be, forward with their nose, he flies a thousand miles away. Their teeth are so strong that they bite through swords. They can become pregnant by inhaling miasma.

Probably this is pure invention. The author doubtless found in the Chinese books mentioned above,[2] the passages about the Tengu as a female *sennin* and as a quadruped in the mountains, and he wished to put these data into a Shintōist setting. The mention made of the long nose seems to me to be evidence that the work is not very old, for we do not find the Tengu described in that way in writings prior to the Yoshino shūi (see below), which dates from the second half of the fourteenth century.

§3.—*Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

The *Eigwa monogatari*,[3] which was written about 1100, describes the magnificent Buddhist temple which the Emperor Shirakawa (1072—1086) built in the year 1077 on a place where Tengu were believed to live. The author says: "Although I had heard that the Tengu would hinder the building of the temple because they disliked it, yet the dedication took place in such a brilliant way" (as previously described).

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1. Vol. vii. 神祇本紀, ch. 5, p. 13.
2. Page 29.
3. 榮華物語, K. T. K. xv. ch. 39, p. 1707.

Here again the Tengu were considered the enemies of Buddhism and expected to hinder the Emperor's pious intentions.

In the *Ōkagami*,[1] a work dating from the first half of the 12th century, we read about the illness of the Emperor Sanjō (1011—1016). Shortly after his accession to the throne he became blind, but from time to time he had brief periods of vision. There was nothing specially noticeable in his eyes excepting that the pupils were very clear. After some time the ghost[2] of the priest Kansen appeared and said: "I am riding on the Emperor's neck and covering his eyes with both my wings; when I clap my wings, he can see a little." Thereupon the Emperor abdicated the throne and repaired to Hieizan, but his prayers for recovery were not heard. Upon this the people said: "Now the illness ought to be better, and the prayers ought to have success. It is certainly the work of the Tengu of Hieizan."

In this passage we already find the Tengu not only haunting priests in order to belittle Buddha's Law, but even tormenting the Emperor, no doubt with the aim of causing court intrigues and confusion in the world. As in the Chinese story of the *Konjaku monogatari*, this Tengu is the angry ghost of a priest, who probably had suffered some wrong from the Throne and had died in anger.

The *Taiki*,[3] FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA's diary, states that in 1155 a man drove a nail into the eye of the image of the "Heavenly Lord" (天公) of Atago-yama. YORINAGA says: "I knew only that the Heavenly Lord of Atago-yama flies, but I did not know that there was an image of him on Atago."

The *Hosshinshū*[4] mentions the Tengu three times.

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1. 大鏡, ch. 1, K. T. K. xvii. pp. 478—480.

2. Mono no ke, 物の氣

3. 台記. a diary which runs from 1142—1155; quoted by ANDŌ TAMEAKI, 安藤爲章, in his *Nenzan kibun*, 年山紀聞, written in 1702; *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. 續上 p. 140, ch. 6.

4. 發心集, a Buddhist work of KAMO CHŌMEI, 鴨長明, who lived *1154—1216.*

In the first story[1] we read how during a thousand nights a priest prayed in a temple the prayer, "Possess me," and that another who heard these words suspected him of supplicating a Tengu to do the possessing.[2]

The second passage[3] speaks of a devout priest who promised his teacher on the latter's death-bed to serve him in the future life. But the teacher fell on the Tengu-road (Tengu-dō, 天狗道), and consequently the pupil, bound by his promise, died in madness and became also a Tengu. Otherwise he would have gone to Paradise. To make this known he possesses his mother and speaking though her beseeches her to pray for his soul. She does so, and after some time he possesses her again and tells her that, by virtue of her prayers, he is now going to Paradise. As a proof that he is shaking off his impure Tengu-body the terrible stench which fills the house changes at once into a delicious odour.

In the third story[4] a priest who was believed to be very devout built a temple in order to satisfy his vanity. Accordingly he was punished after death by becoming a Tengu, who possessed a living person and told through his mouth how he had deceived the people during his life by his false virtue, and how severe his punishment was. On the days of the festival of the temple his tortures were at their worst.

In these legends we read for the first time about the Tengu-road, as one of the punishments of hell for vain and hypocritical priests.

The *Kojidan*[5] contains the following legends. In 865 the Empress was possessed and tormented by a Tengu. He spoke through her mouth defiant words to the priests who during several months tried in vain to exercise him by their incantations. At last Fudō Myōō, after having turned his face several times away from the pious abbot Sō-ō,[6] who prayed a long

1. *Shiseki shūran*, 史籍集覽, vol. xxiii. nr. xxii. 1, p. 14.
2. Comp. *Kojidan*, 古事談, ch. 3, K. T. K. xv. p. 89.
3. Ch. 2, p. 41.
4. Ch. 8, p. 168.
5. 古事談, written 1210–1220; K. T. K. xv. ch. 3, p. 66.
6. The same abbot cured the Empress Rokujō in 888, by exorcising a supernatural fox who possessed her (*Fusō ryakki*, ch. xxii., K. T. K. vol. vi. p. 634).

time to him for help in this case, revealed to him in a dream that the Tengu was the ghost of a bishop who during his life had been in the possession of Fudō's tantra, but afterwards had fallen on the Tengu-road on account of heresy. Although he was now a Tengu, he remained under Fudō's protection by virtue of the original vow (*honsei*, 本誓), so that it was impossible to bind him by means of this god's incantations. But if the priest used another tantra, the name of which the god gave him, he would be able to bind the demon. The abbot followed the advice and really succeeded in binding the Tengu. After having obtained from the demon a promise that he would never return, he let him go, and the Empress recovered at once.

In another story[1] a priest of Hieizan had disappeared. His disciples supposed that a Tengu had carried him away, but afterwards this assumption appeared to be wrong.

On p. 87 *seq.* we read about a little girl, twelve years old, who suddenly became unconscious. A Tengu who possessed her spoke through her mouth. When a bishop asked him his name, the demon answered that he was ashamed to speak it out, but that he would write it down. Thereupon the girl who, in her normal condition, did not even know the simple kana-writing, wrote in Chinese characters the name of a deceased bishop. The Tengu promised to depart from the girl, who got better at once.

In these legends the Tengu are again nothing more than ghosts of priests, who possess people and speak through their mouths or carry off their former colleagues.

In the *Heiji monogatari*[2] we read: "It is told that Yoshitsune night after night was taught the manual of arms by a Tengu in Sōjō ga tani, the Bishop's Valley in Kurama-yama. That was the reason why he could run and jump beyond the limits of human power."

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1. Ch. 3, p. 74.

2. 平治物語, written 1200—1225; edition with explanatory notes, *ch. 3, 下, p. 262.*

The *Gikeiki*,[1] which treats of Yoshitsune's history, refers also to this valley. "Formerly the temple there was frequented by thousands of pilgrims, and night and day one could hear the sound of prayer-bells and kagura-drums. But now there are only Tengu living on the spot. When the evening sun is sinking to the West, there is a loud crying of spirits (mono no ke, 物の氣, that is, Tengu). Whoever dares approach the place as a pilgrim is seized by them and tormented. Therefore it is wholly deserted. Yet Ushiwaka (this is Yoshitsune's boy's name) secretly went to that place."

HAYASHI RAZAN[2] devotes a chapter of his *Honchō jinjakō* to this legend. Yoshitomo's youngest son, Minamoto no Ushiwaka, afterwards called Yoshitsune, had been spared by Taira no Kiyomori after the Heiji war (1159) on condition that he should become a priest and be educated in the temple of Kurama (Kurama-dera). But the young man escaped and marched against the Taira, whom he destroyed in the battle of Dan-no-ura (1185). According to the popular tradition he attributed his success to a Tengu, whom he met one day in the shape of a strange man or yamabushi in the Bishop's valley, and who taught him how to handle arms.

It is the first time that we read about the Tengu's ability in handling the sword. The reason why he instructed Ushiwaka was, of course, the desire to cause war.

The *Hōgen monogatari*[3] relates the following:—In the year 1141 the Emperor Sutoku (崇德) was forced by his father, the Emperor Toba, to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother, the Emperor Konoe, who died in 1155 and was succeeded by another brother, the Emperor Go Shirakawa (1156-1158). But Sutoku, assisted by Fujiwara no Yorinaga, revolted against the latter, and the Hōgen war (1156) began. Sutoku was defeated and banished to the province of Sanuki. In his exile he copied five volumes of the Mahāyāna and requested the Emperor to offer them for him in

1 義經記, written about 1220.
2. See above p. 24, note 5.
3. 保元物語, written 1200—1225, edition with explanatory notes, 下卷, p. 243.

a temple at Kyōto, but Go Shirakawa refused. Then Sutoku declared that he would be his brother's enemy even in the future life. He bit his tongue and with the blood which gushed out he wrote on each of the book-rolls he had copied the following oath: "I have thrown the five volumes of the Mahāyāna, which I copied, on the three wicked roads (san akudō, that is, Hell, Preta-road and Animal-road, jigoku-dō, gaki-dō and chikushō-dō). By virtue of this great deed I shall become the Great Demon (大魔) of Japan. I shall throw the world into confusion and haunt the nation." From then on he never again cut his nails or shaved himself, and even during his lifetime got the appearance of a Tengu. After his death (1164) he became a demon of this sort, and all the wars of that bloody time were ascribed by popular tradition to his influence. Go Shirakawa was so afraid of the angry ghosts of his brother and his brother's ally, Yorinaga, who had been killed in the Hōgen rebellion, that he built a Shintō temple in their honour on the battle-field.

According to the *Gukwanshō*[1] there appeared in that temple in 1184 a miraculous snake (靈蛇), and one of the officials who had the supervision of the temple had a wonderful dream. The people believed that it was all the work of Tengu, especially of Sutoku's angry ghost. A woman with whom he had been in love erected in her house in Kyōto a chapel for his soul, and gradually the rumour was spread that there were miracles to be seen there.

In the *Gempei Seisuiki*[2] we read the same story, and in chapter 12 (p. 312) the ghost appears in Norimori's dream. Although Go Shirakawa had raised Sutoku to the dignity of God of Sanuki, and had conferred upon Yorinaga a high posthumous title, yet the angry ghosts were not appeased. This was apparent from a dream of Tani no Norimori, who saw Sutoku with both his generals and hundreds of soldiers in the pass of Kohata-yama. The deceased Emperor had long nails on hands and feet. His hair stood erect as silver nails,

1. 愚管抄, ch. 5, K. T. K. xiv., p. 531.

2. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250, *Teikoku bunko*, 帝國文庫, *v. ch. 8, p. 195.*

and his eyes were as those of a *kite*. They decided to enter the capital and deliberated in which house Sutoku would put up. As it was impossible for them to enter the palace of Go Shirakawa, because the head of the Tendai sect was just officiating there and Fudō and Dai Itoku were guarding all the gates, the whole procession marched to the house of Dajō Nyudō.

The *Gukwanshō*[1] contains the following story:—In the year 1196 the ghost of the Emperor Go Shirakawa, who died four years before, possessed two women and a priest, through whose mouth he spoke and ordered the people to worship him. The Emperor, Go Toba, exiled the first ones, thinking that they had tried to deceive him. But when the matter repeated itself, he began to believe that it was really Go Shirakawa's ghost who had spoken by means of these persons, and he was about to follow the command. Then Bishop Ji-en (probably the author of the *Gukwanshō*) wrote him a letter to the effect that he considered the whole thing to be the work of *foxes* or *Tengu*, who from olden times up till now liked to be worshipped themselves and to throw the world into disorder. "Already", he said, "many people in the capital have erected temples for Go Shirakawa's ghost, because they heard that you were intending to worship him. In this way the deceased Emperor is brought into contact with all kinds of low people, and used by such fools as miko, kannagi (female sorcerers) and dancers of the saru-gaku (monkey-dance). If such things happen, the world will come to an end." The Emperor, following the Bishop's advice, sent the last of the possessed women to a monastery and took no further notice of the words of the ghost. The woman gradually recovered. "It would have been deplorable if the Emperor had done harm to the country by listening to such things. As to the other persons who had been possessed by the *Tengu* and punished with exile by the Emperor, they were afterwards pardoned and are still living."

On p. 597 (ch. 7) the author speaks of Yoritsune (son of Fujiwara no Michiie), who became Shōgun of Kamakura in

1. 愚管抄, written 1220—1225 and ascribed to Bishop JI-CHIN, 慈鎮, *also called* JI-EN, 慈圓, who died in 1225. Ch. 6, K. T. K. xiv. pp. 555 seq.

his second year (1219). This was a thing unprecedented in history. There had always been a deep gulf between the *kuge* and the *buke*, the court nobles and the military caste. He was the first who combined the two. No wonder that there was great indignation among the other members of the Fujiwara Family, who considered it a stain on their name. The author remarks: "It is dubious whether it was an idea of Hachiman, the Great Bodhisattva, or the work of *Celestial* or *Terrestrial Dogs* (天狗地狗). From olden times the angry ghosts (怨靈) have ruined the world and the people. Therefore one must first pray to Buddha and the gods."

In ch. 6, p. 549, we read about a priest without knowledge, of whom the people said that he spoke ill of others and "worshipped only Tengu," and in ch. 5, p. 529, the rebellion of Minamoto (Kiso) no Yoshinaka against Emperor Go Shirakawa, whose palace he burned down in 1184, is ascribed to the Tengu, namely, to Sutoku and his followers.

In these legends the Tengu are angry ghosts of the dead, but on the other hand they are bracketed now with foxes and again with "Terrestrial Dogs." BAKIN[1] gathers from this fact that the latter must be the same as foxes. Just as did foxes, so the Tengu possessed men in order to do harm to the world and throw it into disorder. The desire of the Tengu to be worshipped by mankind, which we have noted already in earlier sources, comes clearly out in Ji-en's advice to the Emperor.

In the *Gempei Seisuiki*[2] the god of Sumiyoshi appears to the retired Emperor Go Shirakawa and tells him that, although the priests of Hieizan seem to be very bad in hindering his baptism in Miidera, in reality it is not their fault but the work of the heavenly devils (Temma, 天魔) of Japan, who have come together and possessed the priests. When the Emperor asks him what kind of beings these Temma are, the god answers that they are animals with a little supernatural power, and that they are of three kinds: *Temma*, *Hajun* (波旬, the same as Mahajun, 魔波旬) and *Ma-en* (魔緣). As to the first kind, continues the god, all proud sages and scholars and all people

1. *l.l. p. 1054.*

2. See above p. 24, note 4; ch. 8, p. [illegible]

of bad principles, who, erring in the darkness of stupidity. do not like to receive the light of the sages, become Temma. They have the head of a Tengu and the body of a man, with wings on both sides. They possess supernatural power and know the things of a hundred years past and a hundred years ahead. They fly through the air like falcons. As they are Buddhists, they do not fall into hell, but as they have bad principles they do not go to Paradise. Whoever hinders the pious believers and ridicules their prayers, falls after death upon the Tengu-road. Eight or nine out of ten priests of to-day go that way and break Buddha's Law.

To quote further and in full: "Proud nuns become Nun-Tengu, the priests Priest-Tengu. Although their faces are those of the Tengu, their heads are those of nuns or priests, and although they have wings at the arms, yet they wear something like a dress and around their shoulders hang scarves (kesa). When ordinary men, who are proud, become Tengu, they have Tengu faces, but on their heads wear the eboshi (a cap formerly worn by nobles); and although they have wings on both arms, yet their bodies are covered with something like suikan-bakama (a silk robe worn by ancient court nobles), hitatare (clothes anciently worn by common people) or kariginu (a kind of silk garment anciently worn by nobles when going a-hawking). When ordinary proud women become Tengu, they wear wigs on their heads and have their faces smeared with something like red and white paint; they make themselves long eyebrows and blacken their teeth. With red hakama (loose trousers) and usaginu (thin woven dresses) on they fly through the air. When a Tengu ceases to play a part as such and is about to assume the body of a man, he sinks into abstract contemplation (samādhi, 入定, nyūjō) on the top of a mountain or at the bottom of a deep valley, a thousand miles away, where nobody comes. Then his name is *Hajun* (波旬) and it is said that he acquires a human body after the lapse of ten thousand years. Although proud persons and people of bad principles certainly become Tengu, they are called *Ma-en* (魔縁, devil connection) as long as the world does not yet know of it and

they continue thinking themselves superior to others. They are called Ma-en, because all Tengu (devils 魔, *ma*) make use of this pride to establish a connection (*en*, 縁) (between themselves and the proud persons in question), and so come together with them.[1] Therefore, if one serves Buddha without pride, there is no ma-en, and no Temma (heavenly devils) come to hinder him. Although there are great numbers of Temma in the world, they never come to a house where no connection is established by which they could hinder (the inhabitants of the house). That is the reason why, as soon as you (the Emperor) became proud and rendered yourself liable to be attacked by the devils (ma-ō, 魔王), the Tengu of all Japan possessed the priests of Hieizan and hindered your baptism (in Miidera). Really the fault lies in your own pride. You thought: 'Among the forty Emperors who preceded me no one was such a devout Buddhist as I; even among the priests such devotion as mine is rare. I have never omitted to pray before the mandara twice each night.' Therefore *ma-en* was with you. Many Great Tengu assembled and your baptism could not take place."

Further, the god teaches the Emperor that learned priests become Great Tengu and priests of little knowledge become Small Tengu. "If they are wholly deprived of knowledge—for such ones are also proud—they fall upon the Animal-road (chikushōdō) and, being reborn as horses or oxen, they are thrashed and tormented from morning till night. In the middle ages there lived in Japan a bishop whose name was Kakimoto no Ki, a pupil of Kōbō Daishi. He was also his intimate friend and nearly his equal. But he grew proud as being the possessor of the Great Law and became the first Great Tengu of Japan, Tarōbō of Atago-san. As there are many proud men in the world, a great number become Tengu, and on all the mountain peaks of the country twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred or two hundred of them are assembled."

After these words of the god the Emperor confesses that he really had praised himself as the most devout of all Emperors, and says that he is now full of repentance.

1. Pride is, so to say, the key by which the door is opened to the *Tengu*.

During the night of the cremation of Kiyomori's body (1181)[1] there was a bacchanal of samurai who laughed and sang and danced. When two of them were arrested, they said that they had only the intention to drown their sorrow in liquor, but it was considered a lie and they were at once dismissed. The author of the *Gempei seisuiki*, however, believes that they were possessed by Tengu, as it was beyond conception that anybody should hold a bacchanal on such a sad occasion. The same story we find in the *Heike monogatari*.[2]

The author of the *Gempei seisuiki* ascribes also the conflagration of a palace in Kyōto (ch. 26, p. 669) to Tengu and angry ghosts, who apparently had in view the fall of the House of Taira.

When we reflect upon these legends we see that the Tengu are still described in a wholly Buddhistic way and considered to be the punished ghosts of proud priests or laymen. Besides fighting against Buddhism they cause confusion in the world. For the first time we read here about their inclination to incendiarism and their faculty of knowing the past and the future within a period of a hundred years, which we shall see them showing in their meetings, described in later sources.

The *Jikkinshō*[3] states that under the Emperor Go Reizei (1045—1068) the world was disturbed by Tengu. An old priest saved a *kite* from the hands of boys, who were about to kill it. This kite came to him in the shape of a priest and offered him a reward for having saved his life. "Being acquainted with lower sorcery (小神通)," he said, "I am able to do a good deal for you." The old man answered that there was no wordly thing that had interest for him any longer, but that he should like to see Shaka Nyōrai explaining the Law on the Sacred Mountain. Thereupon the Tengu—for although the name is not mentioned, it was certainly such a demon—carried him to the top of a mountain and requested him to close his eyes and not to open them before he heard Buddha's voice. But

1. Ch. 26, p. 668.
2. 平家物語, written 1225—1250, edition with explanatory notes, iii. p. 802.
3. 十訓抄, written shortly after 1252; K.T.K. xv. ch. 1, nr. 7, p. 630.

he did not allow him to feel any devotion. Sakyamuni appeared in the midst of Bodhisattvas and saints. Flowers were falling from the sky, an odorous wind was softly blowing, and angels, sitting in a row on the clouds, formed a heavenly choir. Sakyamuni, seated on a lotus, preached in a very solemn manner and with profound wisdom. The vision was grand beyond description. After a while the old priest, full of devotion, bowed his head and wept. But lo! suddenly the whole scene disappeared and it was as if he awoke from a dream. He found himself lying in the deep grass on the same spot where he had met the Tengu. The latter appeared again and said: "As you displayed belief against my advice, there came an angel saying: 'How do you dare to deceive such a pious man?' and he struck us, whereupon all the priests (that is, Tengu) whom I had taken into my service, fled away. I was beaten on both my wings and my art was of no use to me." After these words he disappeared.

The next story[1] tells about a Temma (天魔) in India, who also showed Buddha to an Arhat on condition that he would not worship him. But the Arhat did not follow the demon's advice and when he bowed down in devotion, the Temma appeared at once in his original shape, with a string of bones around his head instead of a halo. "It was," as the author says, "just like the transformations of the Tengu now-a-days."

We see here clearly that in old Japan the character of the Buddhist devil was transferred to the Tengu.

The *Kokonchomonshū*[2] gives the following stories:— In the period of Kempō (1213-1218) a pious priest was hindered again and again in his religious work by Tengu in the shape of yamabushi (Buddhist priests who travel about in the mountains), who at last carried him away though the air to their house and offered him strange fish and sake, which he wisely refused. As he was praying continuously, two angels appeared, dressed in white, with twigs in their hands. At once all the Tengu ran away and hid themselves, small as rats,

1. Ch. 1, nr. 8, p. 632.
2. 古今著聞集, written in 1254; K.T.K. xv. ch. 17, p. 545.

behind the rafters. The angels took the priest back to his house through the air. "Thus strong is the power of belief even in these godless days," concludes the writer.

At the same time[1] a little boy, seven years old, had been stolen. Three days afterwards, in the midst of the night, somebody knocked on the gate and called: "Open! There is your lost son!" As nobody obeyed, there was much noise and laughter outside, and something was thrown into the house. It was really the child, more dead than alive. The mother implored all kinds of exorcists (kensha, yorimashi and miko) to pray for him, whereupon he got rid of an enormous quantity of horse dung, which the Tengu had given him as delicious food. He did not at first speak, but gradually he recovered his senses.

On p. 553 we read about a Tengu who in the shape of a priest led another priest about from monastery to monastery. After having persuaded him to sell his sword in order to buy wine, he took the poor man with him to the top of the bell tower of Kiyomizu-dera in Kyōto and bound him there with the tendrils of vines between the ceiling and the roof. At last somebody who had come to ring the bell, heard the priest groaning and untied him. Another Tengu,[2] who also had changed himself into a priest, carried a bonze through the air to an unknown mountain, where a great number of his fellow Tengu, all in the shape of priests, were assembled. On the command of their chief he was carried home in the same way.

In 1242,[3] on the occasion of a great festival in Kyōto, a priest was found lying in the branches of a pine tree. His hair was dressed in a queer way and he was nearly dead. This was evidently a Tengu trick.

With these stories we enter upon a new phase of Tengu legends. Although the principal motive of their deeds continues to be opposition to Buddha's Law by hindering the priests in their pious work, and carrying them away and binding them on the tops of high trees or towers, yet now, on

1. Ch. 17, p. 548. 2. Ch. 17, p. 541. 3. Ch. 17, p. 553.

the other hand, they steal children with no other reason than to vex the parents, bringing them back in a deplorable condition and in a stupefied state of mind. They mostly appear as *yamabushi*, and the food they offer to their unwilling guests is afterwards found to be nothing at all but dung.

The *Hyakurenshō* [1] tells us that on the 21st day of the 12th month of the year 1089 the retired Emperor (Shirakawa) visited Hikone-dera, a temple in the Hikone mountain which was well known as being inhabited by Tengu. At that time high and low made pilgrimages to this temple, because it was believed that only till the end of that year could one make sure of the Buddha's protection by going and praying to him. Within a few days thereafter the pilgrimage would be in vain. But the world called it the work of *Tengu* (who caused themselves to be worshipped there and gave assistance to those who came). In the following year no pilgrims went any more.

In the *Azuma kagami* [2] we read: "In 1234 there appeared in Nara a Tengu who wrote in one night on more than a thousand houses the characters: 未來不, Miraifu. The meaning of these characters is inexplicable. It is very strange."

In 1252 [3] at Kamakura a Tengu spoke through the mouth of a girl whom he had possessed, and told a story from the Jōkyū era (1219—1221). In that era the Emperor Go Toba had been defeated by the Hōjō and banished to Amagōri in Oki province, where he died in 1239. Now this Tengu declared that he had come to Kamakura as a messenger from the deceased Emperor, and that he had lived a long time in the house of the Shōgun, until a priest read sutras there and Law-protecting angels drove him out of the house. Then he had possessed the girl. A bishop, to whom she fled, tried to exorcise the demon by his incantations and really succeeded. She lay unconscious for several hours, and then when she recovered her senses, her mind was stupefied. The Shōgun, who heard about it, sent for the mother of the girl and ordered

1. 百錬抄, written after 1259; K T.K. xiv. ch. 5, p. 54.
2. 吾妻鏡, (written afterwards 東鏡), written shortly after 1266; ch. 29, 校訂增補吾妻鏡, vol. vi. p. 107.
3. Ch. 41, vol. viii. p. 1.

her to tell him the whole matter. The account convinced him more than ever of the power of Buddhism (because the Tengu had been driven out of his house and exorcised by the bishop).

The *Shasekishū*[1] contains the following Tengu legends:— A priest was minded to pass the night in an old chapel in the mountains. As the villagers had told him that there were Tengu living there, he hid himself behind the Buddha image. Deep in the night he saw a procession of twenty or thirty little priests coming from the top of the mountain. They escorted a stately high priest riding in a sedan chair and all finally entered the chapel. The frightened man behind the image immediately made the sign for rendering one's self invisible, but the high priest at once discovered him. First he sent his followers away to play outside, and then in a friendly way invited the trembling priest to approach and to learn from him how he had to make the sign in order to be really invisible. After having revealed the secret the high priest said that he had first ordered the little attendants to go away, because he did not like to explain such important things in the presence of worthless fellows such as they were. Then his pupil tried again to make the sign and this time he became quite invisible. The high priest called the others in and they danced till daybreak. Then they left the chapel and went back to the mountain top.

The second story[2] runs as follows:—A little boy had been stolen from a monastery in the mountains. After a few days he was found, unconscious, on the top of a roof. On being brought to his senses by means of tantra, he gave an account of his adventures. He had been taken by yamabushi to a place in the midst of the mountains, called Amakuji. The chief of all the assembled yamabushi, a very old and worthy priest, called the child to him and said: "Those fellows there are a worthless lot; don't be afraid of them, but just look quietly on." Now the yamabushi danced, but after a while there descended from the sky something like a net, which seemed to contract

1. 沙石集, written by the priest Mujū, 無住, who died in 1312. Ch. 8 上, pp. 15 *seq.*
2. Ch. 8, 上, p. 15 b, 16 a.

itself round the dancers. In vain they tried to escape. Out of the meshes of the net flames shot forth and burned them gradually to ashes. After a while, however, they became the same yamabushi as before and played as if nothing had happened. At the command of the old priest they took the child back to the monastery.

In a third legend[1] a deceased priest of great knowledge, whom everybody supposed to have been reborn in Paradise, is met by one of his pupils in the mountains, and leads the pupil to his new abode. It is an old monastery in the inner part of Kasuga-yama. In the preaching-hall rows of monks are sitting in full dress and holding a meeting with question and answer as usual. But all of a sudden there descend from the sky a big sake kettle, sake ladles and cups, and devils of hell who scoop molten copper out of the kettle into the cups and offer these to the monks, who are all burned and reduced to ashes. After a while they revive and go back to their cells. The priest who led his pupil to this place says to him: "We receive such severe punishment because during life we studied and practiced Buddha's Law with hearts full of ambition and greediness."

MUJŪ adds the following remarks to these stories[2]: "The Tengu are not to be found in orthodox Buddhist scriptures. They may be what the former Buddhist scholars called *maki* (魔鬼, devils). It is a word which has been transmitted only in Japan. Probably it means a kind of demon. Those among the Buddhists who transgress the commandments and are shameless will probably be punished in the above way. Whoever combines self-conceit, pride, ambition, covetousness and flattery with the service of Buddha, will receive such punishment."

A little further he states: "Although the world of demons is generally the same, yet the good 'demons' and the bad ones are different. People who during life believe in Buddha's Law but are always proud and fond of special things, practice also (after death) as demons Buddha's Law, nor do they hinder others in the practice; they even become

1. Same chapter, same page.

2. Page 16 a.

protectors of Buddhism. But the unbelievers, who only think of glory and gain, and who are very proud, these people hinder (as demons) the 'Root of the Good.' Therefore Salvation is far removed from them. Also among the Shingon priests there are several who go that way (that is, who fall on the Tengu-road). Recently, it is said, a celebrated Shingon priest of Kōyasan became a Tengu and taught his disciples through the mouth of a person whom he possessed the secret doctrine (of the Shingon sect). He who is wise and devout will anywhere (even on the Tengu-road) practice the Buddhist rites and (finally) escape from the demon world. So there are good and bad Tengu."

In this work the Tengu, as might be expected from the author, a priest, is described as a purely Buddhistic conception; it is simply a punishment of hell for proud and ambitious priests. For the first time we learn here *how* such persons are punished, namely, by being forced to swallow boiling copper or burned by a flaming net. We now see the Tengu from a different point of view, because a distinction is made between the good and the bad. In the first legend the high priest is a good Tengu, his little followers are bad ones. In the second story we notice the same difference between the old priest and the yamabushi, and the leading priest in the third tale is apparently also a good Tengu.

The *Yoshino shūi*[1] relates the following stories:—A young lady had eloped with a gentleman of high rank. People went out in all directions into the mountains to seek for her, but in vain. They supposed that she had been carried away by Tengu who, as they said, always lived in the depths of the mountains.

Another story[2] tells about a Minister who went in full ceremonial dress from his house to the palace and met some samurai from Kii province. The samurai, who were in the capital for the first time in their lives, were greatly astonished

1. 吉野拾遺, a history of the Southern Court, 1336—1358, written by INSHI SHŌO. 隱士松翁. *Gunsho ruijū*, 群書類從, 2nd edition, vol. xvii. nr. 485, p. 548.
2. Page 549 *seq.*

to see this pompous spectacle, and as the Minister had an enormous nose, they said to each other: "That *must* be a Tengu." He heard this and answered jokingly with a verse:

"If you think I am a Tengu, you may keep that opinion,
Although I am no Tengu, my nose is big enough."

If we consider the *Kujiki* as of later date, this is the first passage where we find the long nose of the Tengu mentioned. Formerly they were always described as having kite's beaks. No doubt the long nose is only a humanised bird's bill. As is very often the case with animal-shaped gods and demons, there is a general tendency towards taking the human body. First of all the Tengu were kites, then they became men with the head of a kite, thereupon they had only a kite's beak, till at last the latter changed into a long nose.

The *Taiheiki*[1] is an important book of reference on this subject. It contains the following legends:—Hōjō Takatoki, the last Shikken of Kamakura, called the Nyūdō of Sagami, was dancing the dengaku, or field-dance, after having drunk a good deal of sake. Suddenly there were ten or more strange dancers in the room—whence they came he did not know—who danced and sang extraordinarily well. He heard them singing: "Oh, that we may see the spook-star of Tennōji." A court lady who heard the voices, peeped curiously through the sliding doors into the room and saw that they were no human singers. Some of them had claws like the claws of kites, others had wings on both sides. Their shape resembled that of yamabushi. Apparently they were spooks of a queer kind and type, who had changed themselves into men. At the lady's request another Nyūdō (lay-bonze) appeared on the scene, but as soon as the unearthly beings heard him running through the gate they disappeared as if wiped away. Takatoki himself was lying dead drunk on the floor, and when he awoke he knew nothing of what had happened. But the mats were trampled and dirty, and there were many traces of birds to be seen on them. This made the Nyūdō sure that there had been Tengu in the room.

1. 太平記, written about 1382. Edition with explanatory notes, vol. i. ch. v. p. 2 a.

The next day another official gave the following explanation: "It is said that, when the world is about to be disturbed, the bad star called the 'spook-star' (yōrei-boshi, 妖霊星) descends and brings calamity. But Tennōji (the celebrated monastery built by Shōtoku Taishi in 593 in the present Osaka) is the most sacred place of Buddhism. Here Shōtoku Taishi himself wrote his 'Nihon isshu no miraiki' (the 'Future of all Japan'). It is strange that those spectres sang about 'the spook-star of Tennōji.' I am therefore sure that there will arise a rebellion from the neighbourhood of that monastery, which will cause the ruin of the state."

As BAKIN rightly remarks, this spook-star vividly reminds us of the Chinese Tengu-star, which, falling upon the earth, drinks the blood of mankind and brings war among them. We find here, curiously enough, in one story the bird-shaped Japanese Tengu and the harbinger of war, the Chinese meteor, both mentioned. The whole legend is probably an omen of Takatoki's approaching fall (1333).

In ch. 10, p. 2, we read how a Tengu in the shape of a yamabushi in one day called the men of Echigo province to arms, in order to assist Nitta Yoshisada in his insurrection against the Hōjō (1333). Yoshisada was very much surprised to see them arriving before he had had time to summon them.

Ch. 18, p. 2, tells us the reason of the old feud between the monasteries of Negoro and Kōya-san. There lived in the Middle ages on Kōya a pious and learned priest, called Kakuban, into whose heart the Tengu tried in vain to steal. One day, however, when he was in his bath, he happened to indulge for a moment in a mental and bodily delight. Immediately the demons took advantage of the occasion, got power over him and gave him the "devil of making something" (that is, the desire of doing something grand). He got the idea of building a monastery and assembling around him a great crowd of monks. Really he built on Kōya, with the assistance of the retired Emperor Toba (1107—1123), the monastery called Dembō-in.

"Thereupon Kakuban suddenly shut the doors of death (that is, he sank into abstract contemplation, samadhi, and sat down motionless) and waited for Maitreya's coming." This roused the indignation of the other priests of Kōya, who would not allow that proud priest, as they said, to follow Kōbō Daishi's example. When they came to destroy the monastery and were already burning down the buildings, they found Kakuban, sitting in the shape of Fudō Myōō, surrounded by a halo of flames. One of the number endeavoured to lift him up, but he was as heavy as a mill-stone and quite immovable, thus proving true to his name of Fudō (the Immovable); also his diamond-sceptre (vajra) seemed to be infrangible.

Yet the bad monks were not afraid, for they considered it a kind of sorcery, such as foxes and badgers are able to practice. They threw big stones at him in order to make out whether it was really Fudō Myōō or only a metamorphosis of Kakuban. But they could not touch him and the stones fell to pieces. Thereupon there arose in Kakuban's heart a little pride, and immediately a stone injured his forehead. When the monks saw the blood, the whole crowd laughed scornfully and cried: "There you are," and all went back to their monasteries.

But Kakuban's five hundred followers would not stay there any longer, and they built a new monastery in Negoro. Since that time there has been a feud between Kōya and Negoro.

Afterwards Kakuban's ghost possessed a priest and spoke through his mouth, saying that he was a Tengu, and that there were three hundred of them, who had divine power and threw the world into disorder by rousing all kinds of ideas in the brains of mankind.

Ch. 21, p. 2 b, describes the burning of the great temple Hōjōji. The fire started from the top of the pagoda and spread rapidly to all the buildings in the compound. Above the smoke one could see demons blowing fire upon the roofs and Tengu swinging torches and setting the pagoda on fire.

"When they saw the beams of the 'golden hall' kondō, 金堂) falling down, they clapped their hands and breaking forth into roaring laughter they went away in the direction of Atago, Ōtake and Kimpusen (three well-known Tengu mountains)." After a while two other temple pagodas were also burnt down.

In the Teiwa era (1345—1349) a travelling Zen priest took shelter from a sudden shower under the "Six Cedars" of the Ninwa monastery. While staying there he saw in the dead of night in the light of the moon people coming from Atago and Hieizan. They flew through the air in sedan chairs and all assembled and sat down among the branches of the Six Cedars.

In the place of honour a deceased Archbishop, a relative of the Emperor Daigo, was sitting in full sacerdotal dress. He had sparkling eyes and a long beak like a kite, and he was telling the crystalline beads of his rosary. At each side of the primate sat a well-known bishop. All of them had their former shape, but their eyes sparkled extraordinarily and each had two long wings. Then came an Imperial Prince in a magnificent sedan chair, also flying through the air, whereupon the whole assembly rose and squatted down reverently.

After a while a person who looked like a temple official offered them one after the other a golden cup, which they each emptied in a solemn way. But soon afterwards they all broke forth into a loud howl, stretching their arms upwards and drawing their legs together, and black smoke rose out of their heads. For half an hour they suffered intensely; then they fell down, burned to death like moths in the flame.

The monk thought: "Ah, how terrible! This will be the sufferings of the Tengu-road and they will be obliged to swallow three times a day a ball of red-hot iron." After about two hours the assembly came to life again and deliberated how they could throw the world into confusion. The Imperial Prince, they argued, should be reborn as the son of the proud Ashikaga no Tadayoshi (1307—1352), whose pride made him accessible to the Tengu. Others were appointed to steal into

the hearts of proud priests or high officials, and sow discord ending in war. They got fairly mad from excitement at this prospect.

The Zen priest went to Kyōto and told the whole matter to a friend, who turned it to good account. For, some days afterwards, Ashikaga no Tadayoshi's wife became ill and no physician could tell what kind of illness it was. Then the Zen priest's friend appeared, felt her pulse and declared with firm conviction that she was pregnant and would give birth to a son. The others laughed at him and would not believe it, as the lady was more than forty years old, but afterwards, when it appeared to be true, he was rewarded in a royal way.[1]

In 1350 a Tengu, in the shape of a yamabushi, flew with a priest into the box of the Shōgun in a theatre at Kyōto. The astonished bonze found himself surrounded by the most distinguished personages of the capital. The Tengu and he were seated opposite to the Shōgun and ate and drank sumptuously.

There appeared on the stage a person (no other than a Tengu) with a monkey mask, dancing the field dance (dengaku) in such an extraordinarily comical and breakneck way, that the public burst out into tempestuous applause. For half an hour there was a scene of excitement beyond description.

Then the yamabushi whispered into the bonze's ear: "I cannot stand this foolish behaviour any longer; I will cool their joy a little." With these words he pushed against a pillar of the tent, and lo! the whole building collapsed, crushing all the people in the hall.

Concerning this the author remarks: "Probably Hiyoshi (the Shintō god of Hieizan) was angry with regard to this tent (that is, about the performances) (and sent the Tengu of Hieizan to break it down). Actually in the same year, on the eleventh day of the sixth month, the tent collapsed and many people were killed. Their bodies were washed away by the river, which was swollen by enormous rains."[2]

1. Ch. 25, p. 2 b.
2. Ch. 27, p. 2 b.

At the same time a yamabushi called Unkei wrote a prediction of coming events. It was a report of what he had heard at a Tengu meeting. In 1350 he went to see the Tenryū temple, but on the road he met another yamabushi, who led him to Atago-yama and showed him a magnificent Buddhist temple, paved with precious stones and tesselated with gold. In the house of the abbot many persons were assembled, clothed either in ceremonial dress, each with a golden shaku (笏) in hand, or in the sacerdotal dress of the high priests. In the place of honour a big gold-coloured kite was seated, according to the explanation of Unkei's guide, the Emperor Sutoku. The others were also notorious persons from the nearer or more remote past, such as the Emperors Go Toba and Go Daigo and the Empress Inokami, besides celebrated priests. They all had become great demons (大魔王, dai ma-ō) and the Emperors swayed the sceptre alternately over the others. They had come together in order to deliberate how they could disturb the world. The head of the yamabushi asked Unkei about the latest news from the capital, whereupon Unkei told him of the collapse of the theatre, which was considered as the work of Tengu, and also about the discord between the Shōgun and his brother. In the course of the conversation Unkei asked whether the pious, influential priest Murakumo really was a Tengu, as the people of Kyōtō generally thought. The Tengu answered in the affirmative, and said that this priest had been chosen to disturb the world, and that after having succeeded he would return to his place of abode. After a long explanation of the politics of the day and of the near future, given by Tarōbō of Atago-yama, who, according to the guide, ruled the world, a violent blaze suddenly broke forth and all those assembled were in a great fright. Unkei ran out of the gate and found himself, as if he awoke from a dream, at the foot of a tree in the large garden of an old palace. As he desired to warn the world to be careful, he decided to write down all he had seen and heard. At the risk of being punished he sent this report to the Emperor.[1]

1. Ch. 27, p. 3 a.

During the war between the Shōgun Ashikaga no Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi (1351), there came several times in the midst of the night a troop of about 500 armed horsemen, which drew themselves up in battle array. Every time both armies were startled, thinking that it was the enemy. "But they were Tengu, who certainly had caused the whole war, for *Temma* (天魔) and *Hajun* (波旬) are always lurking in such places."[1]

In all these legends it is no longer a fight against Buddhism, but it is the desire to throw the whole world into disorder which inspires the Tengu. War is their device, just as it is with the Chinese Tengu. And the latter seems even to be mentioned as the "spook-star of Tennōji." They accomplish their purpose by stealing as devils of pride into the hearts of mankind. Besides war they cause fire, especially at monasteries, which betrays the old hatred against Buddhism. They are all ghosts of the dead who are punished in this way. Their shape is human, generally that of yamabushi, but often they have the beak, wings and claws of a kite; or sometimes they have, as in olden times, the whole shape of gold-coloured kites.

§ 5.—*Fifteenth Century.*

The *Ainōshō*[2] tries to refute the assertion of the *Shasekishū*[3] that the Tengu was only to be found in Japan. The author cites some of the above-mentioned Chinese passages and that of the Nihongi, and says that all distinguished officials and priests become Tengu on account of their proud hearts.

In the *Zokukojidan*[4] we read the following legend:—

One day Dōshō, a celebrated physiognomist (相人, *sōnin*, one who told fortunes by examining the face), said to the Lord of Tamba, who made a pilgrimage to a Buddhist temple: "The colour of your face is bad; are you perhaps attacked by

1. Ch. 30, p. 1 b.

2. 塵囊鈔, an encyclopedical work written by the priest Gyōyo, 行譽, in 1446.

3. See above, p. 59.

4. 續古事談. Author and date of this work are unknown. As the legends which it contains relate to things which happened in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, and the *Kojidan* belongs to the beginning of the 13th century, it is quite possible that it was written already at the end of the 13th or in the 14th century. *Gunsho ruijū*, 2nd ed., vol. xvii. no. 487, ch. v. p. 693.

demons?" The kami (lord) answered that he felt quite well, yet the seer advised him to go home immediately. At the same moment the kami fell down unconscious. After having recovered his senses he went home. Then a *mono no ke* (物の氣, a spirit) appeared and said: "It is nothing particular. As you passed before us while we were amusing ourselves, we gave you a kick on your breast." It was a Tengu trick. The kami died three days afterwards. Dōshō was in his art quite equal to the gods.

The *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari*[1] contains the following story:—

At the end of the 12th century Umewaka, the child of Hanazono Sadaijin (Left Minister), stole away from Miidera with another boy to go to Hieizan, where his friend, a priest, was lying ill. But as he was not accustomed to walking, he was soon too tired to go any farther. The other boy said: "Ah! would that somebody would carry us to Hieizan, even if he were a Tengu or a spook!" While they were sitting under a pine-tree they saw a very old yamabushi coming, carried in a sedan chair. He stopped and asked them whither they were going. When they replied he alighted from the sedan chair and said: "I am going to a place quite near to the house of that priest, so take my sedan chair and I will walk." With these words he made them get into the chair, and off they went, carried by twelve men at a tremendous speed. They flew through the clouds as birds and arrived in a moment on the Shaka ga dake, a peak of Hieizan. There they were locked up in a prison consisting of upright standing stones, where they could not see the light of sun or moon, or distinguish day from night.

In the meantime the priests of Miidera thought that the monks of Hieizan had carried the boy away. All the monks marched first to the house of the Minister Hanazono, the father of the child, and burned it down (as they suspected him of having been in the plot), and then they attacked Hieizan.

1. 秋夜の長物語, "Long tales of an autumn night." The author of this book is unknown, but according to KUROKAWA HARUMURA he lived in the Ōei era (1394—1427).

But the monks of Hieizan drove them back, stormed Miidera and burned down more than 3600 temples. Poor Umewaka, still weeping in his dark jail, heard the assembled Tengu talking with delight about the battle of Miidera. One of them had made a poem on the ridiculous sight of all the fleeing monks. As he recited it, they all broke forth into uproarious laughter.

At last an old man was thrown into the cage, who appeared to be a dragon. As we saw already in story No. 11 of the *Konjaku monogatari* (see above p. 41) a metamorphosed dragon wants only one drop of water to be able to take his original shape and fly through the air. So this old man caught some tears of Umewaka in his hand, shook them a little and lo! at once he became a dragon, who drove away the Tengu and carried the children through the air to the capital.

§ 6.—*Seventeenth Century.*

In the *Otogi sōshi*[1] we do not find any reference to the Tengu.

In the *Shimpen Otogi sōshi*,[2] however, we find a Tengu who is drunk from eating mushrooms, mentioned in vol. ii. in the *Mottomo no sōshi*[3] among the "laughable things."[4] Further, among the "frightful things"[5] we read a story about a hunter who saw a snake killing and swallowing a pheasant. A boar appeared and devoured the snake. The hunter was about to kill the boar in his turn, but changed his mind for fear of becoming a link in the chain of consequences and being killed himself by some other being. On his way home somebody called to him from the top of a high tree, saying: "Lucky for you that you did not kill the boar, for if you had done so,

1. 御伽草子, a story-book for those who attend on the dead during the night, or for attendants who have to divert their master or mistress; 23 stories from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (comp. FLORENZ, Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur, p. 357 *seq.*), compiled and published in two editions (1891 and 1901) by IMAIZUMI TEISUKE, 今泉定介.

2. 新編御伽草子, twenty tales from about the same time, compiled and published in 1901 by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI, 荻野由之.

3. 犬之雙紙, written about 1620.

4. Warau mono no shinajina, p. 43.

5. P. 56.

I would have kicked you to death." It was a Tengu who spoke. The hunter, very much impressed by the adventure, gave up his profession and became a hermit.

In the *Honchō Jinjakō*[1] we read in the chapter entitled "Sōjō ga tani" (Bishop's Valley), besides the foregoing legends of Yoshitsune[2] and Kakuban,[3] the following stories:—

Hosokawa no Katsumoto (1430–1473), who had no children, prayed on Atago-yama to the Great Tengu Tarōbō for a son. His prayer was heard, and Masamoto (1466-1507) was born. This son, who was a Tengu, became kwanryō (first minister of the Shōgun) in 1494, and, having been murdered in 1507, caused a curse after his death. In order to smooth down the Tengu ghost a temple was built in his honour.

In 1614 a monk of Hieizan told the people of Kyōto that a slave of one of the priests, after having been away for several days, had come home and explained his mysterious disappearance in the following way. A man had brought him to the mountain Taisen (a Tengu mountain), in Hōki province. When the man railed at the people, they killed each other. He lifted temples up and swung them through the air, whereupon they suddenly took fire and several houses were burned to ashes. Then they ascended Hiko-yama (another notorious Tengu mountain) and attended a Tengu meeting. The demons came from Atago, Kurama, Hira and Hieizan. After having discussed the approaching war between East and West (Ieyasu and Hideyori, 1614-1615) and the coming victory of the East, they all went home.

As nobody would believe the slave, he began to do all kinds of wonderful things (in order to prove that he was possessed by a Tengu). He climbed upon inaccessible peaks or on the roof of the temple as if it was a trifling matter, smote with enormous stones and big doors, and sang unknown songs. Shortly after the priest had told this the Ise dance spread like

1. 本朝神社考, written between 1614 and 1657 by HAYASHI RAZAN, who lived 1584-1657.

2. Above p. 47 *seq.*

3. Above p. 62 *seq.*

running fire throughout the country. The people put on their finest dresses, tied pieces of gaudy silk to bamboo poles and sang and danced. They thought that the Great Goddess of Ise was coming herself. But the authorities put a stop to it, for fear of sorcery. Afterwards the Ōsaka war broke out (1614-15). All those strange things and songs had been the work of Tengu, and harbingers of war.

RAZAN remarks (l.l.) that the Tengu evidently are ghosts of the dead, who have become demons (靈鬼). He enumerates the principal ones, and puts in the first place the "Bishop of Kurama" (who instructed Yoshitsune), Tarō of Atago, and Jirō, of Hira-yama. As to their shape he says: "Sometimes they become foxes or boys, sometimes they fly in the shape of doves, or come among men as Buddhist priests or yamabushi; sometimes they change themselves into demons or Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. They change luck into calamity, and order into confusion. Now they cause fire, now war."

In the *Kamakura Hōjō kudaiki*[1] we read the following story:—

A priest called Genshō had an influential position at the Court of the Shōgun Minamoto no Yoriie at Kamakura (1182-1204). He was very proud of his unequalled knowledge of arithmetic. Once the Shōgun despatched him to Ōshu province in order to investigate a matter concerning frontiers. On his journey he passed a night in the lonely cottage of a hermit, who was very hospitable and talked the whole evening with him on Buddhism. The next morning the host said: "I am the first arithmetician of the world. I can easily calculate the jujubes (natsume) in the top of a tree and the water in a hole. Even the calculation practiced by Ryūmyō Daishi in order to hide his body is quite clear to me." At these words Genshō's pride was stirred up and he thought with disdain: "All worthless words of a frog in a well. He may be accustomed to impose upon the peasants in this way. There is nobody in the world who can surpass me in respect to arithmetic." But the

1. 鎌倉北條九代記, "A history of the nine generations of the Hōjō of Kamakura," written by ASAI RYŌI, 淺井了意, who lived 1639-1709, and printed in 1675. *T'eikoku bunko*, vol. xvii. ch. ii. p. 682 *seq.*

old priest spoke again: "I will give you, without disturbing the room, at once a proof of my art." He took the "calculation-sticks" (sangi, 算木, for forming the eight Chinese diagrams or kwa, 卦) and spread them around Genshō's seat. Suddenly the proud priest became quite stupefied as if he was sitting in a thick mist. It became pitch dark and the whole cottage changed into a sea. A violent whirlwind arose and the raging billows made a thundering noise. Genjo felt helpless and did not know whether he was dead or alive. After a while he heard the voice of the host asking: "Do you now repent of your pride?" When he humbly answered: "Yes, I do, with my whole heart," it was at once as if he awoke from a bad dream. The sun was shining through the window, and everything was peaceful and calm as before. He asked the hermit to teach him his art, but got a refusal and was sent away. When he spoke of this experience to the Shōgun, the latter supposed that he had been bewitched by a fox. He sent a messenger to Matsushima, where the mysterious hermit had lived, in order to inquire whether it had been a trick of a *fox* or of a *Tengu*, but nobody could tell whither he had gone.

The *Shinchomonshū*[1] contains the following legends:—

A Tengu served during three years in a monastery on Kōya san and then became a Tengu again. "I am," he said, "a Tengu who lives in the cryptomeria and magnolia trees before the gate. Henceforth there will be no fire in the monastery." After these words he flew away.[2]

A learned Nichiren priest who was ill, suddenly rose from his bed and flew away in the shape of a Tengu, with sparkling eyes, a big nose and wings.[3]

A monastery in Kii province had been repeatedly destroyed by fire. At last there remained to it only a very poor shed. One day a priest came and told the abbot that he was willing to build a new monastery, but that it would burn down again and that only the gomadō (hall in which the goma offerings

1. 新書聞集, written in 1683; *Zoku Teikoku bunko* (續帝國文庫), vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū* (近世奇談全集).
2. Ch. x. p. 143.
3. Ch. xiv. p 198.

are burnt) would remain undamaged. The abbot accepted the offer thankfully, whereupon the priest said that he was the "bonze of the Cryptomeria" (sugi no bō) from Akagi-yama. After his departure the abbot sent two monks to that mountain. When they asked the villagers where Sugi no bō lived, they learned with astonishment that he was nobody else but a Great Tengu. Although afraid, they decided to fulfill their mission and ascended with the utmost trouble and danger the steep mountain peak. At last two yamabushi, despatched by the Tengu, came from the top to meet them, and conducted them along a coralline bridge and up stairs of jasper to the palace of their master, a brilliant building constructed from gold, silver and precious stones. There they saw the Great Tengu, whose eyes were sparkling with a golden glare, and whose nose was enormous. He promised to descend the next year and build the monastery, on condition that all the villagers should put out their lights in the evening and keep indoors. Thereupon the two yamabushi took the messengers on their shoulders and carried them through the air to their monastery. On the fixed day the command of the Tengu was strictly followed by the villagers, and in the night they heard a noise as of a million workmen in full activity. The next morning a magnificent monastery, with all its seven buildings, glittering with gold, silver and precious stones, had risen from the ground. Although it burned down shortly afterwards, the gomadō was still (in the author's time) standing in all its splendour.

§ 7.—*Eighteenth Century.*

The *Rōō chawa*[1] tells us the following stories :—

Two Tengu, in the shape of yamabushi, had stolen a boy of eleven years. When on request of the parents twenty priests were reading sutras and performing prayers, there appeared in the cloudless sky a small object, which drew the attention of the whole crowd. From the East a big kite came

1. 老媼茶話, "Tea talks of old women," written in 1742. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

flying and tried several times to catch the object. But a gold-coloured bird—nobody knew where it came from—protected it against the kite. Gradually the object came down and fell upon the altar of the Thirty Protectors of the days (sanjū banjin, gods of the Nichiren sect); it was the stolen boy. His whole life he remained stupid and incapable of any work.[1]

In this tale the Tengu appears in his original kite's shape, and the gold-coloured bird is probably a protecting angel whose power is greater than that of the demon. This is the first instance of the falling from the sky of persons who have been carried away by Tengu; in later sources we often read about such mysterious descents.

On pp. 325 *seqq.* a story is told about a Tengu who, as a blind minstrel (zatō, 座頭), travelled in company with a very strong man. When the minstrel stumbled over a huge stone on the road, he took it up as if it were a feather and hurled it down into the valley before the eyes of his astonished companion. The latter, who was very proud of his own strength, proposed a match. The minstrel accepted the proposal at once, and they decided to strike each other on the head. The Tengu received the first blow, but apparently he did not feel it at all. Now it was his turn to strike, but his opponent, seeing the satanic smile on the minstrel's face, quickly took one of his stirrups and parried the blow with it. The stirrup was crushed by the violent stroke. Immediately the man jumped upon his horse and fled, pursued by the furious minstrel, who uttered his rage in terrible cries. Suddenly clouds covered the sky, it became pitch dark and the rain fell in torrents. Amidst thunder and lightning and a howling storm the minstrel disappeared. All people who heard the story said that the minstrel was certainly a Tengu.

In the *Kwaidan Toshiotoko*[2] we read the following legends:—

Shortly after the foundation of a Zen monastery a yamabushi came and served the abbot faithfully from morning till

1. P. 294.

[illegible] 易, written by ZANSETSUSHA SOKYŪ, 慙雪舎素及, in 1749.

night. The abbot suspected the yamabushi was a Tengu and asked him whether he could fly among the clouds. As soon as he had uttered these words, the yamabushi's nose became enormous, wings grew on both his sides, and bowing deeply he said: "Give me one rule (issoku, 一則, namely, how to live well), then I will protect your monastery henceforth." The abbot did what he asked, whereupon the Tengu bowed again and went away. From that time the monastery possessed the so-called seven wonders. After the death of each abbot—and there had been already twenty of them in the author's time—a beautiful natural gravestone was carried to the monastery by the brook which was flowing past the gate. All the doors and the gate were always open, for no thief who had once entered could find his way out. There was no dirt at all, because an invisible hand swept it away. In the garden trees and stones formed beautiful scenery, without anybody taking care of them. At the foot of the mountain there was a round hole, from which in summer a cool, and in winter a warm, wind blew, so that the monks could preserve their food in summer and warm themselves in the winter time. Outside the gate there was a little bridge, and the abbot knew immediately everybody who approached the bridge by his footsteps, as if he actually saw the visitor. These were all miraculous gifts of the Tengu.[1]

In the Kwanbun era (1661—1672) a little boy was seen crossing the fields instead of following the road. At last the people of his village lost sight of him. As he did not return they beat cymbals and drums every night and called: "Bring him back, bring him back!", for they were convinced that a Tengu had taken the boy away. But it was all in vain. Suddenly the child was discovered lying on the top of the roof of a neighbouring Kwannon temple. For four or five days he did not speak a word, being entirely unconscious. At last he gradually came to and said that two yamabushi had taken him by the hand and had run away with him so fast that he soon lost his breath. They walked about a long time and after having

1. Ch. i. p. 8.

ascended a mountain peak they arrived at last upon the roof of the temple. One of the yamabushi sang and the others played with the boy as if he was a ball. Then an old priest came and asked them to hand over the boy. At first they took no notice of the priest, but finally they let the child loose.[1]

From these tales we can easily deduce how much the nature of the Tengu had changed. Again we find them as servants in a monastery and protectors of the same. Carrying away boys had become their principal sport, just as it is to-day. Even nowadays the country people beat drums when a child is lost, and call upon the Tengu to bring it back.

The *Sanshū kidan*[2] contains the following Tengu legends:—

In 1735 a boy of seventeen years had vanished. Gongs and drums were beaten in vain, until, after two days had elapsed, he was found, asleep, with torn clothes, and with thorns in his hands and feet. It was regarded as the work of *wood devils* or wild *foxes*. But he appeared to be possessed by a *Tengu*. After having slept for a couple of days he showed remarkable learning, although he had always before been a stupid boy. He read and wrote Chinese and gave lectures on the Tengu, whom he declared to be the condensed spirit (氣) of the darkness [陰, the element *yin* (Jap.: *in* or *on*) opposite to 陽, *yang* (Jap.: *yō*), the light] of the mountains. He told how the Tengu often took the shape of ordinary workmen and carried stones and trees. Inasmuch as incantations proved powerless to drive the Tengu out of him, his relations were already about to kill the unfortunate boy, when the demon announced that he would depart and possess another person. Again the boy slept for two or three days, and after reawaking remained half-witted for the rest of his life[3].

A man, who was gathering leaves in the depths of the woods, came to a deep valley. Suddenly the sky was covered with clouds and it became pitch dark. Thunder and lightning

1. Ch. v. p. 12.

2. 三州奇談, written by HOTTA BAKUSUI, 堀田夢水, in 1764. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

3. Ch. ii p. 725.

followed each other rapidly, accompanied by a terrible hail-storm. He cut a branch from a tree with his sickle and groping his way for about half an hour he reached with the greatest difficulty the top of a rock rising above the valley. And lo! the sky was quite clear, no cloud was to be seen, nor any thunder to be heard. When he spoke of this to some peasants whom he met, they looked at him with fright and exclaimed: "Oh, then you have been in the Tengu valley, where the dog-guests (狗賓, ku-hin, that is, Tengu) live. It is said that nobody comes out of it alive. Even if one takes only a single leaf from a tree, certainly calamity will come upon him. Neither gods nor Buddhas can save such a man's life."[1]

The *Sanshū kidan kōhen*[2] tells us that in the neighbourhood of a certain village Tengu, old foxes and mountain otters were living. The gods of the mountain and the river, the Great and the Small Yamabushi (certainly Tengu), sowed discord among the villagers because they had offended them both by rude behaviour in the woods and on the river.

A man fell asleep, sitting on a stone in the wood. When he awoke the evening was falling. He saw a broad path before him, which he followed. But instead of coming out of the wood, he got always deeper into it, till at last he reached the palace of the two yamabushi. He was received by an old man, and after a while the masters of the house arrived with a long train of attendants. A great feast with music and dancing began, and it lasted till deep in the night. The yamabushi gave precious presents to the guest. After their departure he learned from the old man that they were the vital spirit[3] of the mountain salamander and the breath[4] of the kajika, or bullhead fish. At daybreak the whole palace and its inhabitants vanished, and the pearls which the guest had

1. Ch. iv. p. 825.

2. 三州奇談後編, written in 1779. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

3. 精, comp. DE GROOT, *Religious System of China*, iv. p. 10.

4. 氣, *Rel. Syst.* iv. p. 4.

received became mere drops of water, while the great dragon-head that had been given him appeared to be only a small curio.[1]

§ 8.—*Nineteenth Century.*

The *Tōen shōsetsu*[2] relates how in 1810 a naked man fell from the sky in Asakusa, the well-known district of Yedo. After having come to, he said that he had left Kyōto two days before on a pilgrimage to Atago-yama, and that he had been carried away by a Tengu in the shape of an old priest.

In the *Shōsan chomon kishū*[3] we read the following details:

It was in the author's time the custom among the wood-cutters of Mino province to offer the so-called "kuhin-mochi" (狗賓餅) or "dog-guest-cake," made from rice, to the Tengu, before they started work. Otherwise the demons played all kinds of tricks on them. For instance, the ax heads flew from their handles just at the moment they were swung, and were not found until the offering was brought. A noise as of rolling trees and stones would resound in the mountains and the rocks would tumble down. The cake was prepared and offered in the mountains in the presence of a great number of villagers. Some tree leaves were added to the rice, and after having made the offering, they ate themselves as much as they liked. The cake was never prepared in the village, for fear that the Tengu might go there and fetch it, because, of course, that was the last thing the villagers desired, the close proximity of such unwelcome beings.

In other provinces before they started work upon a tree the woodcutters chopped off a branch and stuck it somewhere else into the ground, or they carried a special fish, called okoze (anema inerme) in the bosom. When they had any trouble with their work, the fish was offered and everything went well. Hunters also carried this fish with them, and if they were unsuccessful they showed the head of the fish

1. Ch. iv. p. 921 *seq*

2. 兎園小說, written by BAKIN and seven others in 1825.

3. 想山著聞奇集, written by SHŌSAN SAI SHUJIN, 想山齋主人, in 1849. *Zoku tsikoku bunko*, vol xlvii., Kinsei kidan zenshū.

(to the Tengu), saying: "If you give me some game, I will offer you the whole fish." Then the prayer would be soon answered.[1]

In 1801 a pagoda was built for Kwannon and the Niō.[2] A Tengu, angry about the cutting of his trees for this purpose, punished the woodcutters by making a heavy car run over four of them. But Kwannon and the Niō, mightier than he, saved their lives and made it so that they were not hurt at all.[3]

A boy, 14 years old, was carried away by a Tengu and brought into the midst of his feasting comrades on the top of a high pine tree. After having walked about with the Tengu for a space of three years, he returned home with a miraculous gun which never missed its aim.[4]

It is clear that in those days the Tengu had become an ordinary tree demon, who, as in all parts of the world, punished the woodcutters if they did not propitiate him beforehand with offerings.

Dr. INOUE[5] gives a story from Inaba province about a girl who in ordinary life could not use her hands very well, butshowed wonderful skill when she was possessed by a Tengu. She got up once in the middle of the night and said: "I am a Tengu. I will teach the world swordsmanship, which is declining nowadays. To-morrow a young samurai will come with a wooden sword and a razor; that man I shall instruct."

The samurai came, because the Tengu had ordered him to do so in a dream. Now the girl performed the most wonderful feats of swordsmanship, and when it became known in the neighbourhood, curious people flocked to the house from all quarters. At the pleading of the parents, who did not like it at all, the Tengu at last went away, and the girl recovered. She knew nothing of what had happened and was much ashamed when she heard of it.

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1. Ch. i. p. 405.
2. 仁王.
3. Ch. ii. p. 492.
4. Ch. v. p. 603.
5. *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, "Lectures on Folklore" (2nd ed. *1896) 3rd ed. 1897*, vol. iv. p. 257 *seqq.*

In BRINKLEY's *Japan*[1] we read:

"On the occasion of a projected visit of the Shōgun to Nikkō, in the Ansei era (1854-1860), the officials of the Yedo Government directed that the following notice should be exhibited in the neighbourhood of the mausolea:

'To the Tengu and other demons.

Whereas our Shōgun intends to visit the Nikkō mausolea next April, now therefore ye Tengu and other demons inhabiting these mountains must remove elsewhere until the Shōgun's visit is concluded.

Dated July 1860. (Signed) Mizuno, Lord of Dewa.'

On another notice board the local officials addressed the supernatural beings as follows:

'To the Great and Small Tengu and demons.

Having received orders from the Shōgun's chief officers to exhibit the accompanying tablet in connection with the coming of His Highness to Nikkō, we obey as in duty bound. Therefore ye Tengu and demons had better disperse to Mounts Kurama and Atago of Kyōtō, Mount Akibu of Tōtōmi province, and Mount Hiko of Buzen province.'"

§ 9.—*Statements of Japanese Scholars of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.*

The 17th, 18th and 19th century abound with works in which the Tengu is explained or spoken of. RAZAN's *Jinjakō* (1615-1657) is the first; then follow NOBUTAKA's *Wakan chinshokō*[2] and ANDŌ TAMEAKI's *Nensan kibun*.[3] In the latter we find the words of MORI SHŌKEN[4] quoted, who states that in the *Jizōkyō*[5] four kinds of demons are mentioned in a row: Celestial Dragons, Yakshas, Tengu and "Earth-queens" (土后).

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1. Vol. v. ch. vi. (Superstitions), p. 211.
2. 和漢珍書考, written about 1700.
3. 年山紀聞, written in 1702 by 安藤爲章, *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. 續上, p. 140.
4. 森尙謙.
5. 地藏經.

KOJIMA FUKYU tells in his *Heishoku wakumonchin*[1] that the Tengu seize upon persons who do anything wrong (in the wood) and tear them to pieces, and that they are demons of the wood, who come forth from places where much yin-spirit (陰氣) is accumulated.

The encyclopaedia *Wakan sansaizue*[2] suggests a connection between the Tengu and the Chinese bird "chi niao,"[3] which sometimes changes into a man and sets houses on fire.

The celebrated historian ARAI HAKUSEKI,[4] like HIRATA and SORAI, calls the Tengu a mountain demon in his *Tengusetsu*.[5]

In SORAI's *Tengusetsu*, in a chapter of the *Soraishū*,[6] we find the Tengu described in the following way: "Resembling the thundergod, with a nose like a hawk's beak, and on the head a band (like that of a yamabushi), with tiger claws, flashing eyes and wings of flesh." SORAI, in trying to explain the Tengu, goes back to the Yih-king (易經), where one of the eight diagrams (kwa, 卦) is explained as being composed of mountains, dogs and beings with black bills. "Perhaps," he says, "the shape of the Tengu has been represented after this diagram" (!). He concludes with the statement that the Buddhist priest of the temple of Eijutsu Tarō (the Great Tengu) on Atago-yama has requested him to write on the Tengu. If the demon, after having received the offering of the book from the hands of this priest, causes a wind to rise, it will be a sign of approval (quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 259).

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1. 乘燭政問珍, written in 1710; quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 248.

2. 和漢三才圖會, "Japanese-Chinese picture book on the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth and Man)" (1713), a Japanese recasting of the Chinese encyclopaedia *San ts'ai t'u hwui*, 三才圖會. Ch. xliv., mountain birds, p. 665.

3. 治鳥, see above p. 32.

4. 新井白石, who lived 1657-1725.

5. 天狗說.

6. 徂徠集, printed about 1736, after SORAI's death. He lived 1665-1728.

TEININ[1] gives in his *Tengu meigikō*[2] the following enumeration of the Great Tengu of Japan (quoted by INOUE, *Tenguron*, p. 44): Sōjōbō of Kurama, Tarōbō of Atago, Jirōbō of Hira, Sanjakubō of Akiba, Rihōbō of Kōmyō, Buzembō of Hiko, Hōkibō of Daisen, Myōgibō of Kōzūke, Sankijin (三鬼神) of Itsukushima, Zenkigoki kimpeiroku of Ōmine, Kōkembō of Katsuragi, Tsukuba hō-in of Hitachi province, Tarōbō of Fuji, Naigubu of Takao, Sagamibō of Shiramine, Jirō of Izuna and Ajari of Higo. The word *bō* (房) at the end of most of these names means Buddhist priest, and *hō-in* (法印) is archbishop, but in colloquial it is the same as yamabushi.

MURASE KŌTEI[3] says in his *Geien Nisshō*[4] that the Tengu attack chiefly women and unclean persons who dare penetrate into their abodes, tear them to pieces and throw their bodies into woods and ravines. They also cause rain and wind, smite with tiles and pebbles, and steal idiot boys, bringing them back after a few days or a month, unconscious, like wooden dolls. He calls Kimpusen, Kōyasan, Yudonosan, Hakusan, Hieizan and Kuramayama the principal Tengu mountains of that time.

TAKAI SAIGA asserts in his *Kunmō tenchiben*[5] that the name Tengu has been wrongly given to the haunting spirits of the darkness (陰鬼, inki) of mountains and woods.

KYOKUTEI BAKIN in his *Nimaze no kizenshū*[6] divides the Tengu of China and Japan into five kinds: stars, yakshas[7], quadrupeds, mountain demons (kodama, tree spirits) and ghosts of the dead. He makes the correct remark that it is wrong to apply one explanation to all the different Tengu. On p. 1052 *seq.* we find pictures of the types, described in Chinese and Japanese books. "The painters," he says, "represent them

1 諦忍, who lived 1704-1786.

2 天狗名義考.

3 村瀬栲亭, who lived 1745-1818.

4 藝苑日渉, written in 1807; quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 246.

5 訓蒙天地辨, written in 1791. Vol. ii. p. 76, quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 261.

6 See above p. 25 note 4, *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. iv. p. 1048 *seqq.*

7 夜叉飛天, yasha hiten.

as men with a bird's bill and wings on both sides. This is in imitation of the shape of the Yaksha. Further, they give them the cap and the hempen robe, the vajra and the sword of the shugenja (修驗者, that is, yamabushi). As these have a close relation to the mountains, they are believed to be connected with the demons of the wood." On page 1055 he says: "Nowadays the Tengu are considered as gods, like the foxes, and are called the messengers of Fudō and Kompira. In olden times all spooks were called *oni* (demons), afterwards (after the time of the *Sandaijitsuroku*[1]) *henge* (變化) or *mono no ke* (物之怪) (氣)."

There are four other works of the collection *Hyakka setsurin* in which the Tengu is mentioned. The *Keirin manroku*[2] gives several references from Chinese and Japanese books. In the *Shōkanzakki*[3] we read that Tarōbō of Atago-yama was a bishop who tried in vain to cure by his incantations the Emperor Montoku (850-858), and grieved so much at it that he died and became a Tengu (860); or, according to another tradition, he fell upon the Tengu-road on account of his passionate affection for the Empress.

In the *Matsu no ochiba*[4] and in the *Zenan zuihitsu*[5], the Tengu is considered as being closely connected with the Celestial Fox.[6]

The most extensive of all the works of that time is HIRATA's *Kokon yōmikō*.[7] Amongst the enormous mass of quotations accumulated by this scholar are several legends about gold-coloured eagles, which carried away children, reared them in hollow trees and brought them back afterwards; such children all became great scholars or yamabushi possessed of miraculous powers. As the eagle is mostly identified with the

1 三代實錄, written in 901.

2 桂林漫錄, written by KATSURAGAWA CHŪRYŌ, 桂川中良, in 1800. Vol. i. p. 696.

3 消閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中, vol. ii. p. 1045.

4 松の落葉, written in 1827. Vol. iii. p. 768.

5 See above p. 35, note 5; vol. i. p. 671 *seqq.*

6 Comp. above p. 35.

7 古今妖魅考, written in 1831.

kite, all these tales are nothing but Tengu legends. On p. 30 he quotes an old proverb as follows: "A hawk (鷹) is the vehicle of the Tengu." "Ignorant nuns and priests and yamabushi," he says, "generally become hawks which, serving the Tengu as messengers, lurk for a passage where men are not protected by a god, in order to let the Tengu enter them."

INOUE[1] divides the Tengu of China and Japan into stars, sennin, birds or quadrupeds, mountain gods or spooks living in the mountains, ghosts of the dead or demons, and Buddhist demons (marui, 魔類). He considers the Tengu an *original* Japanese being which has nothing to do with the Chinese Celestial Dog. The latter is, according to his opinion, the thunder-beast, and its name, which appeared in Chinese works and in the *Nihongi*, was wrongly applied to the Japanese long-nosed mountain demon. There are two kinds of Tengu (p. 44): the *Great Tengu*, enumerated by Tennin (see above, p. 82), and the so-called Tree-leaf Tengu (木葉天狗, Koppa Tengu), which resemble birds and live in trees. On page 45 he quotes the work *Shikogusa*[2], which says that in the course of time the number of the Tengu became larger and larger. Accordingly their standing got lower, and they became tree-leaf Tengu. As there were so many that the cryptomeria trees in which they lived were not sufficient for them, they often took possession of the azalea and shikimi (illicium religiosum, 榊). On the same page he refers to the *Shokoku rijin dan*[3] which speaks about a kind of large river-bird, resembling *kites* and catching fish in the night in the river flowing between Suruga and Tōtōmi provinces. They are called Tengu. "This will be," Kikuoka adds, "what the people call 'the artless tree-leaf Tengu'". From this expression we learn that the koppa Tengu was considered quite harmless and not possessed of any magic art. Nowhere else, however, do we find this kind of Tengu mentioned.

On p. 46 *seqq*. INOUE treats of the so-called *Tengu-skulls* and *Tengu-claws*, which are believed by the people to be

1 *Tenguron*, p. 24.

2 志古草.

3 諸國里人談, written in 1746 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾凉.

really the skulls and claws of Tengu. On the former a work was written in 1776, entitled "*Tengu dokurō kantei engi*"[1]; and the latter are discussed in the "*Tengu no tsumaishi sekkō*[2] and also by HAYASHI RAZAN (in the *Tenguron*, p. 47). The skulls, which are found on the seashore, are apparently the head-bones of a fish; the claws (sometimes found in mountain recesses) are nothing but the so-called thunder-stones or thunder-axes, the weapons of the stone-period, which all over the world are considered as thunder-axes. The above-mentioned *Shosan chomon kishū*[3] speaks already in this sense about the Tengu-claws (p. 574).

On p. 49 *seqq*. INOUE describes some deeds of the Tengu:—

(1) The so-called *Tengu-tsubute*[4], or "Tengu-pebbles", the throwing of tiles and pebbles in the night into houses to the annoyance of the inmates. On p. 61 we read a story about a yamabushi who was detected doing this himself in order to make the inhabitants of the house believe that it was a haunted house and so call him in to exorcise the demons by mantras and prayers.

Already in the *Shoku Nihongi*[5] mention is made of a shower of tiles, pebbles and earth clods, which in the year 778 came down during twenty nights upon different houses in the capital. There was nobody to be seen to whom this could be asscribed. Tengu, however, were not mentioned in those early days.

(2) *Tengu-otoshi*[6]: a sound in the mountains as of an earthquake. This reminds us of the thundering noise of the Chinese Tengu-meteor.

(3) *Tengu-kaze*[7]: a whirlwind which lifts people into the air. In the above-quoted work *Sanshū kidan*[8] we find a

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1 天狗儒髏覽定緣起.
2 天狗爪石拙攷, written in 1818.
3 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849.
4 天狗礫.
5 續日本紀, written in 797; K. T. K. ii. p. 597, ch. 34.
6 天狗倒.
7 天狗風.
8 三州奇談, written in 1764. Ch. v. p. 857 *seq*.

specimen of this kind. A woodcutter was lifted up and was left hanging a little above the ground. Blood was flowing out of his eyes and mouth. It required all the strength of another man to prevent him from being carried away into the air, and this lasted for hours before the demons let go and dropped him to the ground. According to the author's opinion, it was *not* the work of Tengu or gods of the wood, but of the spirit (氣, ki, breath) of wild animals, especially of baboons (hihi, 狒狒).

(4) *Tengu-bi*[1] : a mysterious light in the mountains, like the so-called dragon lantern[2], or fox-fire.[3] This is either sheet-lightning or the will-o'-the-wisp.

(5) The *swordsmanship* of the Tengu we noted in the legend of Yoshitsune and in the story of the possessed girl who instructed a young samurai.

(6) As a *sharpshooter* a Tengu gave to his pupil the miraculous gun which never missed its aim.

(7) The Tengu's *penmanship* is also well known among the people. Already in the *Azuma-kagami* and in many later books ignorant boys and girls, possessed by Tengu, are represented as all at once able to write Chinese characters. INOUE gives on the last page of Vol. iv. of his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi* three specimens of this so-called Tengu writing. It is Sanskrit, clumsily written by Shingon priests.

(8) *Possession* by Tengu (*Tengu-gakari*)[4] is, as we saw, very frequent, both in olden times and nowadays. Sometimes the possessed person takes even the shape of a Tengu, and his mouth and nose become enormous.[5]

(9) *Fires* caused by Tengu are numberless. Big inexplicable fires, in the first place in Buddhist temples, and also in ordinary houses, are all the results of their work. Everything strange and mysterious is ascribed to them.

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1 天狗火.
2 龍燈, ryū-tō.
3 狐火, kitsune-bi.
4 天狗憑.
5 *Tengu-ron*, p. 54.

(10) Their *bacchanals* gave birth to the expression Tengu-banquet, and their skill in *deceiving* mankind led to the calling of a false report a Tengu-rumour.[1]

As to their *pride*, even nowadays a proud man is called a Tengu.

III.—THE TENGU AND THE GARUDA.

Already in the *Konjaku monogatari* (11th century) we find the Tengu described in a purely *Buddhistic* way. This fact at once raises the question: Is it perhaps a Buddhist demon, brought from India via China to Japan? Opinion among Japanese scholars on this subject is divided.

The principal argument of the advocates for a Buddhistic origin is that the Tengu are mentioned in two sutras, the *Saddharma smrityupasthāna-sūtra*[2] and the *Emmyō Jizōkyō*.[3] The first of these works was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the year 539 and treats of the different hells, the pretas and of reincarnation in animal shape. The second, however, which is not to be found in NANJŌ's Catalogue, was, according to HIRATA,[4] written in Japan, and from a living Japanese authority I learn that it was the work of a Japanese in the Tokugawa period. EDKINS refers in his *Chinese Buddhism*[5] to a *Ti-tsang sutra* in connection with the Buddhist hells, and quotes from it a story of a Brahman maiden, who visited her mother in hell and became the Ti-tsang (地蔵, Jizō) Bodhisattva. Professor NANJŌ pointed out to me two sutras, Nos. 64 and 1003 of his Catalogue, in the titles of which Jizō is mentioned, but in none of them do I find mention of the Tengu.

The author of the *Shasekishū* (before 1312) asserts that this demon was never spoken of in the orthodox Buddhist

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1 Tengu-sata, 天狗沙汰.

2 正法念處經, *Seibō nensho kyō*; BUNYU NANJŌ'S *Catalogue of the Tripitaka*, no. 679.

3 閻魔地蔵經.

4 *Kokon yōmikō*, Ch. i.

5 *P. 225 seqq.*

scriptures.[1] BAKIN[2] says that there is no proof whatever that the Tengu was really derived from the *Jizōkyō* five hundred years before his time.

As to the *Seibō nensho kyō*,[3] according to INOUE[4] we read there, in Ch. 18[5]: "All said that Uruka (憂流迦) (魏 says: a *Tengu*) descended"; and in ch. 40[6]: "There was a great light in the air just like a Tengu" and "it was said that a great Tengu had been seen." From these short references it is clear that it is not the Japanese demon but the Chinese meteor-Tengu which is thus spoken of. As the translations of the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese are often very free, the demon mentioned in the original text was probably quite different from the "Celestial Dog".

In the *Emmyō Jizōkyō* the different Buddhist demons are enumerated in the following order: Celestial Dragons, Yakshas, Tengu and "Earth-Queens" (土后).[7] When we compare this with the enumeration of the highest beings of Southern Buddhism, as we find them in KERN's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, we see there the Nāgas and Yakshas mentioned after the *Garudas*, "winged beings flying through the sky like lightning". No doubt there is connection between these Garudas and the Tengu. In GRUENWEDEL's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* the Garudas are described as represented in Lamaism with a fat (human) body, human arms to which wings are attached, and a horned bird's head. They are deadly enemies of the Nāgas (Serpents identified with the the Chinese Dragons) and belong to the attendants of the dreadful gods. In an allegorical sense they are a kind of symbol of victory; there is a big wooden Garuda in the Mongolian mountain Adun Tselon; it is sitting on a rock and

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1 Ch. viii. p. 16 a.

2 L 1. p. 1049.

3 大藏經, 小乘經, 宿一到四 (small edition of the Tripitaka, 縮刷藏經).

4 *Tenguron*, p. 3.

5 This must be a mistake, for in ch. 18 (宿二, p. 1-5) this passage is not to be found.

6 宿三, p. 25.

7 Comp. above p. 80.

is probably a memorial of some historical event. They are also represented by the Lamaists as birds with human faces and hands.[1] On p. 188 we see a Garuda, as always represented when they are cult-figures, standing upon a dying Nāgi, or Female Serpent, and piercing her body with enormous claws. He stretches out his winged arms on both sides. His legs are feathered bird's legs, his body is human, and his horned head is that of a bird with a big curved beak. On p. 26 we see a Garuda as an *eagle* or *kite* with a kind of head-dress and earrings, carrying away a Nāgi and on the same page another figure of the same, entirely human but with long wings at the back. On p. 121 the Garuda is an ornament of Maitreya's throne; the horned, bird-headed, winged demon is killing a Nāga. On p. 25 we read that both Nāgas and Garudas are able to change themselves into men.

When we reflect upon these data we discover at once several points of resemblance between the Tengu of the *Konjaku Monogatari* and the Garuda. Both have the shape of an eagle or kite, both can assume a human shape, both are enemies of the dragons and carry them away. The Garuda is also represented, as in later Japanese sources, as half human or as a man with wings; probably only later variations of his original bird's shape. But we do not read about his opposing Buddhism and Buddhist priests by appearing as a Buddha, priest or nun. It seems to me that the Tengu of the *Konjaku Monogatari* is a mixture of the Garuda with other Buddhist devils, the Temma or Heavenly Devils, whom we have found so often mentioned in the Japanese references. As to the Chinese meteor-Tengu, this is certainly quite different from the Garuda and has nothing to do with Buddhism [2], but his name was borrowed by the Japanese and applied to their demon. In

1 Pg. 191. Comp. GRUENWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (2nd ed 1900) pp. 47, *seqq*.

2 As to the Chinese *mountain devil*, the only reference which has perhaps anything to do with the Garuda is I SHI-CHEN's statement that the Tengu come from the Phoenix peak (above p. 29). According to WADDELL (*Lamaism*, p. 367) the term "Phoenix" is equivalent to "Garuda", so the Phoenix-peak could be "*Garuda-kūta*", as Professor SPEYER was kind *enough to point out to me.*

my opinion there existed, long before Buddhism came to Japan, an original Japanese demon of the mountains and woods, having the shape of a bird. Afterwards the Japanese Buddhist priests, who liked to clothe the Shintō gods and demons in a Buddhistic garb, simply identified this demon with their Garuda, and gave him at the same time some qualities of other Indian devils and the name of the Chinese "Celestial Dog." But from China came a stream of legends and conceptions, and as time passed Chinese elements kept constantly creeping into the Japanese Tengu legends.

A book of the Shin sect, the *Shishishū*[1], identifies the Tengu with Ganeça on account of the human shape and the elephant's trunk, but this theory is out of the question, because there is no doubt as to the *bird's* shape of the Tengu.

FLORENZ says in his *Japanische Mythologie*[2] that according to TSUBOI's opinion the Tengu came from India and are at any rate known in Thibet, where they play the part of devils of hell in the religious comedies of Lamaism. Probably the Garudas are meant, because neither in WADDELL's *Lamaism* nor in GRUENWEDEL's above quoted work are the Celestial Dogs mentioned as such. Already in SIEBOLD's *Nippon*[3] we find the Tengu identified with the Garuda as well as in GRUENWEDEL's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*.[4]

On p. 142 note 16) of the same book FLORENZ states that the popular belief explains the "*Taka tsu kami* (高之神) *no wasahahi*" in the Oho-harahi or Great Purification, *i.e.* the "calamities sent by the Gods of the Heights", as those coming from the Tengu and the Thundergod. Although the Garuda and the name Tengu were imported long after the purification formula was made, it is quite possible that these Gods of the Heights were really the old bird-shaped Japanese mountain demons to whom the name Tengu was in later times applied.

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1 指示珠.

2 Pg. 6, note 9.

3 Vol. v. p. 154.

4 2nd ed., p. 51.

IV.—CONCLUSIONS.

In recalling all the above-mentioned references, we can follow the course of the Tengu through Japanese history.

In the *eighth* century we found only the Chinese Meteor-Tengu, which was wholly unknown to the Japanese people and was only mentioned by a Chinese priest. The kana-writing "Ama-tsu-kitsune", and the fact that the tricks of the Japanese Tengu of later days remind us very much of those of the Chinese celestial foxes, brought us to the conclusion that the Japanese have confounded these two demons.

In the *ninth* century the Japanese Tengu was not yet mentioned, but in the *tenth* he appeared as a demon of the woods and mountain recesses, who deceived mankind and decoyed them by music.

In the *eleventh* century we got extensive information from the *Konjaku Monogatari*. The fact that such a great number of legends was devoted to the Tengu proves that he was already very popular. He had the shape of a kite, but could change himself into a Buddha, a priest or a nun, in order to delude the people, especially priests, and hinder Buddha's Law. But his magic power could be overcome by strong incantations. He was believed to have come from India (because he was identified with the Garuda) and to be capable of human reincarnation. He lived in the mountains and was worshipped there by those who wished to get magic power. He possessed men and spoke through their mouths, or carried them away through the air in his original kite's shape. All his tricks were intended to do harm to Buddhism.

In the *twelfth* century the Tengu were considered the punished ghosts of the dead. We read then for the first time about the Tengu-road as a punishment of hell for proud priests, who were only devout in appearance; further, about a temple and an image of the Tengu, the "Lord of Heaven", on Atago-yama, and about the Tengu of Hieizan. No longer were they the enemies of Buddhism alone, but they also haunted the Emperor himself, whom they made blind, probably in order to cause *confusion in the* world. Possession of persons and speaking

through them was very common, but there was no instance of carrying away priests or other people.

In the *thirteenth* century, again, another picture rose before our eyes. Next to the high priests who after death had fallen upon the Tengu-road on account of their pride or heresy, and who possessed the Empress as well as a little girl, we found mention of the angry ghost of the Emperor Sutoku, who became a Tengu from hatred of his brother, and of another Tengu who, possessing several persons, professed to be the Emperor Go Shirakawa's ghost and demanded worship. To be worshipped by mankind was the aim of the Tengu next to throwing the world into disorder and antagonizing Buddhism. For the first time they were called "*Mono no ke*" (物の氣 or 怪, the spirits or spooks of beings), and were considered as belonging to the same kind of beings as foxes and "terrestrial dogs."

At this time they began to appear in the shape of *yamabushi*, and also as skillful swordsmen. War and fire they caused to appear, reminding us by the former of the Chinese meteor-Tengu, which caused war wherever it descended, and by the latter of the Chinese bird *chi niao* (枳鳥), which revenged itself on man by setting houses on fire.

The *Jikkinshō* is in so far more antique, that it represents the demon in his old shape of a kite, which appears as Buddha; and the *Kokon chomonshū* also describes him as still hindering priests in their religious work and carrying them away and binding them on high trees or towers. Yet there are new features among these old legends. For instance, the Tengu steal children only with the intention of vexing the parents, and then bring them back in a stupefied condition, after having filled them up with dirty things which seemed to be delicious food. There is a striking resemblance between these details and the Chinese legends we quoted above.[1] Apparently different Chinese elements, especially of demons of the mountains and woods, were more and more embodied in our Japanese demon. His penmanship, which appeared already at that time, must

1 Pp 29 seqq.

be attributed to the fact that he was considered as the ghost of a priest, whose knowledge remained with him after death.

The *forteenth* century brought us new material in its descriptions of Tengu meetings and of the way in which the Tengu were punished by hell. They were burned either by a flaming net or by boiling lead, and after a while they came to life again. The character of the assemblies was different. In the *Shasekishū* they were only congregations of monks in a monastery, or meetings of dancing yamabushi, but in the *Taiheiki* the Great Tengu came together to deliberate as to how war could be brought about, and they showed their knowledge of the past and future.

The distinction is now made, also, between *good* and *bad* Tengu, while formerly they were all bad. The good ones were masters of the bad ones, and instructed priests regarding sacred rites and doctrines. The figure of the Tengu, dancing in the night, became quite common at that time. Already in the *Konjaku Monogatari* we read about dancing nuns in the mountains, who were believed to be Tengu; and the samurai who danced and laughed and sang after Kiyomori's death were considered as being possessed by Tengu. Drinking, dancing and singing became more and more the characteristic pleasures of these demons.

Their incendiarism was not confined to monasteries, although these were their principal prey, but was extended also to ordinary houses. Sometimes they carried away children and afterwards laid them down unconscious upon a roof somewhere. We found them in their old kite shape, or as yamabushi, with the beak or the claws, the sparkling eyes and the wings of the kite. They were the ghosts of proud, ambitious, covetous or flattering priests, or of Emperors such as Sutoku, Go Toba and Go Daigo, who all died in anger, the former two on account of their exile, the latter because he had been expelled from Kyōto (1336).

As for the mountains, that were inhabited by Tengu, Atago, Ōtake, Hieizan and Kimpusen were mentioned, and Tarōbō of Atago was placed, after the Emperors, in the first rank. *It is remarkable* that the author of the Taiheiki con-

sidered the Tengu of Hieizan as instruments of Hiyoshi, the Shintō god of that mountain, in the case of the collapse of the theatre in the capital.

At that time we saw the demons, not only inciting men to war by possessing them, or by being reborn as men, but also taking part in their wars, either by calling out warriors, or by appearing themselves in battle array in order to mislead both parties. This reminds us of the Garudas, who were not only symbols of victory[1], but whose shape was chosen by Abhayākara in his battle against the army of the Turushkas (Mohamedans)[2].

In the *Yoshino shūi*, however, they were simply mountain demons who seized men, and whose long nose, doubtless a survival of the bird's bill, we found mentioned there for the first time.

The *fifteenth* and *sixteenth* centuries brought no new information. It is strange that the Tengu did not appear in such popular tales as the *Otogi sōshi*, at least not in the oldest ones. For the *Mottomo no Sōshi* belongs already to the 17th century (1620). He is there a common demon of the woods, who lives in the tops of trees, intoxicates himself by eating mushrooms and is dangerous to men.

The *seventeenth* century shows the Tengu, as far as we see them in RAZAN's work, as formerly, to be ghosts of the dead who became demons, and who assembled on their special mountains to deliberate about war. Murder and fire were still their watchwords. They appeared as foxes, doves, boys, priests or yamabushi, Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, possessed persons and introduced strange songs and dances amongst the people as forebodings of war.

For the first time we read about their enormous *strength*, by which they enabled men whom they possessed to throw big stones and other heavy objects about as if they were feathers. Their extraordinary skill in climbing they showed by making the possessed persons perform breakneck feats on the tops of rocks and the roofs of houses and temples.

1. GRUENWEDEL, l.l. p. 191.
2. GRUENWEDEL, l.l. p. 43.

Good-natured Tengu, however, who protected Buddhism instead of fighting it, are described by the *Shinchomonshū*. They served in monasteries and protected them afterwards against fire, living in the cryptomeria trees before the gate ; or they descended from their brilliant palaces on the tops of inaccessible mountain peaks in order to build a splendid monasteryall in a night. The Great Tengu, who was the Lord of such a palace, had sparkling eyes and a big nose; his followers were yamabushi. Sometimes a learned priest changed during life into a Tengu and flew away.

The *eighteenth* century proved by the extent of the writings devoted to this subject what important demons the Tengu were in that time. They were not only the heroes of a great number gof leends, but many scholars each devoted to them a chapter of their learned books. They lived on the mountain tops and seized persons who did wrong in the woods, and tore them to pieces. They were demons, coming forth from accumulated *yin* (陰) products of the darkness. In the shape of yamabushi they stole children and brought them back as idiots or at least in a state of imbecility. They put them down upon temple roofs or let them fall from the sky, appearing themselves sometimes, as in remote ages, in the shape of kite. The villagers night after night beat gongs and drums to call them and cried: "Bring back, bring back!" On the other hand, we found them as servants in monasteries, which they afterwards protected and endowed with all kinds of miraculous gifts. They showed their strength by hurling enormous stones and carrying away trees, and they were dangerous to those who challenged them. When they became angry, clouds arose, it became pitchdark, the rain fell in torrents, and thunder and storm raged over the heads of the unhappy culprits. This was specially the case in their own valleys, when men entered them. They acted entirely as tree spirits (kodama). Woe to him who damaged their trees, even if he pulled off only a single leaf! They, the dogguests (*ku-hin*, 狗賓) tried to kill him, or they sowed discord among the villagers who did mischief in their woods.

They feasted and danced in the night in their splendid palaces deep in the mountains, and disappeared with palace and all at daybreak. Their precious presents to human visitors turned out to be of no value at all. They had, according to SORAI, noses like the beak of a hawk.

We find in all these details a mixture of old elements with new. Hitherto the wood demon, who made wind, rain and thunder, did not appear; the other characteristics we already knew.

In the *nineteenth* century the popularity of the Tengu had not decreased. On the contrary, they had risen to the rank of *gods* of the wood, to whom offerings were made to pacify them, as is the practice with all primitive peoples the world over.[1] If the wood-cutters neglected this, they met with all kinds of small accidents or great calamities. The Tengu were throwing trees and stones and rocks about so violently that the mountains shook. When women or unclean persons entered their abodes, they tore them to pieces and threw their bodies into woods and ravines. They caused rain and wind and threw down tiles and pebbles. They were responsible for the whirlwinds which carried people into the air, and for the mysterious lights which twinkled in the mountains.

They gave success to the hunters who promised them offering of fish, and transferred their own skill in shooting and fencing to the boys they stole and the girls they possessed. The tops of trees were their favourite abodes and feasting was their delight. They were so powerful that even the Shōgun was apparently afraid of them and his officials begged them to go away before their Lord arrived. Next to these mighty gods of the wood there were others who were only messengers of Fudō or Kompira, and again others, the koppa or tree-leaf Tengu, who did not possess any magic power whatever and lived peacefully in their own particular trees. These latter had the shape of big kites, just as their forefathers did in the days of old.

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1 Comp. FRAZER *Golden Bough*, second edition, i p. 187.

Even nowadays all these ideas are alive among the country people. They still beat drums and call to the Tengu to bring back stolen children, and they offer the Tengu cake before cutting down trees. They still worship the demons in their temples on mountain tops, as, for example, on Atago-yama. Every year there is a remarkable festival at the temple called Kami no kura, at Kumano, built on the top of a high rock, and dedicated to the Tengu Takagami. Over the steep steps, which lead from the foot of the rock to the temple, old and young men hurry up and down with burning torches, and he who makes the descent first is applauded by the crowd, and formerly received a bag of rice from the lord of the castle. The hill above the temple is the playground of the Tengu.[1]

It is quite natural that these old customs should be kept up by the people. Everywhere primitive belief dies hard, and in such a mountainous country as Japan the demons of mountains and woods play, of course, a great part in the imagination of the country-folk. If a child has got lost in the woods, it is self-evident to them that it has been stolen by the demons, and if it is found again after a while in an exhausted condition, the conclusion is obvious that the robbers have brought it back. We find these ideas among other peoples as well as in Japan.[2] We can be sure that they existed here long before the coming of Chinese civilization and Buddhism. But afterwards, no doubt, these both had a great influence on those primitive beliefs.

China's rich folklore brought an enormous amount of new material to enrich the fancy of the people, and Chinese names were applied to Japanese ideas. How the people were instructed by the Buddhist priests we learned from a passage in the *Nihongi*. It is no wonder that the people, hearing all these unknown things, mixed them up and confused, for instance, Celestial Dogs and Celestial Foxes in such a way that the deeds of the latter were ascribed to the former. The original Japanese mountain demon, who had the shape of a bird, but could

1 MURRAY, *Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 7th ed., p. 392.
2 *Comp.* FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 185.

change himself into a man and play all kinds of tricks on the people, got the name of the Chinese Celestial Dog. This was possible because the latter was not only a meteor, but also a mountain devil. It is remarkable how in the course of time the Japanese demon acquired the qualities of the Chinese meteor, because he had received its name, such qualities, for instance, as the causing of war, and thunder, and bright dazzling light; while on the other hand a lot of tricks were imputed to him, which belonged to the department of the Chinese Celestial Foxes and all kinds of Chinese demons of the mountains and woods.

But there was still another mighty factor which called its influence into play, and that was *Buddhism*. The priests, extraordinarily clever in their propaganda, saw at once the resemblance of these demons to their own Garudas as well as to the other Buddhist demons and demoniacal ghosts of the dead. It was a trifle for them to annex them and to put them into a Buddhist frame, just as they did with all the Shintō gods. They invented even a Tengu-road as a special kind of punishment of hell, and erected temples and images in order to pacify the angry ghosts.

Yet the Japanese-Chinese mixture of ideas did not die out under the exotic pressure. On the contrary, the gay, strong mountain demon who deluded mankind by all kinds of tricks and killed or haunted them if they penetrated into his abode, freed himself in the course of the centuries more and more from Buddhist influence, and the present time knows him again in his true nature of demon of the mountains and woods.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 28, note 2: Ming dynasty, read Liao dynasty.
P. 29, note 1: 偉, read 佩.
P. 29, note 2: 似, read 以.
P. 30, note 3: 果, read 果.
P. 30, note 4: SHWAH (潮), read CHI (潮
P. 31, line 10: 又, read 又.
P. 32, note 1: KAN PAO, 子寶, read 干寶.
P. 34, note 1: 郡, read 群.
P. 35, note 2: p. 29, read p. 30.
P. 36, note 2: 記, read 紀.
P. 44, note 2: p. 29, read p. 30.
P. 48, note 2: p. 24, read p. 25.
P. 51, note 2: p. 24, note 4, read p. 49, note 2.
P. 60, line 25, above "*The Yoshino shūi*," read: § 4. *Fourteenth Century.*
P. 69, note 3: 犬, read 尤

Mr. E. W. Clement related the following incidents of a climb up Mount Tsukuba:—

By superstitious people it has always been considered dangerous to make the ascent of Mount Tsukuba after eating the flesh of birds or beasts; for the *kami* (gods) hate and punish the unclean, and sometimes *tengu* (sky dogs) appear and kick down those who have eaten or done any unclean thing. The faithful worshipper, therefore, keeps a seven days' fast, in order to make his body pure and clean. We, however, were sacrilegious enough to indulge in "unclean" chicken, to strengthen us the more for the arduous climb, but we failed to meet any *tengu*. Our frequent slipping during the climb was, however, laid to the *tengu*.

On our way home we heard an interesting story about a Mount Atago near which we passed. On that hill there were formerly twelve shrines dedicated to *tengu* (sky dogs); but once upon a time another was added under the following circumstances. In a temple near Mount Tsukuba was a young boy whose old mother often visited him. On one occasion, as she expressed a wish to go to the island of Tsushima, he agreed to take her, and, carrying her on his back, he flew very swiftly to that place and back again. When they had returned to the temple, the boy said, that, as he was very tired, he must go to sleep awhile in the next room, but cautioned his mother not to look in on him. After a little, she, moved by curiosity or anxiety, peeped in and discovered a *tengu*, which at once flew away. At the next festival on Mount Atago, when the people were preparing a tray of food for each of the twelve shrines, they received orders from the priest to prepare thirteen trays, as a new *tengu* had just come. That neighbourhood is said to abound in *tengu* and stories thereof. In fact, it is one of the great *tengu* centres of activity mentioned in Dr. de Visser's paper.

Mr. Clement also related a story which he had heard the previous day from Prof. Swift, to the following purport:

A wood-cutter on a remote and lonely mountain side found a beautiful feather fan at the foot of a tall *sugi* (cedar). After examining it carefully he came to the conclusion that it was the fan of a *tengu*. Then he remembered that his grandmother had told him how the *tengu* made its nose grow by fanning it, and it occurred to him to experiment on himself. So he slowly fanned his nose repeating, "Grow nose! grow!" And his nose suddenly began to grow longer and longer until he could not bear its weight. He then lay down on the ground and the nose continued to grow. Just then he heard a great rustling in the top of the *sugi* and looking up beheld the *tengu* glaring at him angrily. He was helpless. The *tengu* flew down and seized the end of his nose—still growing—and quickly twisted it around the trunk of the *sugi*; then he picked up the fan and flew away into the depths of the forest. The poor young man was almost dead with fear and pain, and lay there thinking that his end had came. Luckily, however, he was found by a friend, who, seeing his plight, pulled the long nose out by the roots and set him free. Thus the mischievous young fellow who had dared to play with a *tengu's* fan was brought home weeping, with a hole in his face.

The President expressed the thanks of the Society to Dr. de Visser for his able and interesting paper; and expressed the hope that while this was the writer's first appearance before the Society, it would not be his last.

Mr. Clement moved, and Mr. MacNair seconded, a vote of thanks to H.E the British Ambassador for the kind hospitality of the Embassy for the meeting. This was carried unanimously by a rising vote.

The hospitality was also extended to the serving of refreshments after the meeting.

CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY IN JAPAN.

REVIEWS OF DR. INOUE TETSUJIRŌ'S THREE VOLUMES ON THIS PHILOSOPHY*

BY WALTER DENING.

INTRODUCTION.

IT IS HARDLY to be expected that even the educated portion of the Japanese nation will for some generations take a keen interest in the more abstruse and philosophic speculations of the West. Neither the past history of the Japanese nor their prevailing tastes show any tendency to idealism. They are lovers of the practical and the real. Neither the fancies of GOETHE nor the reveries of HEGEL are to their liking. Our poetry and our philosophy and the mind that appreciates them are alike the result of a network of subtle influences to which the Japanese are comparative strangers.

It is maintained by some, and I think justly, that the lack of idealism in the Japanese mind renders the life of even the most cultivated a mechanical, humdrum affair when compared with that of Westerns. The Japanese cannot understand why our controversialists should wax so fervent over psychological, ethical, religious, and philosophical questions, failing to perceive that this fervency is the result of the intense interest taken in such subjects. The charms that the cultured Western mind finds in the world of fancy and romance, in questions themselves irrespective of their practical bearings, is for the most part unintelligible to the Japanese.

With a view of doing something towards remedying this defect, the Japanese Philosophical Society (Nihon Tetsugakkwai)

* Most of the matter given in this paper appeared in the columns of the *Japan Daily Mail* some years ago, and my thanks are due to the editor of *that journal* for permission to make use of it here.

was founded about twenty-four years ago. The Society seems to have met with as fair an amount of success as Societies of the kind usually do in this country. No published record of its early transactions exists. For several years it contented itself with holding monthly meetings at which papers were read or addresses given, followed by a certain amount of discussion. The first number of its monthly Journal of Transactions was published in February, 1887. It contains a list of members, a general statement of the objects of the Society, the rules, and several interesting papers. The members at that time numbered seventy. Dr. KATŌ HIROYUKI was the President of the Society, and Mr. TOYAMA its Vice-President. Conspicuous in the list of members given in the first volume of Transactions stand the names of such well-known scholars as: HARA TANZAN, KANO JIGORO, KITABATAKE DŌRYŪ, MORI ARINORI, NAKAMURA MASANAO, NISHIMURA SHIGEKI, SHIMADA JUREI, SHIMAJI MOKURAI, TORIO KOYATA, ARIGA NAGAO, INOUE TETSUJIRŌ, INOUE ENRYŌ, HIRAKA SHINJITSU, and KOZAKI KODO. We gather the following particulars from the rules. Membership is confined to those who take an interest in philosophy. The meetings of the society are held on or about the 20th of each month.* The election of President and Vice-President takes place once every three years. The members of the Society are required to lecture in alphabetical order,† the lectures are supposed to be followed by discussions. The lectures are taken down by a short-hand writer and published among the Society's *Transactions*. The subscription is fixed at ten *sen* per meeting, that is, about one *yen* a year. If any member absents himself for more than six meetings in succession, after an announcement to the Society, his name is erased from the books. The principal schools of philosophy represented by the members are: (1) the Buddhist, which seems to be in the majority; (2) the Confucian; (3) the Christian; (4) the Evolutionist and Agnostic. One would suppose that with men holding such widely divergent views animated discussions

* August is excepted.

† The only exception to this rule is in the case of new members, who are expected to address the Society on the first occasion of their attendance at one of its meetings.

on some of the burning philosophical questions of the day would take place. But such is not the case. The most antagonistic doctrines are propounded without any attempt to determine which of them is most worthy of credence. This month you may listen to a Buddhist giving his mystic and transcendental explanation of facts and phenomena; next month you may hear a Christian tracing all things back to the fiat of one Supreme Being, and the following month a modern evolutionist may be laying stress on the utter futility of study that goes beyond human experience and the inferences logically deducible therefrom. No attempt is made to reconcile theories. There is room in the Japanese Philosophical Pantheon for gods of fire and gods of water. Elements are made to lose their antagonistic and annihilative properties. Hostile instincts, if existent, do not appear: "the wolf and the lamb lie down together and the lion eats straw like the ox." Such a state of things is, I venture to think, unique. It would be absolutely impossible to conduct a philosophical society on the same lines in Europe. Men in the West are sometimes content to allow contradictory views to appear side by side in the pages of a magazine without attempting to show where the balance of evidence lies; but at a meeting where free discussion is allowed their zeal for truth, the earnestness, the depth, and honesty of their convictions, and their regard for the results which mistaken views so frequently produce would all combine to render the adoption of the *laissez faire* principle by over a hundred members of a philosophical society an absolute impossibility.

It is affirmed by some of the members of the Japanese Philosophical Society that the object of the Society is rather the collection of information on philosophical subjects than the solving of philosophical problems; that the members aim at acquainting themselves with the teaching of the various schools rather than at attempting to decide which school possesses the best system. To which it is obvious to reply that if the mere collection of material be the object of the Society, a magazine devoted to philosophical questions ought to answer the purpose. It is hard to see what is gained by men's meeting in one place

to listen to a paper if there is nothing to discuss. It is undeniable that by avoiding discussion the Philosophical Society prevents the petty animosities which are to a greater or less extent the concomitant of anything like earnest debate. But, on the other hand, it deprives itself of the advantages invariably accruing from free interchange of opinions by educated men.

I do not intend to convey the impression that discussion is proscribed at the Society's meetings. The rules allow it, but few of the members seem disposed to take part in it, and such as are willing to do so are debarred by the practice of having two papers, each on a different subject, read the same afternoon. The history of learned societies tends to show that the prosperity of such bodies depends on their having objects in view that are neither too broad nor too narrow; that are definite in character and of sufficient interest to a certain section of the educated world to make it worth the while of competent men to write and speak about them. To prosper, a Society must have a *raison d'etre* which is unimpeachable. It must undertake some work which no other existing body of men is equally well qualified and equally ready to do. I fear that the Japanese Philosophical Society, as at present constituted and conducted, does not satisfy these conditions. It certainly fails in point of definiteness of aim. In the 2nd of the Society's rules the object of the Society is declared to be "the investigation of philosophy". Such an object is, I venture to think, far too broad and vague to admit of the attainment of very definite results. It is not to be expected that the present generation of Japanese will contribute much that is original on lines of philosophical investigation that have long been followed by Western thinkers. Lofty, but not admirable, conceit not long ago led a young Japanese, when asked what philosophical system he followed, to reply:—"I have one of my own." Such students are happily rare. The majority are well aware of the reach and the subtleties of the subject and of their own imperfect acquaintance with it. They are content to sit at the feet of COMTE, HEGEL or SPENCER and try to understand before attempting to originate. Original papers on ordinary philosophical questions, then, are not to be looked for: reproduction

is all we can expect. And in this the Society is surpassed by individual workers. For many years the philosophical speculations of the West have been reproduced in this country in the form of translations or paraphrases of foreign works. Any Japanese who is unable to read the originals has a large choice of translations. Some of these translations are extremely well done. The papers on philosophical questions discussed in the West and published in the Society's Journal are as a rule of far too fragmentary and disconnected a character to take the place of the long treatises on these subjects that have been translated into Japanese. The Society must fulfil the essential condition of effectiveness—specialism. Its success wholly depends on its undertaking work that no other existing body of men can do as well. It must devote its energies to the treatment of the philosophical questions which the events of the last forty years have rendered urgent in this country. Of these questions there is no dearth. The adoption of Western civilisation by an Eastern State must necessaily furnish abundant material for philosophical discussion. For the adoption of an alien civilisation by a nation already possessing in its own life and institutions much that is worthy of preservation is no such easy matter as some people suppose. Civilisation is not something that can be put on as a man dons a coat, nor is it something that can be learnt by mere power of imitation. In common parlance here in Japan it is made to stand for the whole life of Westerns, and to adopt it means with the majority of those who use the term civilisation the imitation of foreigners. Philosophy may well set itself the task of showing that to *development* and developing agencies rather than to *imitation* the nation should turn its attention. It may also show that this development of man's faculties, his whole individual and social activities—the elevation of his private and civic life—is not in every case aided by the introduction of a new and foreign developing agency, that there are cases when a new application of that which is already in use is found more effective.

One of the first things Japanese philosophy has to do is to institute a comparison between the state of this country and that of the most advanced Western nations. Such a com-

parison should include all the chief relations and phases of life. If conducted thoroughly, it ought to determine the character of the dominant principles of Eastern and Western life respectively. This process would involve a thorough analysis of Western civilisation, and would undoubtedly reveal the fact that there is great inequality of merit in its constituent elements, and hence that wholesale adoption is not wise. No Western philosopher maintains that our development is all in the right direction. Other than civilising influences have been and still are at work in our midst. They mingle with and to some extent mar some of our greatest achievements. The present state of Europe and America is by no means the result of the wisdom of the past. There is much in vogue among us that is altogether unworthy of imitation. According to some writers, the intellectual development of Europe has been marked by distinct stages. An age of credulity was followed by an age of inquiry, which gave place to an age of faith, which, again, was succeeded by an age of reason. Though it is easy to take exception to wide generalisations of this kind, I venture to think that there is a great deal to be said for this one in particular; and such being the case, Japan has now no concern with any of the irrational vestiges of antiquity that prevail among us. It would be a thousand pities to see the superstitions that most of us have discarded transplanted to this country, to have our bungling and stumbling reproduced here in slightly varied forms. Of the irrational elements found in what we call our civilisation Japan stands in no need. Such of our national and race customs as have nothing more than antiquity to recommend them it would be fatal folly on her part to adopt.

To decide what in a complicated system of life and manners are the elements most worthy of incorporation in the Japanese system of civilisation is, I admit, no easy task. But it is just the kind of problem that a Philosophical Society ought to attempt to solve, being a purely philosophical question and one which intimatly concerns the welfare of the nation at large. Men endowed with the true philosophical spirit are best qualified to discuss calmly and impartially the principles which

should guide a nation in borrowing from another. Among the members of the Japanese Philosophical Society there are some who know thoroughly well in what their own nationals excel and in what they are deficient, and who, by lengthened study of foreign ideals and actual achievements, have arrived at a fairly adequate conception of the state of society that is both desirable and attainable. Such men surely ought to be able to tell us on what things in particular the nation will do well to concentrate its energy. There is no arriving at absolute truth in any line of inquiry. Things are relatively good or bad. The same law or custom of society may work well under certain conditions and badly under others. National life is an extremely complicated thing which can never be adopted *en masse* by an alien unconquered people like the Japanese, and which can only be successfully adopted in part by a careful process of assimilation to what already exists. Foreigners who have given little attention to the subject frequently observe that the Japanese should not pick and choose, that they should either adopt our Western civilisation as it stands or keep to their own system. No advice could be more unphilosophical. Civilisation, properly understood, is pliable and plastic, and must be moulded to the nation and not the nation to it. A complete assimilation of an alien system of civilisation is an impossibility; that is, if those distinctive faculties which every nation possesses and which are valuable to the world as well as to the nation itself, are not to be annihilated. Healthy assimilation takes time, and all attempts to force the process only end in reaction. Proof of this has been seen here during the past few decades in a variety of quarters. Reforms have been hurried on before the people were educated to appreciate them. That to which the people were accustomed has been taken away without a *quid pro quo* being furnished, and consequently the vacuum abhorred by nature has not infrequently been filled up with things previously relinquished. Destruction is easy; it is reconstruction that is so difficult. The Japanese Philosophical Society would deserve the gratitude of the nation could it devise a plan whereby the best of the old life of Japan might be embodied in

its new. The elucidation of such a subject is a task well worthy of the most strenuous efforts the Society has it in its power to put forth. This, too, would be a work to the success of which the special studies of members could all be made to contribute. The psychologist, for instance, could give an analysis of the Japanese mind, showing its deficiences and excellencies, and could discuss what the natural mental endowments of the nation rendered it best fitted to undertake. The sociologist could trace the effects of feudalism and other ancient institutions on Japanese Society. The linguist might discuss the merits and capabilities of the Japanese language. The student of art could render great service to the world by clearly delineating the special merits of Japanese art as compared to that of Western countries—and so forth. Subjects suggested by passing events are endless, and there are not wanting among the members of the Philosophical Society men well qualified to treat such in a philosophic spirit.

One thing is very certain; the Japanese mind is of an eminently practical turn—practical subjects come home to it. Philosophy that is away in the clouds may serve to amuse a few recluses and dreamers, but will fail to arrest the attention of the intellectual bustling man of the world. In all performences the obtaining of an appreciative audience is a point of primary importance.

To insure success, the Philosophical Society must, in the first place, confine its attention to what is knowable, and in the next, must choose among knowable subjects those intimately connected with the moral and material progress of the nation. The number who take an interest in philosophy must necessarily be few in any country, and, for many reasons, is unusually few in Japan. It should be the endeavour, then, of leaders of thought to devise means for increasing that number. This can be best effected by popularising philosophical discussion as much as possible, by choosing interesting subjects and treating them in an entertaining manner.

As to the kind of philosophy that most interests the Japanese mind, Dr. Inoue's three volumes which I am now about to briefly review show conclusively that it is essentially

moral rather than speculative. In pure speculation the Japanese as a people take little interest. The tendency to select from the writings of our Western philosophers only that which has a distinct bearing on everyday life, which is essentially practical in character, is as strong in Japan to-day as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The practical philosophy which Japan adopted from China and improved on in various ways was in former times studied by almost every educated man. It had none of the characteristics which render some schools of Western philosophic thought so repulsive to certain minds. It commended itself as the embodiment of the highest wisdom to common-sense men of the world, and especially to politicians. It was on this account that its influence on men's thoughts and lives was so immense. The fact that the Japanese mind as Europeans found it when the first Treaties were signed and they began to come into close contact with the nation was largely moulded by the teaching of the Confucian schools of philosophy whose tenets we are now about to consider, lends a special interest to the subjects discussed in this paper.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCHOOL OF WANG YANG-MING IN JAPAN.

Wang Yang-ming, called Yōmei in Japan, was born A. D. 1472 and died in 1529. He was the first Chinese philosopher who broke loose from the authority of the ancients and claimed the right to interpret nature and its laws in his own fashion. His is the last of the great names found in the pages of the history of Chinese philosophy. He was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men China has ever produced and both as a politician and a warrior left a name second to few in Chinese annals. As a teacher he stood forth as the preacher of a special kind of idealism. He maintained that the source of all man's knowledge is in his own mind. That there is no real existence outside the mind. His philosophy, any more than that of his predecessors, cannot be cleared of the charge of being almost exclusively confined to ethical theories. In pure psychological inquiry the Chinese made little progress. The subject which chiefly interested them was man's moral nature rather than his constitution as a thinking being and his actual relation to the external universe. The distinction which Chutsz (朱子) (died A. D. 1200 had drawn between the 理, *ri*, the underlying principle of nature which determines its organisation, and the 氣 *ki*, or vital fluid, which is the immediate producer of all external objects, and which gives to them their properties, Wang declared to be without foundation in fact and misleading. The early Japanese students of Wang's theories seemed to have found some difficulty in either comprehending or appreciating his point of view. The progress made by his school was slow, and had it not been for the fact that his teaching was advocated and clearly explained by Nakae Tōju (Ōmi Seijin), it is doubtful whether it would ever have wielded the influence over the Japanese mind that Dr. Inoue claims it has done. My own opinion is that no ultra-

idealistic system of philosophy can ever be generally popular in Japan, and I seriously doubt whether it was its idealism that made Wang's teaching so successful here. To me it seems that the Japanese are not endowed with the mental faculties necessary for the thorough appreciation of high class idealism. By the production of this work Dr. Inoue probably aims at cultivating a power which is at present in a very backward state of development. But I will now allow him to speak for himself.

My object, says Dr. Inoue, in publishing this work at the present time is to provide a remedy for the diseases from which society is suffering. The moral ideas of a nation are not the product of any one age. Those who wish to know what is the mind of the nation must study the doctrines of its chief instructors in days gone by, among whom the Japanese followers of Wang Yang-ming occupy a prominent place. The advocates of Utilitarianism are destroying our nationality. Utilitarianism may answer our purpose well as a principle of state economy (*kokka keizai no shugi*), but applied as a principle of individual moral action it is unsuitable, as it leaves no room for individual moral culture. It resolves itself into a profitless system of sophistry. The traditional principle of virtue among us has ever been the heart-virtue of each individual. There is a sacredness and a purity about this that needs to be carefully guarded.

At the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, when under the liberal patronage of the Tokugawa Shōguns all kinds of learning made rapid progress, chiefly through the efforts of Fujiwara Seiga, the philosophy of Chutsz began to be appreciated in this country, and subsequently, owing to the great influence of Hayashi Razan, the teaching of Chutsz for a time dominated Japanese thought to such an extent that the blind bigotry and utter stagnancy which is apt to be produced by the undue prevalence of one set of opinions threatened the intellectual world of that day. But happily this was averted by the introduction of the rival system of Wang Yang-ming. For a long time, however, the philosophy of Wang encountered great opposition. Hayashi Razan was a Government official,

and his influence was so great that the teaching of Chutz was paramount in all matters connected with education. For many years earnest students of Wang's philosophy were considered rebels. But, as is often the case, teaching that was frowned on by officialdom found advocates among the people, and so it came about that eventually Wang's system attained equal rank with that of Chutsz.

The difference between the two above-named systems of philosophy, as stated by Dr. Inoue in Chap. 1. of his book, is as follows:—(1) Chutsz maintained that it is necessary to make an extensive investigation of the world and its laws before determining what is the moral law. Wang held that man's knowledge of moral law precedes all study and that man's knowledge of himself is the very highest kind of learning. Chutsz's method may be said to be inductive and Wang's deductive. (2) The cosmogony of Chutsz was dualistic. All nature owed its existence to the *ri* and *ki*, the determining principle and the vital force of primordial aura that produces and modifies motion. Wang held that these two were inseparable. His teaching was therefore monistic. (3) Chutsz taught that the primary principle *ri* and the mind of man were quite separate and that the latter was attached to the *ki*. Wang held that the mind of man and the principle of the universe were one and the same and argued that no study of external nature was required in order to find out nature's laws. To discover these man had only to look within his own heart. He that understands his own heart understands nature, says Wang. (4) Chutsz's system makes experience necessary in order to understand the laws of the universe, but Wang's idealism dispenses with it altogether as a teacher. 5) Chutsz taught that knowledge must come first and right conduct after. Wang contended that knowledge and conduct cannot be separated, one is part of the other. Chutsz may be said to exalt learned theories and principles and Wang to extol practice. The moral results of the systems briefly stated were as follows.—Chutsz's teaching produced many learned men in this country, but not infrequently these men were inferior, being narrow-minded,

prejudiced and behind the age. Wang's doctrines, on the other hand, while they can not escape the charge of shallowness on all occasions, serve the moral purpose for which they were propagated better than those of the rival school. Though in the ranks of the Japanese followers of Chutsz there were numbers of insignificant, bigoted traditionalists, the same cannot be said of those who adopted Wang's views. They were as a class fine specimens of humanity, abreast if not ahead of the age in which they lived. No system of teaching has produced anything approaching such a number of remarkable men. If a tree is to be judged by its fruit, Wang's philosophy in Japan must be pronounced one of the greatest benefits that Japan has received from the neighbouring continent, though not a little of its power in this country is to be traced to the personality of the man who was the first to make it thoroughly known to his fellow-countrymen, Nakae Tōju, a sketch of whose life I now reproduce in an epitomised form from Dr. Inoue's pages, which contain a very full account of his life and work.

Nakae Tōju was born in 1608 A.D. and died in 1648.* Up to the age of 33 he studied and adopted the teaching of Chutsz. Wang Yang-ming's system seems to have attracted his attention on account of the importance it attached to introspection and self-culture and he soon became an earnest advocate of conscience development as the source of practical virtue. Here it should be noted that Tōju steadfastly believed in God and that his chief object in study was to find out what is true in order to practise it in daily life. Though he is spoken of as a philosopher, he had all the earnestness, reverence, and faith of a religious teacher, and it was only the ethical aspects of philosophic questions that really attracted him. His views on cosmogony were monistic, and led him to assert that the *ri* (理) and the *ki* (氣) of Wang were simply two attributes of God In this respect his theory agreed with that of Spinoza, who maintained that all the apparently various forms of being

* It is interesting to note that [illegible] a year of each other. In earnestness [illegible] their philosophic views the two [illegible]

are but the modes in which God's existence is manifested. Of these modes, says Spinoza, all that are known to us belong to two attributes of substance, thought and matter. These *modi* have no independent existence, they are but different manifestations of the same substance. It will be remembered that Descartes had defined substance as "that which for its existence stands in need of nothing else." Spinoza declared that this substance is God. His philosophy was, like that of Tōju, decidedly pantheistic. Tōju taught most distinctly that God (Jōtei) is no separate existence apart from the forms of his manifestation, *ri* and *ki*: that is, that God and nature are inseparable. But on the other hand, the God in whom Tōju believed created the world and was capable of meting out rewards and punishments according to men's deserts, hence, he has personality. But though anthropopathic, Tōju's Jōtei is not anthropomorphic. He attributes to the Divine being omnipresence that is incompatable with anthropomorphism of any kind. According to Tōju, God prevades the universe and pervades man's heart. "The Father is in me and I in him." "I and my Father are one," are words that well express his view of man's relation to God.

His views concerning the human race were that man has one origin and hence that all mankind are brothers. But there is a difference in men as regards enlightenment. The enlightened he calls *seijin* and the unenlightened *bonjin*. As regards rank among human beings, he preached an equality as pronounced as that proclaimed by Rousseau.

In psychology he was an intuitionalist. He held that the source of all true knowledge was in introspection. Like Socrates his advice to his fellow-men was *gnothi sauton*, know thyself. He undoubtedly held that much of our knowledge is transcendental. The power of learning by intuition, (良知, *ryōchi*), he speaks of as the divinity that is within us, as is stated in Chap. V., p. 61 of Dr. Inoue's work, *Ryochi wa sunawachi Ten nari, Shimmei* (神名) *nari, Jōtei nari*. The position he took finds a parallel in the rank assigned to the human reason by Kant. His ethical standpoint was precisely the opposite of that of the utilitarian. He did not wait to see

the effects of actions before determining their nature, but he held that the conscience, prior to all teaching and without the knowledge that experience supplies, can distinguish between good and evil. The words of Christ, "The Kingdom of God is within you;" "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops," well express the importance he attached to that inward monitor and guide called conscience. Evil, he taught, was caused by the presence of a perverted will, and in this his teaching corresponded with that of Schopenhauer, but he does not with the German philosopher recommend its entire suppression, but its rectification.

Though some parts of Tōju's teaching resembled that of certain Buddhist sects, there were essential differences between his view of human life and man's place in the universe and that of the Buddhist. Tōju was no pessimist, nor did he assign more importance to the next life than to this. The world he considered exists for the sake of man, and he spoke of no imaginary universe created by man's fancy for other purposes. Buddhism was therefore repulsive to him. Tōju's belief had much in common with that of the Christian. He believed in a personal God, who corresponds to the "Heavenly Father" of the Bible. He represents man as one with God. The conscience is God within us: so that in obeying it we are obeying God. Tōju also represents God to be endowed with infinite mercy (*kagiri naki megumi*). His doctrine of rewards and punishments in the main corresponds to that preached by Christianity. But the difference between his doctrines and those of Christ is very distinct. A supernatural world that has no real connection with man and exists apart from him, the reality of which orthodox Christianity insists on, had no place in Tōju's system. Man was the centre of his universe and Heaven's laws were all inseparably connected with man.

As I said above of Wang's teaching in China, Tōju broke the spell of authority by which Japanese thought was bound down to his time. He taught that, though there is but one *michi* for all nations, in the matter of forms and ceremonies

great liberty must be allowed. He went so far as to say that many of the utterances of Confucius were quite inapplicable in Japan. He preached against a slavish following of the Chinese in politics and in philosophy, and he may be said to be the first to indicate the extent to which it is desirable that Chinese teaching should be adopted here. He was unwilling to admit that any doctrines whatever are binding in all times and under any circumstances, and in this he differed from Christians. He never would have accepted Christianity had he heard of it.*

To sum up in a few words the general effect of Wang's system of philosophy as taught by Nakae Tōju, Kumazawa Banzan, and others is no easy task. Dr. Inoue devotes many pages to a delineation of the type of character which the Wang Yang-ming school brought into existence and this part of his book is of great interest to a foreign reader. The teaching of Wang Yang-ming underwent various modifications in Japan. It combined with Shintō to a certain extent and identified itself with State interests. The Japanese are naturally lovers of what is pure, and so Wang's system commended itself to them in a special way. The men who belonged to this school showed an activity of mind and a steadfastness of purpose that was quite remarkable. The prevailing feeling among them was that conduct and a virtuous life are to be placed before all else. They wrote few books, their philosophy was by no means deep, nor always logical, but their lives were beyond reproach, and they had a force of character that made them highly respected everywhere. They looked for no praise beyond what their approving consciences gave. What they did they did with decision. No difficulties baffled them. They were men whom nobody could turn aside from the path they had commenced to tread. Looking back over the centuries, we can find no class of moral reformers that surpassed Tōju and his school.

Of course it is not difficult to put one's finger on weak points in the system, for no system of philosophy is perfect. Its exclusive subjectiveness undoubtedly led to abuses. Its low estimate of all kinds of authority where moral actions and

* I am quoting Dr. Inoue here as well as in other places where Christianity is referred to.

moral feelings are concerned sometimes led to rebellion against the Government. To objective morality the Wang school of philosophers paid too little attention. The acquirement of the knowledge and the intellectual development requisite for the determination of what objectively is the highest form of virtue they habitually neglected. But notwithstanding all this, by exclusive attention to the dictates of conscience and by sheer force of will they succeeded in reaching a standard of attainment that served to make them models for posterity. The integrity of heart preached by Wang's followers in Japan has become a national heritage of which we are all proud, observes Dr. Inoue. In the West ethics has become too exclusively a subject of intellectual inquiry, a question as to which of rival theories is the most logical. By us practical virtue has been exalted to the pedestal of the highest honour. When comparing the morality of the East and the West, Dr. Inoue makes use of the following words, p. 631, *Seiyō no rinri wa shintoku no remma wo shu to suru mono ni arazu shite, chi-teki tankyū wo shu to suru mono nari.* (In Western Ethics not the cultivation of heart-virtue, but intellectual inquiry is the dominant principle). Dr. Inoue closes his volume by expressing the desire that the two methods of procedure (that of the West and that of the East) may be combined, and predicts that if this course be followed a system of ethics such as the world has never seen will result.

Dr. Inoue gives a thorough history of the Wang School, dealing seriatim with all the chief writers, quoting their noted sayings and explaining their doctrines. No such lucid exposition of Japanese philosophic thought exists in the language. The *Nihon Yomei Gakuha no Tetsugaku* is certainly the best answer that we have met with to the question, whence comes that high moral standard of everyday life with which those foreigners who are able to speak the language and who have been accustomed to associate with Japanese gentlemen are so familiar?

We append Dr. Inoue's list of Japanese graduates in the Wang School, with dates, in order to give some idea of the influence of this class of philosophers throughout the country down to very recent times.

Nakae Tōju, A. D. 1608-1648. Kumazawa Banzan, 1619-1691. Kitajima Sessan, 1637-1697. Sani Shōan (?). Nakae Jōsei, 1646-1709. Hosoi Kotaku, 1658-1735. Miyake Sekian, 1665-1730. Minowa Shissai, 1669-1774. Nakane Tōri, 1694-1765. Rin Shihei, 1732-1793. Sato Issai, 1772-1859. Takemura Kaisai, died 1829. Yanagawa Seigwan, 1789-1858. Ōshio Chūsai, 1794-1837. Yoshimura Shūyō, 1797-1866. Yamada Hokoku, 1805-1837. Utsugi Seiku, 1809-1837. Yokoi Shōnan, 1809-1869. Okumiya Zōsei, 1811-1882. Sakuma Shōzan, 1811-1864. Magi Hoshin, 1812-1864. Kashiga Shinan, 1812-1878. Ikeda Sōan, 1813-1878. Hayashi Ryosai d. 1849. Nabeshima Kansō, 1814-1871. Yoshimura Haizan, 1812-1882. Yanagizawa Shiryō, 1816-1845. Nakajima Sozonsai, 1822.1864. Kaneko Tokusho, 1823-1866. Saigo Nanju, 1826-1877. Kawai Konosuke, 1827-1864. Yoshida Shōin* 1830-1859. Takasugi Toko, d. 1867. Azuma Takusha, d. 1867. Kumoi Tatsuo, 1844-1870. To the above list we might add the names of Katō Hiroyuki (in former days), Oshio Chūsai, and many others.

*It will be remembered that Shōin attempted to go off to America on one of Perry's ships, but was discovered in the act and executed. Almost all the Chōshū statesmen known to fame were pupils of his.

THE NIHON KOGAKU-HA NO TETSUGAKU.

(THE JAPANESE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.)

First in reference to the title, "The Ancient School of Philosophy," it originated in the fact that the men who figured as the leaders of this school revived philosophic teaching that had long been forgotten. Their doctrines were almost all a reproduction of the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, but they rejected the deductions which in China and Japan had been drawn from the words used by these great sages. Though they are called an "old school," in one sense, says Dr. Inoue, they were a "new school," the Protestants of philosophy, who aimed at reverting to original teaching, at purifying thought by removing from it the accretions with which it had become clogged in the course of ages. The history of the school under consideration consists of the history of the lives and teaching of the three great leaders, Yamaga, Itō, and Butsu and their followers, and this fact furnishes Dr. Inoue with a simple division of the material published. The work is divided into three parts. Part. I. deals with Yamaga Sokō (山鹿素行) and his followers; Part II with Itō Jinsai (伊藤仁齋) and his disciples, and Part. III. with Butsu Sorai (物徂徠) and his school of thought. The three men differed from each other in character and proclivities. Sokō was a soldier and well versed in military affairs. The precepts and general teaching of Confucius he applied to the life of a warrior. Jinsai centred his thoughts on the development of virtue in individuals, on making known by precept and practice the type of character embodied in the word *kunshi*—a title for which we have no very exact equivalent in English. Sorai was at heart a *utilitarian and* spent his life in endeavouring to permeate

literature and politics with the ethical principles which he championed. They were all three opposed to the Quietism (寂靜主義), *Jakusei-shugi** of the Chutsz school of philosophers and advocated activity and aggressiveness.

I. Yamaga Sokō.-(1622-1685). Sokō began life by studying military science, in which he subsequently attained to such proficiency that down to the very close of the Tokugawa era he was quoted as one of the great authorities on this subject. For some time he studied under Hayashi Razan and adopted the views of the Chutsz school of philosophy, but at the age of forty he came to the conclusion that Chutsz's teaching was a perversion of the actual doctrines of Confucius, and so he laboured to revive interest in the original teaching and founded a school with this end in view. He encountered great opposition from the Bakufu, which in those days would brook no rival to the Chutsz school of philosophy. He was placed under the Ako *daimyō*, Asano. By this Baron he was treated with great consideration. As a return for the kind treatment he received, Sokō instructed Asano's retainers and made such an impression on them that a most powerful school of warrior-philosophers was founded in Harima, which in later times gave birth to the 47 *ronin* type of heroes. Among Sokō's Chōshū followers was the noted Yoshida Shōin, under whom in their early days Itō and Yamagata both studied. Sokō's teaching on cosmogony and on the various attributes of natural forces differed essentially from that of the Sung school of thought. He contended that nature, 性, *sei*, is the result of the coöperation of the law of moral order, to which he applied the term 理 *ri*, and the vital energy, known as 氣, *ki*. In any sort of creation (*kaibyaku*) he never seems to have believed. He held that the whole universe had no beginning and that it can have no end. He thought that the language used in reference to nature's processes, such terms as life and death, growth and

* Dr. Inoue applies the term "quietism" to certain views of the philosophers of the Chutsz school. But I doubt whether the use of the term in this sense is allowable. I have never met with an instance in the writings of English philosophers of such an application of a term used to denote the *mystical* doctrines of a sect of religious devotees, originated by Molinos, a *Spanish* priest.

decay, are all misleading, and he boldly says that there is nothing to which the terms life and death should be applied, *shini, iku to nazukubeki mono nashi.* But more interesting perhaps than his notions on the laws of the universe, which, when explained by resort to such extremely plastic terms as *ri, ki, sei* and *Ten*, lack all scientific, and even philosophic, precision, are Sokō's ethical ideas. He was, as Dr. Inoue points out, a thorough-going utilitarian. For many years the contemporary of the great English philosopher Hobbes, but without even knowing of his existence, Sokō reached the same conclusions as those arrived at by this deep thinker as to the principle which consciously or unconsciously guides men in their choice of courses of action to be followed. In commenting on the distinction drawn by Confucius between 義, *gi*, and 利, *ri*, that which is right and that which is beneficial to the person concerned, Sokō says that if a man aims at always doing what he thinks to be right, benefit will come to him of itself. He goes on to observe that it is no use pretending that a man can treat with indifference his own gain or loss in pursuing a certain course of action. *Hito wa mina ri wo konomi, gai wo nikumu. Kono rigai no kokoro arazareba, karekito onaji, hito ni arazu. Ninjō wa mukashi mo, ima mo, doko mo onaji koto*, &c. "People all like that which benefits them and dislike that which harms them. If a person can be found who possesses not a mind that thinks of profit and loss, such a being is no better than a withered tree. Man he is not. The feelings of mankind in reference to this have in all places and all times been the same." This is equivalent to saying that the utilitarian standard of conduct has always been the ultimate one, though in another passage he guards against the danger of giving to the term utility too narrow a meaning. Sokō was a staunch nationalist and he condemned in strong terms the tendency of his contemporaries to praise everything that was foreign and to depreciate things native. "Our scholars," says he, "have an evil habit of believing their ears, but not their eyes, of rejecting what is near at hand and adopting what hails from a distance." All the transcendental and mystical notions that had been combined with Confucianism by the

Sung school of philosophers Sokō rejected, and affirmed that Confucius' teaching was only designed for practical use in political and social life and that philosophic theories are outside the proper scope of the Confucian ethical system.

Dr. Inoue draws attention to the fact that Sokō was one of the great founders of the Bushidō. He speaks of him as the *Verkörperung*, or incarnation, of the famous code. The books Sokō published on this subject, says Dr. Inoue, may be said to form a kind of Bushidō Constitution. As a philosopher Sokō's teaching was neither as positive nor as thorough as that of Jinsai and Sorai. He cannot be said to have given any very new ideas to the world, but neverthless his personality was a very strong one, and what he believed he had the art of making others believe too. On p. 129 *et seq.* of Dr. Inoue's work will be found a full list of works of reference on the life aud teaching of Yamaga Sokō.

II. Itō Jinsai,—(1627-1705). Jinsai began to study under a teacher at the age of 11. When he reached the age of 19 his proficiency was recognised to be something phenomenal. But it was not till 19 years later that he determind to reject what is known as the Sung teaching and do his best to concentrate men's minds on the unadulterated truths proclaimed by Confucius. Born in 1627, he lived to the ripe age of 78, and perhaps it is true to say that few men in old Japan wielded such a powerful influence over contemporaries and posterity as Jinsai. In reference to Jinsai's theories, on cosmogony he taught that all things may be traced to one source, that source being an all-pervading and all-powerful energy. This force he terms 元気, *Genki* (original, vital energy). He speaks of the universe as *ichi dai kwatsubutsu*, a great living thing. It begets, but was not begotten. The followers of Chutsz, Lautsz and the Buddhists represent the universe as a dead thing. Jinsai's saying that the universe is a living thing is founded on the general teaching of the 易, *Yeh*, which describes the endless changes wrought by the above-named "original energy." *This* is no other than the eternal flux on which Heraclitus

dwelt so much. "All things flow" said this Greek philosopher. Things exist only in transition was what he taught, and this is the doctrine of the *Yeh*.

The points of difference between the teaching of the philosophers known as the Sung school (called after the 宋, *Sung*, era A.-D. 960-1280), which included the followers of Chutsz, Lautsz and many Buddhist schools, and that of Jinsai, are thus summarized by Dr. Inoue. The Sung philosophers held that the world began with a governing principle, 理, just as Plato taught that it began with an idea, and that the vital energy known as *ki* came afterwards. But Jinsai taught that the energy came first and that what the philosophers describe as the fundamental principle of the universe is nothing but the law that governs the working of the vital energy called *ki*. The *ri* has no existence as a producer of the universe nor does it actually control the operations of nature.* The fact is, however, remarks Dr. Inoue, Jinsai and his opponents, the Sung philosophers, use the term *ri* in different senses. Jinsai's *ri* is the equivalent of *rihō*, or natural law, which he maintained has no existence apart from the things and operations which it governs, but his opponents maintained that before the actual universe came into existence the principle on which it is based existed and that this existence was as real as is the existence of the universe itself.† The two schools differed as to the term of the existence of the universe. Jinsai taught that the universe is without beginning and without end. All accounts of creation such as the one given by Chutsz are rejected by him. Then they also differed on the question as to whether nature is to be described as in a perpetual

* Here it is hard to follow the reasoning of Jinsai; for it is evident that the designs of things exist before the things themselves, and in very complicated structures and machines the design may be said to be more important than the energy that brings the creation of the mind into actual, substantial existence. The idea is the actual original, as the existence of the thing depends on the nature of the design.

† The various meanings given to 理 by different philosophers are most perplexing. With the Sung School it seems to have stood for the principle of organisation by which matter is preserved or the Power that inheres in it to direct it, which in Chinese books on philosophy is sometimes defined as 神, God.

state of activity or in a perpetual state of quiet. Nature is ever begetting, ever transforming, ever reproducing old things in new forms, said Jinsai. There is no such thing as death in reality—there is an identity in the apparent contradiction of all things. To all the operations of nature Jinsai attached great importance. The Sung school, on the other hand, regarded the material universe as quite unreal. Certain Buddhists whose teaching was followed by the philosophers of this school maintain that the true view is to regard emptiness as the final state of all things. To the Buddhists the material universe has no real existence. It is all described as 幻妄, *gembō*, visionary, imaginary.

Coming to ethics, the definition given of the term *michi* or "way" by the two schools now under comparison differed considerably. The Sung school of philosophers said that the *michi* is 性, *sei*, nature. They also taught that it is *ri*, using the term as the equivalent of the rational or right rule of action. Jinsai maintained that such a use of the various terms was most confusing; so he began by defining the word *michi*, as the proper course of conduct for men to follow, and he said *michi wa jingi* (仁義) *nari*. "The proper course for men to pursue is to act kindly and justly." He objected to a distinction being drawn between practical ethics and ideal ethics, between that to which men actually attained and that at which they aimed. The Sung philosophers spoke of an ideal path of virtue; to which they gave the term 至道, *shidō*, the highest way. Jinsai said:—*Jōdō wa sunawachi shidō nari*. "The ordinary path of virtue (that is the everyday conduct of good men) is the highest path." He maintained that there is too much vagueness, uncertainty and unreality attached to the ideal ethics taught by the Sung philosophers. A thing which only exists in idea does not specially concern practical men, said Jinsai. What in these modern days we call humanity was the central idea of Jinsai's system of ethics. Jinsai knew of no learning disconnected with morals, and deemed no subject worth studying unless it were connected with the furtherance of virtue in oneself or in others. Some subjects, such as economy, for instance, he thought could not be studied without harm. He taught that

politics and morals are inseparably connected with each other. His educational system in many ways resembled that advocated by Rousseau. He argued in favour of adapting teaching to the individual capacities and proclivities of the pupil. Teaching, he said, should be altered to suit the pupil, rather than the pupil altered to suit the teaching. To produce different types of character was one of his aims in teaching.

Dr. Inoue thinks that Jinsai's theory concerning the activity of the universe resembled in some respects the modern theory of evolution, and that Jinsai's teaching regarding the possibility of a man's making his own virtuous conduct a governing principle resembles the doctrine of Green and Muirhead, known as the theory of self-realization. Though Jinsai's thoughts are clear as far as they go, he is by no means logical, observes Dr. Inoue. Two of his great defects were over-confidence in individuals and the adoption of the Chinese mistaken view as to the identity of morality and ordinary subjects. His teaching on nature was perhaps materialistic in tendency, but his teaching on morals was undoubtedly idealistic.

On p. 322 *et seq.* of Dr. Inoue's work a list of reference books, including over 50 volumes on Jinsai's Life and Teaching, will be found. Nothing could be more thorough or painstaking than the manner in which Dr. Inoue has compiled his history. Dr. Inoue furnishes short accounts of the schools of thought founded by Jinsai and biographical notices of Nakae Minzan, Itō Tōkai, Namikawa Temmin, Hara Sōkei and Hara Tōgaki.

III. Butsu Sorai. (1666-1728). It is said that Sorai was able to read at the age of 5 and that at the age of 9 he composed poetry. He studied later on under Hayashi Shunsai and Hayashi Hōkō. His parents were very poor and for some time he subsisted on *tofu no kara* (bean-curd refuse). But nothing damped his ardour and he read book after book with astonishing eagerness. His studies covered a far wider area than those of Sokō and Jinsai. He read books on language, military science, economy, politics and music, and at Nagasaki he made a special study of Chinese and attained the art of *reading and* understanding Chinese in Chinese fashion without

construing it into Sinico-Japanese as is usually done, and he became a great opponent of the Japanese practice of altering the order of the words in a Chinese sentence, maintaining that the sense is injuriously affected by the adoption of this method of reading Chinese books. He attempted to inaugurate a general reform in this matter, but without much success. He became the master of a rare style, which possessed many of the superior qualities of classical Chinese. Born in 1666, Sorai died in 1728. His life was laid out on a wider scale than was the case with either of the two leaders whose lives are discussed above, and he aimed at turning out men of courage and character rather than moralists. In philosophy a perusal of the writings of Itō Jinsai persuaded him that the popular Chutsz teaching was all on the wrong track, though subsequently he attacked Jinsai. Notwithstanding that Sorai's teaching is usually denominated Sorai-*gaku*, most of his tenets came from 荀子, Shuntsz. He disregarded the teaching of Mencius and followed Shuntsz implicitly. His doctrine that man's nature was originally evil, and his contention that morality originated with the teaching of certain sages or moralists were both derived from Shuntsz. His views on morals resembled in many particulars those of Thomas Hobbes, as I shall show later on. Morality Hobbes regarded as the direct result of the Political State. That is good which is sanctioned by the absolute power in the State; the reverse, evil. He argues that religion and superstition have this in common that they both imply the fear of imaginary Powers; the difference between them consists in the fact that the fear or worship of imaginary Powers recognised by the State is religion; that of those not recognised, superstition. This was precisely the view of Sorai, as will appear later on. Dr. Inoue goes into a comparison of Sorai's views with those of Shuntsz, in confirmation of the above statements, for which I have no space here.

The difference between the teaching of Sorai and that of Sokō and Jinsai was very marked. The moral system of the latter philosophers was essentially subjective and individualistic; that of Sorai was decidely objective. He says, *Michi wa jimmin wo osamuru* ni hitsuyō naru dōgu wo iu nari.

"Morality is nothing but the necessary means for controlling the subjects of the empire." It did not originate with nature nor with any impulses of man's heart, but it was devised by the superior intelligence of certain sages (*seijin*), and authority was given to it by the State. Morality may be regarded as a *jutsu*, a device or art for governing people. Sorai actually speaks of morality as *kodai dōjutsu* (the moral arts used by the ancients). Sages, says Sorai, is a title given to manufacturers, to the men who framed laws, rules, moral maxims and precepts for other men. These sages were in every way superior to ordinary men and no amount of study will suffice to raise a man to the level of a sage. There was in the character of these sages a combination of remarkable traits, and this combination it was that constituted their greatness. Their imitators may succeed in cultivating certain of their moral and intellectual qualities, but they cannot reproduce the type as a whole. In China Confucius had no equal. Such men as Chingtsz and Chutsz were but poor imitators of him and when men like our Jinsai and others aspire to figure as sages, we see how vain is the attempt, argued Sorai. They follow the great sage, but a long, long way off. To try and adopt the ideas of the great teacher and carry them out in daily life, this one can do, but this is very different from setting oneself up as an authority.

One of the distinctive features of Sorai's teaching was his insistence on the changelessness of the fundamental traits of men's characters. Men are born, he said, good-tempered or bad-tempered, sanguine or phlegmatic. There are certain strong proclivities in the nature of every man. These may be modified, but they can not be eradicated.* He said when speaking of this stability of character, *Kore henzubekarazu*; *shikaredomo utsuru mono nari.* "This can't be changed, but it alters

* This reminds one of a striking passage in Bk. IV. of the Analects of Confucius, which in the Japonicised version runs thus: *Umarete shikōshite (or umare nagara ni shite) kore wo shiru mono wa, kami* (上) *nari; manande shikōshite kore wo shiru mono wa sono tsugi nari.* "He who is born with knowledge (the genius) ranks first; he who acquires knowledge by study comes next." It is the contention of Sorai that no amount of study or effort will raise the second class of men to the rank of the first. Great moralists, like *great poets, are born,* not made.

(somewhat)." And, according to Sorai, it is this capability of limited alteration that affords an opportunity for the moralist to step in with his improving arts and devices. This doctrine of the permanency of character Sorai had the honour of being the first to proclaim in Japan, observes Dr. Inoue. Among Western philosophers it has been much dwelt on. It was a leading characteristic of Schopenhauer's teaching. Nietzsche warns us against pushing the doctrine too far. The changelessness is not absolute, he says. Wundt maintains that man's character consists of two distinct elements, one that is inherited and the other that comes from education and experience. The latter may change, but not the former. It is certainly one of the duties of a moralist to indicate clearly what he considers orthodox in teaching and what heterodox. This the Sung school of philosophy neglected to do, but in Sorai's writings this is done in the clearest manner: In the whole of the Sung teaching there is much that is left to conjecture. In defining virtue Sorai refers to the definition of Mencius thus. "Mencius says, *Hossubeki, kore wo zen to iu.* 'That which ought to be (is worthy of being) desired is virtue.' But this is by no means the teaching of the sages." Then Sorai proceeds thus: *Oyoso hito wo riyeki shi, tami wo sukūbeki mono, mina kore wo zen to iu, kore shūjin (the many) no hossuru tokoro naru ga yuye nari.* * From this it appears that utility or the "greatest happiness," was the principle to which Sorai finally appealed. He held that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote the highest welfare of the largest number of people, wrong when they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. So that Sorai recognizes no standard of right and wrong apart from the well-being of the community in which each person lives. His system of morality, in contrast to the teaching of the whole Sung School of philosophers, was full of public spirit, and it condemned the introspective, individualistic subjectivism which to a large extent characterized the teaching of Sokō and Jinsai.

Sorai enjoined on his disciples a spirit of quiet acquiescence in the decrees of Heaven. Peace of mind, says he, comes

* "All that benefits men, all that saves people is virtue, because it is *something* that the majority desire."

from bowing to the will of Heaven in all things. Resignation is one of the virtues that all followers of Confucius ought to cultivate. To Sorai it appeared that the essence of Confucianism was political; that its chief object is the establishment of good government by the employment of men whose moral characters are in a high state of development. The theory that good government depends principally on the men employed rather than on laws and rules may be said to represent the conviction of modern English statesmen. Modern Egypt, modern India and other countries that might be named have been to a very large extent the creations of highly endowed and strong-willed administrators. The much-laughed-at, antiquated Chinese knew the secret of government two thousand years ago.

The following are some of the chief points of difference between Sorai's teaching and that of the Sung School of philosophers enumerated by Dr. Inoue :—

SORAI.	THE SUNG PHILOSOPHERS.
1.–Source of knowledge, the teaching of the ancients.	1.–The deductions of reason.
2.–Morality consists in the cultivation of politeness, music and the observance of law and political principles (禮樂刑政).	2.–Morality consists in 理 *ri*, rationality.
3.–Morality was invented by the ancient sages.	3.–Morality is derived from man's original nature and is transcendental.
4.–Character is unchangeable.	4.–Character may be changed.
5.–Great attention should be paid to literary style and the like.	5.–Knowledge of one's own heart and the development of the reasoning faculties are more important than outward forms.
6.–The principle of activity.	6.–Quietism.
7.–The chief aim of teaching *is good government.*	7.–The chief aim of teaching is moral attainment.

The differences between the teaching of Jinsai and Sorai are thus stated by Dr. Inoue. (1) Jinsai made *jin* and *gi*, benevolence and justice, the basis of his system of morality, but Sorai made *rei*, *gaku*, *kei*, *sei* (ceremony, music, law, and politics) his basis. (2) Jinsai rejected utilitarianism; Sorai adopted it. (3) Jinsai maintained that morality evolves itself naturally. Sorai taught that it is an artificial production. (4) Jinsai accorded the highest honour to a virtuous life; Sorai thought the highest attainment was good government. (5) Jinsai advocated an investigation of principles of various kinds. Sorai discouraged this. (6) Jinsai aspired to follow in the path of the ancient sages; Sorai thought this unattainable. (7) Jinsai honoured Mencius, but Sorai had no regard for him whatever. The attitude of the two philosophers to the Sung school of thought was not the same. Though Sorai was directly opposed to it, Jinsai was by no means so. There were points on which he agreed with the philosophers of this school. What is known as the Sung-*gaku* was a compound of the teaching of Shaka and Lautsz. Both Jinsai and Sorai derived their teaching from Confucius, but they both used a medium. Mencius was Jinsai's medium and Shuntsz was Sorai's. As for originality of thought and suggestiveness, there is much more of this in the writings of Sorai than in those of Jinsai. Dr. Inoue enumerates on p. 632 five particulars in which Sorai's teaching was most clear and pronounced. (1) He was the first to expound the utilitarian* basis of ethics. (2) He was the first to enunciate sociological principles. (3) He was the first to point out how much of the current morality is artificial, in the sense of being the product of human brains. (4) He was the champion of the principle of *laissez faire*, of non-interference with things that only concern special individuals, that is, he was an advocate of a certain amount of liberty of action. (5) He was in favour of positive principles. After observing that the sociological character which Sorai

* The term utilitarian is comparatively modern. John Stuart Mill says in a note to his Essay on Utilitarianism: "The author of this essay has reason for believing himself to be the first person who brought the word utilitarian into use. He did not invent it, but adopted it from a passing expression in Mr. Galt's *Annals of the Parish*."

gave to morals renders him one of the brightest lights among Oriental philosophers. Dr. Inoue proceeds to compare the teaching of Thomas Hobbes and Sorai, showing by quotations that in four particulars the two philosophers were in substantial agreement.

Thomas Hobbes was born in 1588, the year of the coming of the great Armada, and died in 1679. Butsu Sorai, as stated above, was born in 1666 and died in 1728. So that for 13 years at any rate the two philosophers were contemporaries. A comparison of Hobbes' views as stated in his greatest work the *Leviathan* and in the earlier and shorter work the *De Corpore Politico* with Sorai's writings shows in a very striking manner how two thinkers on opposite sides of the world reached the same conclusions on politics, philosophy and morals. Dr. Inoue notes the following four particulars in which the views of the two philosophers agreed. (1) They both regarded man's original nature as egoistic and maintained that as each man follows the bent of his egoism, endless conflict between individuals is unavoidable. (2) They both considered that morality comes into existence for the first time when a State has a permanent form of government and a fixed system of law. (3) Both held that law and government should be decided on by despotic monarchs alone. Both argue in favour of fixed despotism. (4). Both maintained that actions are not in themselves good or bad. Their nature can only be determined by an appeal to civil authority. In his *De Corpore Politico*, p. 225, Hobbes says:— "The civil laws are to all subjects the measures of their actions, whereby to determine, whether they be right or wrong, profitable or unprofitable, virtuous or vicious; and by them the use and definition of all names not agreed upon, and tending to controversy shall be established." Hobbes in the West and Sorai in the East revolutionised thought in many important respects. Spinoza took Hobbes as his master in departments of thought in which he was masterly and constantly showed his influence. Leibnitz extolled him. Harrington speaks of him as "the greatest of new lights." Diderot, after *reading for the first* time Hobbes' treatise On Human Nature,

by no means his greatest work, writes :—" How diffuse and flabby seems Locke, how poor and petty La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère in comparison with this Thomas Hobbes." The political views of both Hobbes and Sorai have been discarded, but the system of Utilitarian philosophy founded by these two thinkers has since their time undergone marvellous development and to-day commands the homage of many distinguished men throughout the Western and Eastern worlds.

In summing up the results of his investigations, among other things, Dr. Inoue says :—The movement which was led by the Kogakuha was no other than our Japanese *renaissance*. Up to that time our learned world was ignorant of the fact that that which passed as Confucianism was not the genuine article. But what is to be regretted in this movement was the excessive worship of the personality of Confucius. If, as the Sung school of philosophers urged, the teachers whose lives we have been considering had borne in mind that truth is greater than even Confucius and had criticised his sayings and his personality, they would have supplied to their generation germs of progress which it sadly needed. To proclaim the greatness of ideas is one thing; to associate those ideas with a single individual who lived a long time ago and to exalt that person to a pedestal of honour that is declared to be unapproachable is quite another. This is no other than to make men worship the past and care little for the future. What was wanted then in Japan, and what is wanted now in China, is the severance of ideas from association with any special person or time and the demonstration of their universal applicability. Dr. Inoue quotes Kant's views on the autonomic and heteronomic sides of morals and argues that these two aspects of ethics, which are expressed by the Japanese terms,-*jiritsu*, and,-*taritsu*, were fully recognized by Jinsai, though he never attempted to harmonize them. He thinks that Jinsai's *naibu-teki* corresponded to Kant's *Maxime* and his *gwaibu-teki* to Kant's *Moralische Gesetze*. Dr. Inoue writes very fully on the merits and demerits of the leaders of the Kogakuha, and his observations will doubtless prove of great value to Japanese scholars.

On p. 731 *et seq* there is a long list of names of the graduates of the schools of the three great men whose teaching has been discussed, with dates, which I give below. Among the 47 *rōnin* were two of the followers of Yamaga Sokō, namely Ōishi Yoshio and Onodera Hidekazu. Hirai Tōsen, (A.D. 1642-1715); Onodera Hidekazu, (1643-1703); Ogata Ibun, (1645-1722 ; Kitamura Tokushō, (1646-1718); Ogawa Rissho, (1649-1688); Isono Chikuzen, (1654-1708); Arikawa Tensan, (1654-1735 ; Nakae Minzan, (1655-1726); Inao Jakusui, (1655-1715 ; Matsuoka Joan, (?-?); Itō Kosetsusai, (1657-1727); Kasawara Unkei, (?-?); Nakajima Fuzan, (1658-1727); Hayashi Gitan, (?-?); Kagawa Shūan, (?-?); Ōmachi Tonso, (1659-1729); Ōishi Yoshio, (1659-1703); Tanaka Kantai, (1662-1729); Itō Mokuan, (1663-1729 ; Toriyama Kenan, (1664-1711); Watanabe Genan, (1664-1722); Itakura Fukuken, (1665-1728); Tanaka Tosen, (1665-1732 ; Mitani Nansen, (1665-174 ; Tsuruta Shigesada, (?-?); Arakida Seikwan, (?-?); Butsu Sorai, (1666-1728); Namikawa Seisho, (1668-1738); Kageyama Tōmon, 1669-1732); Itō Tōgai, (1670-1736); Butsu Hokkei, (1670-1754); Ochi Heian, (?-?); Matsuzaki Rankoku, (1674-1735); Watarai Sueshige, (1675-1733 ; Miye Shōan, (1674-1734); Utsunomiya Keisai, (1676-1724); Irie Nammei, (1676-1765); Yoshimura Tensen, (?-?) Ono Hokkai, (?-?); Itakura Ranken, (?-?); Itakura Ryōshū, (?-?); Tani Gentan, (?-?); Ukawa Tōken, (1678-1758); Tamikawa Temmin, (1679-1618); Dazai Shuntai, (1680-1747 ; Kinoshita Rankō, (1681-1752); Tsuji Konan, (?-? ; Itō Nanshō, (?-?); Matsuzaki Hakkei, (1682-1753 ; Asano Bunan, (?-?); Katsuragawa Shunsen, (?-?); Hayashi Kagenori, (?-?); Nakajima Genzō, (?-?); Itō Baiu, (1673-1744); Andō Tōya (1683-1719); Itō Kaitei, (1685-1772); Ochi Ummu, (1686-1746); Sawamura Kinsho, (1686-1739); Shinozaki Tōkai, (1686-1739); Yamagata Shūnan, (1687-1752); Hirano Kinka, (1688-1732 ; Miura Chikukei, (1689-1756); Narushima Kinkō, (1689-1760); Suganuma Tōkaku, (1690-1763); Takami Sokyū, (1690-1735 ; Mizuashi Heizan, (?-?); Honda Chūtō, (1691-1757 ; Sumie Soro, (1691-1728); Shibayama Hōrai, (1692-1771); Itakura Kōkei, (?-?); Ishikawa Taibon, (?-?); Itō Chikuri, (1692-1756); *Hattori Nankaku*, (1693-1759); Moriya Gabi, (1693-1754);

Itō Rangū, (1694.1778); Tō Hoshū, (1696-1765); Sugaya Kantoku, 1696-1764); Yo Yūji, (1697-1776); Kimura Hōgo, (1697-1772); Aoki Konyō, (1698-1769); Nemoto Bui, (1699-1764); Shaku Taichō, (1676-1768 ; Shaku Banan, (?-1739); Akimoto Tanyen, (?-?); Yoshida Kozan, (?-?); Tanaka Ranryō, (1699-1734); Okai Kenshū, (?-?); Hikida Kyūkō, (1700-1738); Chō Genshū, (?-?); Butsu Kinkoku, (1703-1776); Okuda Sankaku, (1703-1783); Odamura Rokuzan, (1703-1766); Kō Rantei, (1707 1757); Yasuhara Rinkwan, (?-?); Kakiuchi Yugaku, (?-?); Asai Kiuka, (?-?); Tani Bizan, (?-?); Hozumi Nōkaisai, (?-?); Mizuashi Hakusen, (1707-1732); Kō Seiku, (1712-1752); Yamada Rinyo, (1712-1735); U Sensui, (1713-1776); Suiyama Nantō, (?-?); Hirose Ippō, (?-? ; Matsunami Teisai, (?-?); Andō Shigakusai, (?-?); Ogawa Tokusho, (?-? ; Ryō Sōryo, (1714-1792); Suzuki Tanshū, (1715-1776); Kō Yōkō, (?-?); Kimura Hōrai, 1715-1765); Tsuchiya Ranshū, (?-?); Chō Nanzan, (?-?); Kuzumi Kagaku, (?-?); Hara Sōkei, (1718-1767); Uno Shirō, (?-?); Yamanouchi Kindai, (1724-1746); Matsumura Baikō, (?-?); Matsuzaki Kankai, (1726-1775); Tachibara Tōmō, (1726-1789); Hara Tōgaku, (1729-1783); Itō Toshō, (1730-1804); Shibayama Yoshō, (1730-1767); Butsu Seizan, (?-?); Saitō Shizan, (1743-1808); Kamei Nammei, (1743-1814); Okano Sekijō, (1745-1830); Kuranari Ryōsho, (1748-1812); Butsu Hōmei, (1755-1807); Kawada Tōkō, (?-?); Itō Tōri, (1751-1817); Noda Sekiyō, (?-?); Kamei Shōyō, (1773-1836 ; Itō Tōhō, (1799-1864); Fūjisawa Togai, (1793-1864); Doi Gōga, (1817-1880).

Dr. Inoue concludes the volume with the translation of a passage from Schopenhauer on the extreme rareness of genius, its grand superiority and the benefits it confers on mankind. I may say in conclusion that as regards the style of the book I have so imperfectly reviewed, it seem to me to leave nothing to be desired. I have been struck with the lucidity of every passage I have examined. Dr. Inoue certainly has the art of expressing learned ideas so that any ordinary, intelligent reader can understand them, that is, he knows how to explain uncommon things by the use of common words.

THE
NIHON CHUTSZ (朱子) GAKUHA NO TETSUGAKU.

With the issue of this bulky volume covering 700 pages, Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō brought to a successful close the gigantic literary task which nearly eight years ago he set himself to perform, the compilation of a thoroughly reliable and exhaustive history of Japan's three great schools of Confucian Philosophy. The volume I am now about to review is in many respects the most important of the three. It is necessary to bear in mind that the three schools with which Dr. Inoue has dealt so thoroughly were all variations of Confucianism. Buddhist philosophy in this country is quite a separate subject, which has been treated by several well known Buddhist writers.

As Dr. Inoue points out in the preface to this work, the chief interest attached to the Chutsz philosophy as taught here was the fact that it served as an ethical standard in the schools of Japan for three centuries. Apparently influenced by the fact that in China and Korea the Chutsz doctrines alone were considered orthodox in the educational world, it was decided by the early Tokugawa Shōguns that no moral teaching but that of the Chutsz school should be allowed in Government schools. To the question which has so often been asked during the past few years, whence comes the Japanese fine ethical standard, Dr. Inoue replies, it undoubtedly originated with the teaching of Chutsz as explained, modified and carried into practice in this country. The moral philosophy of the Chutsz school in Japan compared with that of the other two schools was moderate in tone, free from eccentricities, and practical to a rare degree. In the enormous importance it attached to self-culture and what is known in modern terminology as self-realization (*Jiga-jitsugen*), the teaching of the Chutsz school of moralists in this country differed in no material respects from the doctrines of the new Kantists in England, Muirhead, Green *and others.*

Chutsz was born in the province of Fuhkien in 1130 A. D. and died in 1200. Into his general teaching and his influence in China and Korea it is not necessary for me to go, as these subjects have been treated by European sinologues. Certain Buddhist priests were the first to imbibe his teaching in Japan and to make it known to a very small circle of scholars During the Heian period (A. D. 724-1186) there were in Japan numerous exponents of Confucianism, but not one of them was endowed with sufficient talent and character to found a school of thought. The *Jusha* of those days confined himself to interpretation of the Confucian classics. The fine moral ideas taught by China's greatest sage and his Chinese interpreters were not fully appreciated by the Japanese people till the sixteenth century of our era. From the beginning of the Kamakura age (A. D. 1186 down to the time of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Confucianism in Japan showed little activity of any kind. With the teaching of the pioneer of the Chutsz philosophy here, Fujiwara Seigwa, began a period of *renaissance*, producing results which have benefited Japan in a hundred different ways down to the present time. Before proceeding to give an account of the lives and teaching of the great Japanese leaders of the Chutsz school of philosophy, I will state the reasons given by Dr. Inoue for the popularity of Chutsz in this country. While intellectually inclined, the Japanese may be said to be a practical-minded people. The Chutsz moral philosophy differed from that of Wang Yangming and from that taught by Butsu Sorai in the way it explained the relation of learning to conduct. The Wang Yangming school treated intellectual inquiry with too much contempt, attaching importance to the practice of virtue only. Sorai and his school erred in the opposite direction, making too much of mere speculation and verbal discussions. But the Chutsz philosophers hit the golden mean when they maintained that learning is only really valuable when it affects the lives of men. Ethical study is important because without it men would possess no fine moral ideals to guide their footsteps in the path of daily life. It was the subordination of learning to conduct, while attaching no little importance to it regarded by itself, which characterized

the Chutsz teaching, that to the discerning eyes of the early Tokugawa Shōguns seemed to render it a thoroughly safe and suitable system for use in schools and as a basis for law. I will now proceed to give a short history of the lives and teaching of the founders of the Japanese Chutsz School of Philosophy.

1.—*Fujiwara Seigwa* (1561-1619 A. D.)—In point of time Seigwa had the honour of being the first to make known the teaching of Chutsz in this country. But in ability he was much inferior to Hayashi Razan. Seigwa began to study Confucianism as a priest and was so enamoured with it that he left the Buddhist communion and gave all his time to an investigation of the teaching of the various Confucian schools of thought. He had heard of Chutsz, but had read nothing of his. With a view to making a thorough study of the Chutsz system, he started for China in 1593. Owing to adverse winds the junk in which he sailed drifted on to an island called Kikai-ga-shima. From thence the vessel managed to get to Kagoshima Bay, anchoring in the harbour of Yamakawa, where Seigwa went on shore. He made his way to a temple called the Shōryūji, where he found a priest who had in his possession a Chinese work embodying the teaching of Chutsz called *Shisho Shinchū*, "A New Commentary on the Four Classics." "Here is the very thing which I was going to China to procure," he exclaimed. He made a careful copy of the whole work and returned to Kyōto. There he shut himself off from all intercourse with his friends and for many weeks gave himself up to the study of the new ethical faith. Up to the time of his death he lectured in Kyōto on the Four Classics, and his lectures were highly appreciated. He seems to have been a very liberal-minded man and he doubtless did much to remove anti-foreign prejudices in the minds of his contemporaries. One of his disciples called Yoshida Teijin being engaged in trade with Annam, Seigwa wrote to him as follows:—"The object of trade is to enable each of the two parties concerned to obtain a share of the profits. No one must aim at benefiting himself alone. Profit that is shared with another may seem small, but because so shared it becomes great. And, *vice versa*, *gains that are* exclusively appropriated may seem big, but they

are actually small. What is profitable and what is just are in close relation to each other. Though foreigners have different customs from ours and speak different languages, the reason with which Heaven has endowed human beings is theirs as well as ours. Remember how many are the resemblances and how few the differences between us and them. Do not be tempted to think because in some respects their ways are strange to you, you can lie to them or abuse them with impunity. Heaven allows of no lying. Beware of bringing our national customs into contempt. If in foreign countries you come across highly virtuous and benevolent men, honour them as your own father or your own teacher. Obseve the laws and the customs of the country in which you live. Remember that the human race all belong to one family. Remember that virtue is alike everywhere. If there is trouble, or calamity, or illness where you are, do what you can to relieve it." Though Seigwa was the progenitor of the Chutsz school of thought, we must not overlook the fact that he began life as a Buddhist priest and hence he unconsciously mixed certain Buddhist teaching wich his doctrines. His personality undoubtedly counted for much. He was highly respected and patronized both by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu.

II.—*Hayashi Razan* (1583-1657 A.D.) Had it not been for the labours of Razan it is very doubtful whether the Chutsz system of ethics would have won the favor and patronage of the Tokugawa Government in the way that it did. Razan showed so much intelligence as a child that his parents wished to make him a priest.* But when he became old enough to judge for himself he swore that on no account would he consent to become a priest. Here are the words that he used on that occasion :—*Ware nanzo Butsu ni ki shite fubo no on wo suten ya? Katsu nochi naki mono wa fuko no oinaru mono nari. Ware kanarazu kore wo sezu.* "Why should I forego the pri-

*Half a century ago among certain classes of gentlemen in England it was customary to put dull-witted sons into the church. "He is only fit for the Church," meant then that a young man was intellectully deficient from the darent's point of view. This sentiment exists no longer. I quote it as a striking contrast to what is stated in the text.....

vilege granted to me by my parents ? (The privilege of freedom to live as he pleased). Moreover, there is no such misfortune as to have no children. Nothing will induce me to become a priest." After spending some years in the study of Chinese works published in the Sung era, he began to lecture on the Chutsz Philosophy in Kyōto. His popularity was so great that there were no vacant seats in his lecture hall. This of course excited the envy of rival schools of thought and Kiowara Hidetaka attempted to appeal to the throne for the suppression of the new teaching. He maintained that no one should be allowed to publicly lecture in defence of views that had not been submitted to the approval of the authorities. But Tokugawa Ieyasu scorned the notion of allowing Hidetaka to appeal to the Emperor. "People may hold what doctrines they please," said he, "and your notion of appealing to the throne is silly." At the age of twenty-two Razan began to study under Seigwa, and showed so much talent that a few years later he was created an adviser to the Tokugawa Government, when he took the name of Hayashi Dōshun, but as Razan is better known I retain that name in this review. Razan, it is related, was the first scholar to allow his hair to grow long. Up to that time men who devoted themselves exclusively to learning or to medicine used to shave their heads. Learning and religion here as in Europe for some centuries were so closely connected with each other as to be inseparable in the minds of ordinary people. Prior to the days of Razan Confucianism had no status in the country. He was the means of making it a State cult during the Tokugawa era. It will be remembered that the Edo Daigaku, first called Shoheikō, was founded in 1690, in the days of the Fifth Tokugawa Shōgun, Tsunayoshi. The office of President of the Shoheikō was always filled by a member of the Hayashi family, which family was founded by Hayashi Razan. So great was the confidence placed in Razan and his descendants by the early Tokugawa Shōguns that the control of the whole of the higher education of the country was confided to them. To Hayashi Nobuatsu, the first President of the Shoheikō, belongs the *honour of having* obtained a status for Confucian scholars

independent of Buddhism. The teachers in the college were denominated *Jusha*, a word which, though originally applied to Confucianists exclusively, grew as a result of the pre-eminence of Confucian teachers, to be a synonym of *shikisha*, *gakusha* and other equivalents of our word scholar. Razan was a most voracious reader. It is said that there was not a book in circulation in this country at that time which he had not read. He had a marvellous memory, as is displayed in the 147 books which he wrote. Though he was a far better read man than Seigwa, he felt, and contemporary scholars felt also, that Seigwa had elements of greatness in his character to which Razan never attained, It was Seigwa's powerful personality that made Razan sit at his feet as a humble disciple. But in the advocacy of the Chutsz philosophy Razan showed far more resolution and definiteness than his master. His determination to give no quarter to other schools of thought was doubtless encouraged by the Tokugawa Government. The Shōguns were sharp enough to see that certain Chinese books were calculated to develop the reasoning faculties of students. Such works as 韓非子, *Kampishi*, 荀子, *Junshi*, and 莊子, *Sōji*, could not be safely used as text-books unless under severe restrictions. Ieyasu and his successors were thoroughly convinced of the fact that a despotic Government is only secure when it guards jealously the minds of the rising generation against the adoption of notions calculated to promote the subversion of authority. The Shōgunate could never have maintained its pre-eminence for two and a half centuries had the youth of the country been allowed freedom of thought. Here was Razan's chance for obtaining unrivalled status for his new teaching. The Chutsz philosophy became the orthodox creed of the country. When the Shoheikō was first opened, the expositions of the various teachers differed in diverse details, and the students, as is their wont, enjoyed some lively debates in their rooms over the discrepancies between the views expressed by their teachers. This was reported to the College authorities, who at once issued orders that in expounding text-books all teachers were to adhere closely and exclusively to the interpretation given to passages by the commentator Chutsz and on no

account to express their private opinions on the meaning of the passages expounded. Thus was the thraldom rendered complete.

In order to make a creed thoroughly successful, it has always seemed to its founder to be necessary that rival creeds should be denounced as erroneous or inferior in some way. Razan adopted this policy in reference to Buddhism, Christianity and Taoism. He pointed out that the "Buddhist way," in that it leads to a renunciation of the world in which we have to live and flight from that world, is no true "way" for mankind in general. Confucianism is true because it recognizes the existing state of society and lays down laws whereby men may reach a high state of perfection without disturbing or ignoring those fundamental relationships which hold communities together and regulate the conduct of individuals to each other. Razan was no doubt aware that some of the teaching of Buddhists was good, but to the conception of life and the world which forms the basis of the creed he had the greatest antipathy. He denounced Christianity on the ground that its cosmological teaching and its explanation of the relation of the supposed Creator of the world to the world in which we live seemed to him to be irrational and contradictory. Dr. Inoue reproduces the history of the controversy between a Portuguese priest called Froez* and Razan, giving the dialogue that took place between them. The priest argued in favour of the existence of a personal God, while Razan was only prepared to admit the existence of an absolute principle, which he called *ri*. If the record which has come down to us be reliable, M. Froez grew very angry towards the close of the controversy. Dr. Inoue says that Razan quite failed to perceive his opponent's point of view, which is surprising. as Confucianism has its *Ten* and its *Jōtei* which correspond in a measure to the *Tenshu* of the Roman Catholics. Razan denounced monogamy in unmeasured terms; this Dr. Inoue deplores. Razan thought that the Christian habit of making so much of women

* M. Louis Froez reached Japan in 1563 and stayed in the country till 1592.

renders them conceited and ungovernable and does not in any way lessen the tremendous jealousy with which they regard each other. On the whole women behave better under our system, said Razan. Razan's rejection of Taoism was, in Dr. Inoue's opinion, based on entirely insufficient grounds; since, rightly understood, the teaching of Laotsz in reference to the chaos which preceded the order of the universe and what is implied in that chaos, is capable of reconciliation with Chutsz's explanation of the governing principle 理, *ri*, with which the world began. Both teachers recognized what we now name *jitsuzai*, real being or existence, says Dr. Inoue. Razan's attitude to Shintōism was friendly. He thought that in substance Shintō ethical doctrines agree with the teaching of Chutsz.

III.—*Kinoshita Junan* (1621-1698 A. D.) Junan studied under one of Seigwa's disciples, a man called Matsunaga Sekigo. Junan is only remembered as a famous educationist. He seems to have understood how to impress his personality on his pupils and how to awaken their minds. Among his numerous brilliant pupils were Arai Hakuseki, Muro Kyūsō and Amamori Hōshū. The life of Arai Hakuseki, scholar, poet, historian, economist, moralist and statesman, has been so fully written by Dr. Knox* that it is unecessary for me to touch on it here; but it is important to give a short account of the influence of Amamori Hōshū and Muro Kyūsō.

IV.—*Amamori Hōshū* (1611-1708 A.D. Though Hōshū advocated the Chutsz philosophy, he did not confine himself to this only. He was of opinion that Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism all had one origin and were in principle one and the same, though they pursued different methods. Hōshū was the first Confucianist to champion this view, though it was held and taught by Kōbō Daishi (A. D. 774-834). Hōshū is represented by Dr. Inoue as very much opposed to utilitarianism. Judging by what Dr. Inoue tells us of Hōshū's views, his conception of utilitarianism was very inadequate. To him it seems to have meant nothing more than self-aggrandizement.

* Vol. xxx. Pt. ii. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Of the grander and deeper meanings attached to the term utility as expounded by the modern school of Utilitarians Hōshu seems to have had no idea. He does not appear to have thoroughly understood the utilitarian views of his contemporary Yamaga Sokō (1662-1685) who, like our great English philosopher Hobbes, gave to the term utility a very broad meaning, making it include the happiness and welfare not of any particular individual but of all persons concerned. Rightly understood, the utilitarian belief is one of the most unselfish of creeds. It applauds self-renunciation when this contributes to the happiness of others. Dr. Inoue quotes Hōshū as representing the right and the beneficial (*gi* and *ri*, 利) to be antagonistic to each other. But rightly explained, there is no reason why they should be so. What Hōshū says about not making personal happiness the end of life and thereby losing the chance of attaining this happiness, as Dr. Inoue points out, resembles what Green has written on the same subject.

This is not the place to discuss this subject at length, but for many years past it has seemed to me that Dr. Inoue has displayed uncalled for animosity to this school of ethical thought and has in none of his writings shown any minute or accurate acquaintance with the views of Mill, Sir Leslie Stephen and other great English and American Utilitarians. Had Dr. Inoue ever digested thoroughly Mill's definition of utilitarianism even, he could never write against the system as bitterly as he does. I must repeat," says Mill "what the assailants of utilitarianism seldom have the justice to acknowledge, that the happiness which forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in conduct, is not the agent's own happiness, but that of all concerned. As between his own happiness and that of others, utilitarianism requires him to be as strictly impartial as a disinterested and benevolent spectator. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as one would be done by, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. If the impugners of the utilitarian *morality* represented it to their own minds in this its true

character, I know not what recommendation possessed by any other morality they could possibly affirm to be wanting to it: what more beautiful or more exalted development of human nature any other ethical system can be supposed to foster, or what springs of action, not accessible to the utilitarian, such systems rely on for giving effect to their mandates.

"The objectors to utilitarianism cannot always be charged with representing it in a discreditable light. On the contrary, those among them who entertain anything like a just idea of its disinterested character, sometimes find fault with its standard as being too high for humanity. They say it is exacting too much to require that people shall always act from the inducement of promoting the general interests of society. But this is to mistake the very meaning of a standard of morals, and to confound the rule of action with the motive of it." Since Dr. Inoue constantly represents utilitarianism as too low for adoption by high class moralists, it is quite plain that he does not properly understand this system of ethical thought as expounded by our great western philosophers.

V.—*Muro Kyūsō* (1658-1734). If it had not been for the labours of Kyūsō it is questionable whether the Chutsz philosophy would have obtained such a strong hold over the minds of officials as it did during his lifetime and in subsequent years. When Kyūsō began to lecture, the popularity of the ancient school of philosophy was at its height. In Itō Jinsai and Butsu Sorai Kyūsō had very formidable rivals. But he was equal to the occasion. He was no mere transmitter of the views of his predecessors. He gave to the doctrines of Chutsz fresh life and interest by applying them in entirely new ways. Dr. Inoue is of opinion that no Japanese philosopher has in his general teaching approached so near to Christianity as Kyūsō. His denunciations of hypocrisy and self-deception remind one, says Dr. Inoue, of the language of Christ. He condemned the practice of men's trying to appear to the world as better than they actually were. On pp. 201-2, Dr. Inoue quotes some fine remarks of Kyūsō on this subject. "Even the greatest men," says Kyūsō "have their faults, but they correct them and, what is more, they let the world see that they are doing so.

There is no concealment of any kind and no pretending that things are different from what they are. If one is conscious that one's heart is cloudless, this adds greatly to the brilliancy of virtue. *Seijin yori ika wa kunshi mo ayamachi naki ni aranedomo, kore wo kakusan to wa sezu shite, hito no miru mama ni aratamuru hodo ni, ayamachi wa ayamachi to mie, aratamuru wa aratamuru to mite, sono shikata ni kakururu koto naku, kokoro ni itten kumori naki to shirureba, kaerite sono toku no hikari mo masarinubeshi.* Much that Kyūsō says' on charity, understanding that term in its broadest sense, reminds Dr. Inoue of St. Paul's beautiful definition of Christian love. But Kyūsō's teaching was not only strong in its advocacy of all the altruistic virtues that are akin to pity, he also preached a doctrine of stern duty and scrupulous regard for the rights of others. Loyalty to superiors, in fine, all those obligations which were embodied in what is known as the *Bushidō.* He wrote much on the Deity and on the possibility of man's holding intercourse with this Deity. To Buddhism he was opposed on the same grounds as those stated above relating to Razan.

An important school of Chutsz philosophers sprang up some fifty years after Fujiwara Seigwa's death, which did not acknowledge the leadership of the teachers whose lives we have sketched above. Their influence was very great, chiefly owing to the ability of two men, Kaibara Ekiken and Yamazaki Anzai. Here is a very short account of these two philosophers.

VI.—Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714 A.D.) Among the moralists of old Japan none is better known and no one has exercised more influence in the educational world than Kaibara Ekiken. One reason of this is the fact that his books, some hundred volumes, were all written in simple Japanese. He was a man of great sweetness of disposition and strikingly modest. It is related that on one occasion he visited the tomb of Kusunoki Masahige at Minatogawa, and was astonished to find that it was surrounded by fields, only marked by two trees, and without an epitaph. He composed what he considered a suitable epitaph. It has been preserved as a specimen of fine writing and is given by Dr. Inoue. But subsequently Ekiken reproach-

ed himself bitterly for having considered himself worthy of the distinction of composing an epitaph in honor of so great a hero. It is said that his alarm at his rashness was so great on this occasion that he perspired freely. He at once applied to the Mito *Daimyo*, Tokugawa Mitsukuni, who ordered a suitable epitaph to be written. Ekiken was not an orthodox teacher of the Chutsz Philosophy. In explaining man's nature he disregarded the *a priori* governing principle, *ri*, to which Chutsz and other Chinese philosophers of the Sung era attached so much importance, and laid stress only on the *a posteriori* 元氣, *genki* (original, vital energy). His view of nature and the relation of mankind thereto was that of an optimist. He speaks of the universe as a parent of mankind and enjoins on us gratitude to the author of our being. This is a filial duty we owe to the giver of life, he says. His teaching on this subject is somewhat vague and perplexing, as he does not in so many words endow the primary cause of all things with personality. The chief interest of his teaching has to do with education and with his attitude to Chinese ways and institutions. He was opposed to the wholesale introduction of Chinese government regulations and methods in this country. On education he took the view of Herbart that its chief object is moral culture. In his ethical system virtue and happiness were inseparable. In this particular his teaching was at one with that of Socrates, Spinoza, Hobbes, Hume and many other Western philosophers. He believed that the whole world of nature reveals the love of its author, though he never attempts to show how the earthquakes, the floods, the tidal waves and a hundred other scourges of mankind are reconcilable with the notion that the world was made for man's pleasure.

No writer of the seventeenth century is more frequently quoted than Ekiken. Here is a noted passage from one of his books, which will serve as a specimen of a style of writing that has been much praised by Japanese literary critics for its lucidity and beautiful simplicity.

人生の快樂種々あれども身分と貧富とに拘らず何人も享け得るは讀書の快樂なり。人は長壽を願ふ。壽なれば多くの年代に種々の事物に接し人の知らざる事柄を知るの樂あり。然れども人壽に限りあり。長しと雖百年を出てず然るに和漢の歴史を讀む者は今の世に生れて三四千年の事柄を眼前に知ることを得べし。是れ三四千年の壽を得て代々の變遷を見るに同じ。此の上の長壽ある可からず。又古今聖賢の名言遺訓を書によつて窺ふは此等の聖賢に教を受くるが如き者にして人の幸此上やあるべき。且富まずとも日々の生活に迫はるゝ程にもあらず。

"Though man's life has many pleasures, there is one pleasure that all men can obtain whether their rank be high or low, whether they be rich or poor, and that is the pleasure of reading. Men desire long life. And if they live a long time, in the course of years, they come into contact with (＝接シ) a great variety of things and have the pleasure of finding out things that other people (people with less experience) do not know. But there is a limit even to long life. However long a man may live, his life does not exceed a hundred years. But those who read Chinese and Japanese histories, though living in the present age, can see under their very eyes the events that have been taking place during three or four thousand years. This is just the same as though they had lived three or four thousand years and watched the changes which have marked each era. There is no longer life than this to be had. And the study of the sayings and precepts of the wise men of all ages by means of books is like being taught by these wise men. There can be no greater human happiness than this; though one may not be rich, he need not be distressed to the extent of not knowing how to live day by day."

VII.—Yamazaki Anzai (1618-1682 A. D.). Anzai belonged to what is known as the Nankai (Southern Sea) school of Chutsz philosophers, which was founded by Tani Jichū. Though very carefully educated by his mother, Anzai's youth was passed in a very wild manner. He was mischievous and unruly. He made fun of the priests among whom he lived on Hieizan, and so numerous were the practical jokes he played on them that they refused to keep him any longer. At the age of twenty-five he settled down to study under Tani Jichū made rapid progress and very soon attracted the attention of the famous Aizu *Daimyō*, Hoshima Masayuki, in whose mansion he acted as tutor and lecturer. It is related that Anzai was asked by this nobleman what were his chief gratifications in life. He replied I have three. (1) I am thankful that I belong to a race of beings who are rightly called the "lords of creation." (2) I am thankful that I was born in a time of peace when I can carry on my studies without distraction,—keeping company with the wise men of all ages and hearing what they have to say. (3) I rejoice that I was born the son of a poor man and not the son of a rich baron, because the sons of barons are too apt to grow up ignorant and helpless. As a teacher he was very severe and often lost his temper, but nevertheless he was extremely popular. He was not a man with any original ideas, but merely a conscientious transmitter of the Chutsz moral philosophy. His teaching is all comprehended in the oft-repeated phrase *Kei-nai gi-gwai*," devotion within and integrity without," heart devotion and uprightness in the world. In his old age he studied Shintō and founded a Shintō sect, being of opinion that there was much affinity between the doctrines of Chutsz and Shintōism. What is known as the Anzai school of philosophy split up into four sections after his death. Three of these kept to the Chutsz philosophy, the other was a Shintō faction. They all represented themselves as the guardians of certain philosophic secrets, resembling the acroamatic teaching of Aristotle, to the publication of which, according to Plutarch, Alexander the Great objected so strongly. What is known as the Mito School of Philosophers, though the chief characteristics of their teaching were distinct-

ly Shintōistic, derived much strength from their employment of three Nankai Gakuha Chutsz philosophers.

It is important to note that the influence of the Anzai section of the Chutsz School of Philosophy on the men who brought about the overthrow of the Bakufu and the establishment of the present form of government was very considerable. The men who first exposed the wrongs which successive Emperors had suffered at the hands of the Tokugawa Shōguns—what is known as the Kinnō (Royalist) party—received their inspiration from the Anzai school. Among these Iwakura and Higashikuze are worthy of special mention. The Mito *Gakuha* was not a branch of the Chutsz school of philosophy, strictly speaking, though it utilized the doctrines of Chutsz in support of the theory of Imperial rights which it so staunchly advocated.

In Dr. Inouc's concluding remarks (p.p. 595-603) he tells us that the history of the Chutsz philosophy in Japan may be divided into three periods. (1) The period of preparation, lasting for some 270 years, ending with the appearance of Fujiwara Seigwa. (2) The period of great prosperity, beginning with the teaching of Seigwa aud ending about the year 1800, a period of some 190 years. (3) A short period of renaissance after a certain amount of neglect, during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. During the first period the Chutsz tree sprouted, during the second it blossomed, during the third it bore fruit. But the storm which ushered in the Meiji era shook the tree violently, as it shook almost everything else, and the fruit was so scattered hither and thither that it is not easy to find it to-day.

But as a system of ethical thought there are elements in the Chutsz philosophy as taught in this country that have figured largely in the moral culture of the nation and that bear the character of eternal verities. Much that we find in Western ethical treatises on the subject of self-culture, self-realization, and self-completion occupied a prominent place in the Chutsz system of ethics. This system aims at a high development of *character by means* of ethical teaching founded on common

VII.—Yamazaki An· ·radicable moral ideas found in to what is known · ery normal human being. It does Chutsz philosoph ·ered anything new in the moral world. Though very cp · no surprises and no make-believes of any was passed : · simplicity, in reality, in straightforwardness, unruly. · assurance which only those can have who are Hieizs· · of the basis on which their moral structure rests. the· · rendered it an eminently suitable system for t · in schools and as a guide to politicians.

Though less importance is attached to the cosmological part of the system than to its ethical elements, yet in connection with the former it is interesting to note that, in rejecting the dual origin of the world as explained by Chutsz as unsatisfactory, his Japanese followers showed no little discernment. Chutsz asserted that the *ri*, or governing principle, did not beget the *ki*, or vital energy. They were both primary and in rank coequal. His advocacy of dualism was most pronounced. But the Japanese Chutsz philosophers were all *monists*. They argued that it is reasonable to give priority to one of the supposed originators of the universe. Either the governing principle was first and it produced the vital energy, or the energy came first and what is called the fundamental principle of the universe (*ri*) is nothing but the law that controls the working of the vital energy. Dr. Inoue regrets that beyond the discovery now alluded to, the cosmological speculations of the Japanese followers of Chutsz throw no special light on the riddle of the universe. But these philosophers have the higher honour of furnishing the nation with an ethical standard that is noble in type and at the same time eminently practical. Even to-day there is much to be learnt from the lives and the teaching of the Chutsz luminaries in this country, says Dr. Inoue. As a school of thinkers the Chutsz philosophers were doubtless less original than the Wang Yangming philosophers and the Kogaku-ha adherents, but that their influence in Japan was greater than that of either of the rival schools is unquestionable.

As I observed at the outset, we owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Inoue for the great service he has rendered to his country

and to Oriental scholarship in general by the publication of what will certainly be considered three standard works on the teaching of all Japan's great Confucian moralists. Dr. Inoue concludes this volume with the following list of Chutsz philosophers, many of whom were known to fame in the Tokugawa era. Fujiwara Seigwa, (A. D. 1561-1619); Yoshida Soan, (1570-1632); Miyake Kisai, (1580-1649); Kwan Tokuan, (1581-1628); Ishikawa Jōzan, (1583-1672); Hayashi Razan, (1583-1657); Matsunaga Sekigo, (1590-1655); Nawa Kwassho, (1595-1648); Tani Jichū, (1598-1649); Tomomatsu Ujioki, (?-1680); Kawai Tōson, (1601-1677); Ogura Sansei, (1604-1654); Nonaka Kenzan, (1605-1663); Hoshina Masayuki, (1611-1672); Yamazaki Ansai, (1618-1682); Hayashi Shunsai, (1618-1680); Kinoshita Junan, (1621-1698); Amanomori Hōshū, (1621-1708); Nagasawa Senken, (1621-1676); Antō Seian, (1622-1701); Hayashi Shuntoku, (1624-1661); Tani Issai, (1625-1695); Yonekawa Sōken, (1626-1678); Fujii Raisai, (?-?); Tokugawa Mitsukuni, (1628-1700); Nakamura Chōsai, (1629-1702); Haguro Yōsen, (1629-1702); Kaibara Ekiken, (1630-1714); Gotō Shōken, (1632-1717); Ukai Rensai (1633-1693); Shōda Rinan; (1639-1674); Fukai Shusui, (1642-1723); Hayashi Hōkō, (1644-1732); Satō Naokata, (1650-1719); Asami Keisai, (1652-1711); Asaka Tampaku, (1656-1737); Sakakibara Kōshū, (1656-1703); Arai Hakuseki, (1657-1725); Muro Kyūsō, (1658-1734); Nambu Nanzan, (1658-1712); Ōtakasaka Shizan, (1660-1713); Miyake Shōsai, (1662-1741); Nishiyama Seizan, (1662-1688); Yano Sessai, (1662-1732); Tani Shinzan, (1663-1718); Asai Rinan, (?-?); Mukai Sōshū, (1666-1731); Hattori Kwansai, (1667-1721); Kuriyama Shimpō, (1671-1706); Yusa Mokusai, (?-?); Miyake Kwanran, (1675-1712); Suzuki Teisai, (?-?); Matsuura Kashō, (1676-1728); Ayabe Keisai, (1767-1750); Sugeno Kenzan, (1678-1748); Wakabayashi Kyūsai, (1679-1723); Inaba Usai, (1684-1760); Hattori Baiyen, (1686-1755); Gion Nankai, (1678-1761); Noda Gōsai, (1690-1768); Tanabe Shinsai, (1692-1771); Oike Keigi, (1693-1752); Iwabuchi Tozan, (1696-1776); Nakamura Ranrin, (1697-1761); Karasaki Gemmei, (?-?); Itō *Tansai, (1699-1764)*; Igarashi Bokuō, (1700-1781); Ishiō

Sokuken, (1701-1780); Nishiyori Seisai, (1702-1797); Ono Kakuzan, (?-?); Kawaguchi Seisai, (1703-1754); Kani Yosai, (1705-1778); Kume Teisai, (?-?); Takenouchi Shikibu, (1712-1767); Arai Hakuga, (1725-1792); Yamagata Daini, (1725-1767); Nakai Chikuzan, (1730-1804); Inaba Mokusai, (1732-1799); Murashi Gyokusui, (1733-1776); Shibano Ritsuzan, (1734-1807); Nishiyama Sessai, (1735-1798); Yabu Kozan, (1735-1802); Nishiyori Bokuzan, (1741-1798); Tachihara Suiken, (1744-1823); Bitō Jishū (1745-1813); Hattori Rissai, (1746-1800); Rai Shunsui, (1746-1800); Okada Kansen, (1747-1817); Rai Kyohei, (1756-1834); Hayashi Jitsusai, (1768-1841); Satō Issai, (1772-1859); Fujita Yūkoku, (1774-1826); Aoyama Yenu, (1776-1843); Aizawa Seishisai, (1782-1863); Asaka Gonsai, (1785-1860); Tokugawa Nariaki, (1800-1860); Aoyama Yenkō, (1806-1869 ; Fujita Tōko, (1806-1855); Motoda Tōya, 1818-1891); Nakamura Keiu, (1832-1891).

THE

FOX AND BADGER IN JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

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1908.

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From olden times down to the present day the fox has played the most important part in Japanese animal-lore. This clever brute is considered to be more skillful than any other animal in taking human shape and haunting and possessing men. Moreover, the fox is the messenger of Inari, the Rice goddess, which, as we shall see below, is only a later expression of the fact that Inari, the Spirit of the Rice, was believed to have a vulpine shape. It is clear that this belief gave the fox a double character in the eyes of the Japanese people: that of a beneficent god, representing the Rice, the greatest blessing of the country, and, on the other hand, that of a wicked demon, haunting and possessing men.

Not so important and complicated is the badger, of whose three kinds, the *tanuki* (狸), *mujina* (貉) and *mami* (貒), the first is the principal in folklore and is very often combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸), or "foxes and badgers."[1]

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1. In Chinese the two characters were sometimes combined, with the meaning "foxes" only. So we find in *Sheu shen ki* (搜神記) of YÜ PAO (干寶), a work of the fourth century, referred to by Professor DE GROOT (*Religious System of China*, Vol. IV, p. 191), the combined term 狐狸, and even the single character 狸, used in the sense of simply "foxes." This explains why according to BAKIN (*Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11) the same legend was told about a tanuki instead of foxes in the Chinese work *T'ai p'ing kwang ki* (太平廣記), written in the tenth century. It is remarkable that INOUE ENRYŌ, who quotes YÜ PAO's tale (*Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, IV, pp. 183 sqq.) should give a quite different text although the story is the same. According to his quotation it was a single spotted fox which changed itself into a student, and the character 狸 does not occur in the text. The zoölogical name of the tanuki is "canis *procynoides*," the "Raccoon dog," but, as it is generally known under the name "*badger*," we use this term for both tanuki and mujina.

The tanuki as well as the mujina can change themselves into men and haunt and possess mankind, but they are not so skillful or dangerous as the fox, since they lack the divinity which gives this animal such a special position in the world of superstition.

There is a very logical reason for the double and contradictory character of the fox in Japan. As stated at the beginning of my paper on the Tengu[1], China's influence on Japanese folklore is enormous. We shall soon see that the Chinese ideas about the fox have all been taken up by this docile people, and we shall be able to draw a sharp line between original and borrowed property. The original is the divine rice spirit and perhaps the fox-sorcery, the borrowed is all the rest.

CHAPTER I.

The fox in China.

It is again from Professor DE GROOT's "*Religious System of China*" that we get ample information on this subject. We read there[2]: "KOH HUNG says in the *Pao P'oh-tszë*[3]: 'Foxes and wolves may all attain an age of eight hundred years, and when more than five hundred years old, they are able to metamorphose themselves into beings shaped like men.'"

In the chapter entitled "Werefoxes"[4] DE GROOT quotes four tales from YÜ PAO's *Shen shen ki*[5], a work written in the first decades of the fourth century[6]. The first story[7] tells about

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI.
2. Vol. IV, p. 182.
3. 抱朴子, a work of the fourth century, Ch. I, Sect. 3. Here we find again 狐狸 combined.
4. Vol. IV, pp. 188-196.
5. See above p. 1, note 1.
6. Comp. Vol. IV, p. 78, note 1.
7. Vol. IV, p. 188.

a man who had run away and was found in an empty grave. To quote further from DE GROOT's translation: "His shape is quite that of a fox, and does not in any respect correspond to the human form, and no other sounds does he utter but O-tszě (阿紫, red), which is a name for foxes. After ten days or so he gradually recovers consciousness, and then he relates the following: 'When the fox came to me for the first time, it assumed the shape of a lovely woman in a fowl-house standing in a hidden corner of my dwelling. She told me she bore the name of O-tszě, and called me; and when she had done so more than once, I followed her, and she became my wife. At night I frequently accompanied her to her dwelling, without being perceived by the dogs we met; the pleasures I enjoyed with her were incomparably delightful.' A Taoist doctor declared that vixen to be a mountain-devil. The 'Description of Famous Mountains'[1] says that the fox is a lewd wife, who lived in remotest times and bore the name of O-tszě; she adopted the fox shape, and hence it is that such spooks often call themselves O-tszě."

The second tale[2], quoted also in a different form[3] by INOUE[4], speaks about two foxes, over a thousand years old, which lived in the tomb of a king. They transformed themselves into youthful students with extraordinary capacities and fine features, who, mounted on horseback, went to a very talented minister to argue with him, against the warning of the spirit of the glorification tree which stood before the tomb. When the minister could not checkmate them for the space of three days, he got suspicious and tempted them with dogs, but they did not show the slightest fear. "To be sure," he exclaimed, "they are spectres of the true sort. If a hundred years old, they must change their shape at the sight of hounds;

1. 名山記.
2. Vol. IV, p. 189.
3. Comp. above p. 1, note 1.
4. *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, Vol. IV, p. 183.

if they are spooks of a thousand years, they must change when fire produced by an animated tree of the same old age shines on them." So he sent some servants to the tomb in order to fell the glorification tree. They found the spirit of the tree—a young child in blue garments—sitting in a cavity in the tree's side, and when this spirit heard concerning the matter, he wept and lamented the ignorance of the old foxes and his own fate, whereupon he vanished. Then when the servants felled the tree, blood gushed forth from it. They took the wood home and kindled it, whereupon it caused the foxes to turn into their own shape again. They were then caught and cooked by the minister.

The third story[1] runs as follows. A devout monk, who passed the night in a grave copse, saw in the moonlight a wild fox placing withered bones and a skull upon its head, and when the animal after some practice succeeded in moving its head without dropping them, it covered its body with grass and leaves and changed into a beautiful woman. Staying by the road-side she deluded a man, who passed by on horseback, by her weeping and sad story, so that he was about to take her with him on his horse, when the monk came out of the grave copse and warned him that it was a fox. The monk, making a mystic sign (mudra) with his fingers, uttering a genuine formula (dhārani), and brandishing his crosier, caused the woman to fall down, change into an old vixen and expire. Nothing remained on the body of the fox but the dry bones with the skull, the grass and the leaves.

In the fourth legend[2] a hoary-headed learned man, whose name was Hu[3], and who once suddenly disappeared, was discovered by his students in the shape of an old fox, explaining a book to a pack of foxes, drawn up in files before him in an empty grave.

1. Vol. IV, p. 192, comp. INOUE, l.l. IV, p. 186.
2. Vol. IV, p. 195; quoted by INOUE, l.l. IV, p. 185.
3. 胡, pronounced in the same way as 狐, fox.

Vol. IV, p. 194 of DE GROOT refers to the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*[1], where we read: "It is an old saying that the wild fox bears the name of Tszĕ, Red (紫). At night he strikes fire out of his tail. When he desires to appear as a spook, he puts a human skull on his head and salutes the Great Bear constellation, and the transformation is then effected as soon as the skull ceases to fall."

On the same page we find a story from the *I yuen*[2] concerning a man who always had a rank smell about him and until his death had a great fear of dogs. His body disappeared out of his coffin, whereupon everybody said that he had been a fox.

In Vol. IV, p. 202 we read: "As well as the *fox* and the stag, the monkey is notorious in Chinese mythology for embracing sometimes, in a human shape, Buddhist religious life and asceticism."

In the Chapter on Demonology in Vol. V of the same work DE GROOT devotes many pages[3] to the fox demons. "Already in ancient China," he says, "the fox was in bad repute as portending or causing evil, for we read in the *Shi king*[4]: 'Nothing here is red but evil foxes, nothing black but evil crows.' CHU HI comments upon this verse in these words: 'The fox was an ill-boding animal which men disliked to see. The fact that there was nothing to see except those animals, proved that the kingdom was about to be imperilled and thrown into confusion.' In the third century before our era it was CHWANG-TSZĔ who gave evidence of the prevalence of the belief in ill-boding foxes. 'In a hillock of not more than a *pu* or a *jen* in size,' he wrote, 'no large beasts conceal themselves, but evil foxes there give their omens.'"

"The Standard Histories of the third and the fourth centuries of our era frequently refer to the fox as the cause of

1. 酉陽雜俎, a book of the eighth century, ch. 15.
2. 異苑, a work of the fifth century, written by LIU KING-SHUH, 劉敬叔.
3. Pp. 576-600.
4. 詩經, "Canon of Odes," Section 豳風, ode 16.

insanity, disease, and even of *death*." They entered into men so as to change them into raving lunatics[1] and were harbingers of disaster in general[2]. The howling of a fox predicted evil, for example the collapse of a house, and a dream about a fox which crept under his couch and on being seized became invisible, caused a sovereign of the sixth century to build a seven-storied pagoda in order to avert the evil, but ere it was finished it burned down with such rapidity that a great number of people perished in the flames[3].

"The legends of fox-demons show that in all times the dangerousness of those beings was deemed to consist in the first place in that, like spectres of all classes, they caused disease and madness, sometimes acting in a spirit of revenge, but mostly from mere unprovoked malignity."[4]

As in YÜ PAO's tales, so in all ages, down to the present day, foxes were believed to change themselves especially into charming maids, with the object of tempting men to sexual intercourse. It was principally in the T'ang dynasty that the belief in bewitching were-vixens[5] was prominent.

Further, DE GROOT quotes the *Huen chung ki*[6], which states the following: "When a fox is fifty years old, it can transform itself into a woman; when a hundred years old, it becomes a beautiful female, or a *wu*, possessed by a spirit[7], or a grown-up man who has sexual intercourse with women. Such beings are able to know things at more than a thousand miles distance; they can poison men by sorcery, or possess and bewilder them, so that they lose their memory and knowledge. And when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven, and becomes a celestial fox (天狐)."

1. Vol. V, p. 578.
2. Vol. V, p. 580.
3. Vol. V, p. 581.
4. Vol. V, p. 582.
5. Hu-mei, 狐媚, Vol. V, p. 587.
6. 玄中記, a work which existed before the sixth century and is also referred to by INOUE, Ll. IV, p. 183.
7. Shen, 神巫; *wu* is a sorceress, a spiritual medium.

On pp. 590 sqq. we read about foxes taking the shape of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, just as the Tengu of Japan did in olden times; and on pp. 593 sq. mention is made of a *mysterious pearl* which were-foxes are believed to possess and which probably represents their soul. They hold this pearl in their mouths, and any man who gets possession of it becomes a favourite of the whole world.

Besides appearing as human spectres, foxes set houses on fire, holding fire in their paws, and deprive men of their hair.[1] As to the means of unmasking were-foxes, this can be done by wounding or killing them or setting dogs upon them, in which cases they are forced to re-assume the vulpine form. Incantations, checkmating them in discussion if they appear as scholars or saints, poisonous food, written charms and the cutting off of the tail or what resembles a caudal appendage, which sometimes betrays their real nature, all these are means for making them take again their original shape.[2]

Not only by the use of human skulls and bones did foxes transform themselves into men, but also by swallowing written charms or pronouncing spells. As they were such dangerous creatures, they were always very much persecuted in China, especially by means of fire, so that the Code of Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties forbids damaging graves by smoking foxes thereout.[3]

The Japanese authors refer also to other Chinese books, among which the following give interesting information. The *Shan hai king*[4], quoted by BAKIN[5], says: "In the Ts'ing k'iu (青丘) mountains there are *nine-tailed foxes*, which like to devour men. Those who eat these foxes are not haunted by them." And in another passage of the same work we read:

1. Vol. V, pp. 595 sq., p. 598.
2. Vol. V, pp. 599 sqq.
3. Vol. V, p. 600. A similar provision is to be found already in the Japanese Law of the year 702, as we will see below.
4. 山海經, a very old classic.
5. *Enseki zasshi*, 燕石雜志, (1810), Ch. I, p. 26.

"In the land of Ts'ing k'iu there are nine-tailed foxes. If there is a virtuous Emperor, they appear at once." An interesting Chinese legend about a nine-tailed fox that changed itself into a woman, called Tah Fei[1], and tempted King Cheu[2] to crimes which caused the ruin of the Shang dynasty in B.C. 1122. It reminds us of a similar old Chinese legend according to which the Western Cheu dynasty was ruined in B.C. 781 by a transformed fox called Pao Sz'[3], the favourite concubine of King Yiu[4], and which was afterwards transformed into the famous Japanese story about *Tamamo-no-mae*[5], the concubine of the Emperor Konoe or Toba in the twelfth century of our era.

In order to prove that the appearance of a nine-tailed fox was considered a *lucky* omen by the Chinese, BAKIN quotes the work entitled "*Lü shi ch'un ts'iu*[6]." We read there the following: The Emperor Yü[7] was not yet married in his thirtieth year. Once he went to T'u shan (塗山); the inhabitants of that place expressed the fear that, being not yet married notwithstanding his age, he would have no descendants. But Yü said: 'There will certainly occur a good omen when the time comes that I ought to marry.' When behold a white nine-tailed fox suddenly approached him, and the Emperor said: 'White is my colour, and the nine tails are a sign of many descendants.' Thereupon a man of T'u shan recited the following verse: 'The nine-tailed fox is a sign of a good wife and of the great prosperity of my country.' The result was that the Emperor took a wife from that place."

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1. 妲妃.
2. 紂王.
3. 褒姒.
4. 幽王.
5. 玉藻前. See below the *Kagakushū*, 下學集, (1444), *Nikkenroku*, 日件錄, (1453), etc.
6. 呂氏春秋, written by 呂不韋食客, "The guests of LÜ PUH-WEI," in the Ts'in dynasty, B.C. 249-206. Comp. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 157, and DE GROOT, H., Vol. II, p. 685.
7. 禹, the founder of the Hia dynasty (2205-1766, B.C.).

In the *Ts'ien K'ioh-kü lei shu*[1] we read KWOH P'OH'S[2] praise of nine-tailed foxes, which runs as follows: "In Ts'ing k'iu[3] is a strange animal; it is a nine-tailed fox. If the government is good, it appears with a book in its mouth. In the time of WEN[4], of the Chçu dynasty[5], such a fox with a book appeared as a good omen." And WANG PAO[6] says: "At the time of King Wen a nine-tailed fox appeared; and all the Eastern barbarians submitted."

In the *Shōkan zakki*[7] a passage is quoted from the Chinese work *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, to which DE GROOT refers in Vol. IV, p. 182[8]. He says: "A fox lives 800 years. When he is 300 years old, he takes human shape. At night he strikes fire out of his tail, and placing a skull upon his head he bows towards the Great Bear; if the skull does not fall, the fox changes into a man."

We find a fox playing the part of a protector in the *Sheu shen heu ki*[9]. It is a fox of a thousand years, the life of which was spared by a prefect whom it had intended to kill. Afterwards the fox warned the prefect when an invasion of robbers was imminent, and saved his life when his servants were about to kill him. At last the animal became a celestial fox, ascended to heaven and never came back again.

HÜ SHEN[10] writes as follows: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride. They have three good qualities" [to wit, their flesh cures ulcers, their livers cause persons who

1. 淵確居類書, written by CH'EN JEN-SIH, 陳仁錫, who obtained official rank in 1921.
2. 郭璞.
3. 青丘.
4. King WEN, 文王.
5. 1122-249 B.C.
6. 王褒, in the *Sze tszĕ kiang teh lun*, 四子講德論, part of the Wen süen, 文選.
7. 滑稽雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中, Hyakka setsurin, Vol. II, p. 1046.
8. See above p. 2, note 3.
9. 搜神後記, a work of the Tsin dynasty (265-420), also quoted by DE GROOT.
10. 許慎, an author of the Han dynasty.

suddenly have died to revive, their blood refreshes people who have been drunken[1]].

SIÉ CHAO-CHI[2] gives in his *Wuh tsah tsu*[3] the following explanation: "When a fox is a thousand years old, it goes to heaven for the first time and does not haunt people any longer. The purpose of the foxes in enchanting men is to take the vital spirit (精氣) away from them in order to transfer it to their own bodies. But why do they not enchant women? Because a fox is an animal of *Darkness* (陰類, belonging to the principle *Yin*), and he who has *Light* (陽, the principle *Yang*) within himself, is liable to be enchanted by them. Even male foxes always take the shape of women to seduce men; but other harm than this they do not cause them."

TSUKADA KO[4], who quotes this passage in his work "*Zui-i roku*"[5], remarks: "This is not true. The Japanese foxes often take the shape of *men* in order to deceive mankind; also women are often deluded by them. But they can enchant only low, stupid persons, never wise men of high standing."

The Chinese encyclopedia *San ts'ai t'u hwui*[6] says: "In the Northern Mountains are black foxes; they are divine animals. When an Emperor maintains peace well, these foxes appear. They were seen for the first time under the reign of the Emperor Ch'ing Wang, of the Cheu dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), when the barbarians came from all sides and paid in taxes."

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1. Comp. the encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 590.

2. 謝肇淛, an author of the Ming dynasty, who lived about 1592.

3. 五雜組.

4. 冢田虎.

5. 隨意錄, written in 1811.

6. 三才圖會, written by WANG K'I, 王圻, in the Ming dynasty, and quoted in the *Reijū zakki*, 靈獸雜記, Ch. II, p. 9-b, as well as in the *Wakan sansai zue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 591. Comp. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 187.

According to BAKIN[1] in the *T'ai p'ing kwang ki*[2] there is a legend which tells of a *badger* (狸, tanuki), a thousand years old, which took the shape of a student and tried to haunt a man called Tung Chung-shu. BAKIN thinks that this is nothing but the old fox tale of the *Shen shen ki*[3], dressed up in a new garb. In other Chinese tales the character 狸 is combined with 狐 (fox).

The tanuki (貍) is described in the Chinese book *Kwang ya*[4] as "a special kind of badger with a white face and a tail like that of a cow. Therefore it is called 'jewel-face' and 'cow-tail'. If people catch and keep it, all the rats are afraid and do not come out of their holes."

So far *China*; let us now see what *Japan* has to tell us concerning this interesting subject.

CHAPTER II.

The fox and the badger in Japanese laws, divination and legends.

§ 1. LAWS.

The *Zokutō ritsu*[5] contains the following law concerning *foxes* and *mujina*.

"All those who dig up the earth and take out the corpses of men without burying them again, and who smoke foxes or

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1. *Enseki Zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11.

2. 太平廣記, written by LI FANG (李昉) and many other scholars of the T'ai p'ing era (A.D. 976-983).

3. See above p. 3.

4. 廣雅, written by CHANG YIH, 張揖, of the Wéi dynasty (386-557).

5. 賊盜律, "Laws concerning robbers," Section VII of the Laws, written in 702 by FUJIWARA NO FUHITO (不比) under the Emperor Mommu (697-707), and revised in the Yōrō era (717-723). Gunsho ruijū, 群書類從, nr 75, Vol. IV, p. 785.

mujina (狐 貉) out of graves, or burn the coffins, (shall be punished with) one hundred blows with the stick. Those who burn corpses, with transportation for one year; but, if they belong to the fifth or higher ranks, their punishment shall be two degrees heavier, and if they are people of low standing, or children, it shall be diminished by two degrees. If children or grand-children smoke foxes or mujina out of the grave of a grand-father, father or mother, and if the inmates of a house do the same at the grave of the master of the house, (their punishment shall be) transportation for one year; if they burn the coffin, the same for two years, and if they burn the corpse, then for three years."

This law, which was certainly copied from a Chinese original, reminds us of DE GROOT's statement above mentioned about the Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, which forbid smoking foxes out of graves, and it proves that similar laws must have already existed in China before the eighth century.

§ 2. DIVINATION.

The *Nihongi*[1] mentions the fox but twice, and both times apparently as an omen. In 657[2] a so-called "byakko," or "white fox" (白 狐), appeared in Iwami province and in 659[3] "a fox bit off the end of a creeper, which a labourer of the district of Oü (in Izumo province) held in his hand, and went off with it. Further, there came a dog with the arm of a dead man in its mouth, which it put down in the Ifuya temple." A note says: "These were forebodings of the death of the Empress (Saimei, who died in 661)."

When we compare the first of these passages with the list of important lucky omina mentioned in the *Engishiki*, we come to the conclusion that the appearance of the white fox in Iwami was a good omen. The colour white being a lucky colour

1. 日 本 紀, written in 720.
2. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. (*Kokushi taikei*, 國 史 大 系), Vol. I, p. 459.
3. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. Vol. I, p. 465. Cf. ASTON, *Nihongi*, Vol. II, p. 263.

this is quite logical. The second fox, on the contrary, was a bad omen, for it is mentioned together with one that was very unlucky, and was followed, although not immediately, by the death of the Empress.

For the sake of clearness I will put here together the three important passages which I have found on the fox and tanuki set forth as forebodings, although the time of the books containing them is later than that of the Nihongi. The source of all is certainly China, where, as we have seen, the fox especially was believed to portend evil or to bring good luck.

The *Engishiki*[1] gives a list of omina, among which the *nine-tailed, white* and *black foxes* are mentioned as very lucky. The following notes are added. "A nine-tailed fox is a divine animal; its body is red, though some say, white; its voice is like that of an infant." "A white fox is the vital spirit (精) of the (Chinese) mountain Tai (岱). "A black fox is a divine animal." Among the "Right upper good omens"[2] we find a *red fox* (赤狐). This last fact does not agree with the above quoted words of the *Shi king* and CHU HI's commentary (p. 5), where the red fox is described as an animal of evil.

In the *Nichū reki*[3] the *mujina* (狢), *hare* (or rabbit) and *fox* are combined with the zodiacal sign of the hare (卯), and the tiger, leopard and *tanuki* (狸), with the sign of the tiger (寅). First of all on the list of calendar days for strange things[4] we find the *crying of foxes*, divided into the twelve days of the zodiac in the following way.

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1. 延喜式, "Ceremonies of the Engi era (901-922), written in 927. The lucky forebodings (祥瑞) are to be found in Ch. XXI, Section 治部省, K.T.K. Vol. XIII, p. 652, where the foxes are mentioned sub nos 6, 7 and 8 of the "Right great lucky forebodings," (右大瑞), as "kyubi no kitsune" (九尾狐), "byakko" (白狐) and "genko" (玄狐).

2. 右上瑞, p. 654.

3. 二中歷, a calendar dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, *Shiseki shūran*, (史籍集覽), Vol. XXIII, nr XIX 9, p. 151, where we find the mujina, fox and tanuki among the 36 animals under the heading "*Chikusan-reki*," 畜産歷, "Calendar of animals."

4. 怪異歷日, p. 162.

"If a fox cries on the *day of the rat*, and this is the *thirtieth* day of the month, should the crying be heard in the *North*, an inmate of the house will die, or it forebodes a lawsuit, or the shedding of blood."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the ox*, the *fifteenth* day of the month, a boy will die, if the cry is heard in the *East*, or it is taken as a bad omen concerning the officials of the district."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the tiger*, the *nineteenth* day, in the *N. East*, an infant will die, or the omen is bad and forecasts a lawsuit."

In the same way the crying of a fox on the day of the *hare*, thirteenth day, in the East, means the death of a boy, or it is a bad omen concerning slaves; if on the day of the *dragon*, and in the South-East, it is a bad omen concerning something being broken; and on the day of the *snake*, fifteenth day, in the West, it portends the death of a man, but in a Northern or Western direction, only illness. On the day of the *horse*, eighth day, it means a quarrel; or, in the *N. W.*, the death of a man; at the hour of the monkey (3-5 p.m.), something dreadful. On the day of the *sheep*, nineteenth day, in the South, it indicates that a full-grown man will come; and, thirteenth day, that a thief will come. On the day of the *monkey*, eighteenth day, in the *S. W.*, a man will die; whereas in the *N.*, a male child will be born and die. On the day of the *bird*, thirteenth day, in the East, a man will die, or an ox or a horse will die going into water. So also it means, on the day of the *dog*, thirteenth day, in the North, the death of a man; in the East, the death of a villager. Finally, on the day of the *hog*, thirteenth day, in the North, it portends the death of a man; and in the East, the death of a woman of the village.

Then follows a reference to the *discharging of dung by foxes*. If this happens on the day of the *rat*, a woman of the village will die; on the day of the *ox*, a mother will die; on a *tiger* day, one will come by a fortune; on a *hare* day, it means a quarrel or the death of a man; on a dragon day, in a W.

direction, illness, or the death of a man; on a *snake* day, fifteenth day of the month, in the West, the death of a man, in the North, the death of an ox or horse. On a *horse* day it means misfortune and fasting; on a *sheep* day, theft, or some great calamity; on a *monkey* day the death of a woman; on a *bird* day, the arrival of a messenger; on a *dog* day, the death of a thief, and on a *hog* day calamity concerning one's parents, or death.

On the next page we find the *crying of tanuki* commented upon. In the same way as the howling of foxes it is said to portend, on special days, and as heard in some special direction, illness or death, a quarrel, or the arrival of district officials, which was apparently considered as equally bad with the various other evils.

Another list of good and bad omens concerning the howling of foxes on different days is to be found in the *Shūkaishō*[1]. If it is heard on a *tiger* day, in the South or North, a man will die; or, according to another version, if a fox cries in the South, one will get a large fortune; in the West, there will be quarreling, and in the North, a guest will come. So it goes on, for all the twelve different days; besides the things already mentioned, the howling can mean a small measure of good luck, or the drinking of sake and eating, sorrow, a quarrel of officials, death which must be prevented by fasting during five days in honour of a great god; or it is an omen of the getting of money, of falling ill, the death of horses or oxen, of fire, of the death of a child, or drowning.

After all this digression it will be clear why in the following passages of the old historical works such importance is attached to the appearance and the howling of foxes in the Palace.

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1. 拾芥抄, written by FUJIWARA NO SANEHIRO, (實熙), who was born in *1408 and retired to Higashiyama* in 1457. Vol. I, p. 17.

In the *Shoku Nihongi*[1] we find the fox mentioned nine times. In the seventh month of 712 Iga province presented a *black fox* to the Emperor[2]; and two months later the Emperor issued the following proclamation: "We hear that, according to the old tradition, in the year of the rat the crop is not good; yet, by the assistance of Heaven and Earth, we have a very good crop this year. A wise king of old said: 'An abundant year is better than good forecastings.' Moreover, the black fox, presented to me by the Governor of Iga province and his officials, corresponds to the 'Good Forecastings'[3]. That book says: 'A black fox appears, when a king by his government causes profound peace."[4]

Other provinces (Tōtōmi, Kai and Hida) presented *white foxes* to the Emperor in the years 715, 721 and 740,[5] certainly as being good omina. In 782 a white fox appeared at one of the Palace gates.[6]

Bad forecastings were apparently the wild foxes which ventured into the Palace. In 775 such a beast sat on the official seat of the Dainagon Fujiwara no Ason[7], and another was seen in the inner gate of the Palace[8]. Unlucky also was the communication which came from Yamashiro province in 774, to the following effect. "In the 12th month of last year a great number of wolves and stags, and about a hundred wild foxes were howling every night about the Otokuni temple in Otokuni district in our territory; this went on for seven days and then stopped."[9]

But more important than all these omina is a passage of the year 741, in which we read of a *haunting* fox[10]. "Naniwa

1. 續日本紀, written in 797.
2. Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. II, p. 73.
3. 上瑞, a chapter in the Books of Divination.
4. Comp. the *Engishiki*, above p. 13.
5. Ch. VI, p. 87, VIII p. 126, XIII p. 223.
6. Ch. XXXVII, p. 676.
7. Ch. XXXIII, p. 585.
8. Ch. XXXIII, p. 587.
9. Same chapter, p. 574.
10. Ch. XIV, p. 235.

no Miya (a god) subdued a spook (怪, ke); in the garden lay the head of a fox, without its body; only its hair and dung lay scattered beside the head."

The *Nihon kōki*[1] speaks only of a wild fox which dug a hole in the inner garden of the Chōdō-in, an office in the Palace, and lived there, but disappeared after about ten days.[2]

The *Shoku Nihon kōki*[3] mentions foxes thrice. In 833 a fox ran into the Palace, but was beaten to death by the Imperial Guards when it reached the Seiryōden.[4] In 849 the same thing happened, but the fox was pursued and killed by a dog[5]. In 834 the flapping of wings and the sound of crying were heard one evening above the Palace. The Guards looked up towards the sky but could not see anything because of the darkness. Some thought that it was a flock of sea-birds that they heard, but one of the number declared that *Celestial Foxes* (天狐, Tenko) had passed.[6]

In the *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*[7] we read that in 855 a fox appeared in the Palace in the day-time. The chamberlains were ordered to drive the beast away, but it ran round in front of the Emperor who shot it.[8]

The *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*[9] gives several cases of foxes entering the Palace. In 871 two female foxes appeared in the day-time in the Kōchō, a department of the Dajōkwan (Council of State). They were caught but were let go in the Kanan field ("South of the River-field"), as was also another fox which came howling into the same office in the same year[10]. In 875

1. 日本後紀, written in 841.
2. Ch. XVII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 88.
3. 續日本後紀, written in 869.
4. Ch. II, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 182.
5. Ch. XIX, p. 409.
6. Ch. III, p. 192. Comp. above, pp. 6 and 9, and my paper on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 34 seqq.
7. 日本文德天皇實錄, written in 878; the Emperor Montoku reigned 850-858.
8. Ch. VII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 524.
9. 日本三代實錄, written in 901.
10. Ch. XX, K.T.K. Vol. IV, p. 335.

a fox dropped dung on the wooden floor before the Shishinden (in the Palace), and some days afterwards another fox urinated on the same spot.[1] These were all bad omina, but still worse was the following: In the first month of 881 there happened many strange things in all the barracks of the Body-Guards. In those of the Right Body-Guards a fox was constantly dropping dung on the seats of the General and lower officers, nay it even passed urine upon a man who guarded the seats at night. In the department of the Left Body-Guards rats bit the cords of somebody's sword and quiver and ran off with them. A fox was doing the same with a quiver, and although a man seized the object, the animal did not let go until it had bitten through the cords; then it ran away. The soldiers pursued and caught it.[2] In the same year a fox climbed upon the Eastern tobi no o (鴟尾, "kite tails", the vertically projecting parts of the roof) of the Bifuku gate (of the Palace)[3], and in 887 such an animal ran in the day-time upon the roof of the Crown-prince's palace, but was killed there by a very brave man[4]. In 882 a fox incessantly howled in the same palace from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m.[5] The *Fox-star* (狐星) is mentioned twice: in 873 a white shooting star, and in 881 a red one, appeared and entered the Fox-star[6].

The *Nihon kiryaku*[7] mentions the fox five times. In 905 a fox died in the Palace, but the Emperor did not consider it as making the Palace unclean.[8] In 940 a fox chewed the key of the Korean box which contained the seal of the Emperor, and ran away in the direction of the Shōmei gate[9]. In 944 a great number of foxes assembled at the barracks of the Left Body-

1. Ch. XXVII, p. 418.
2. Ch. XXXIX, p. 557.
3. Same page.
4. Ch. XLI, p. 722.
5. Ch. XLI, p. 585.
6. Ch. XXIII, p. 369; XXXVIII, p. 549.
7. 日本紀畧; it contains the history up to 1036.
8. Part II, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. V, p. 783.
9. Ch. II, p. 828.

Guards[1], and in 972, at the New-year's festival, there were more than 100 foxes howling even within the barracks[2]. In 930 a woman combed her hair on the top of the Southern hisashi (the projecting roof) of the rooms of the Court ladies in the Palace. Perhaps it was a haunting fox (狐妖).[3]

§ 3. LEGENDS.

A. *Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*

As to the *mujina* we find in the *Nihongi*[4] the following passage: "In olden times there was in Kuwada village, Tamba province, a man whose name was Mikaso and who had in his house a dog called Ayuki. This dog killed a mountain animal called *mujina* (牟士那). In the belly of the beast was found a magatama[5] of Yasaka gem[6]. Therefore the gem was presented to the Emperor. It is now in the shrine of Iso[7] no kami."

BAKIN[8] thinks that this idea of the pearl of the mujina, although very old, was originally borrowed from the fox legends. As we have seen above (p. 7), the Chinese speak about a mysterious pearl, which were-foxes have in their *mouths* and which makes the man who gets one into his possession a favourite of the whole world. In Japan some think that foxes have a luminous pearl in their *tails*, by which they make the so-called fox-fire, kitsune-bi[9]. But nowhere is a pearl said to be found in the *belly* of the fox, nor do we find any other passage in which the mujina pearl is mentioned.

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1. Ch. II, p. 833.
2. Ch. VI, p. 939.
3. Ch. VI, p. 933.
4. Ch. VI, K.T.K. I, p. 129.
5. Magatama, 勾玉, curved jewels, are "comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones" (ASTON, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 38.
6. 八尺瓊, "Yasaka gem." Cf. ASTON, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 184.
7. 石上.
8. *Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 10-b.
9. Compare below SEKITEI'S "*Cnkon*", quoted in the *Shōsan chomon kishū*, 想山著聞奇集 (1849).

Another passage of the *Nihongi* runs as follows: "In the second month of the 35th year of the Empress Suiko (627) there was in Michinoku (Mutsu) province a mujina (格, the kana reading *ujina*) which changed itself into a man and sung."[1]

The first Japanese fox legend we find in three books belonging to the eighth and twelfth centuries, namely in the *Ryō-i ki*, *Fusō ryakki* and *Mizu kagami*.[2]

In the Emperor Kimmei's reign (540-571), a man from Ōno district, Mino province, went out to look for a good wife. After a long time he met in the field a beautiful woman, of whom he asked: "Will you become my wife?" She consented; whereupon he took her with him to his house and married her. After a while she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. At that time there was a puppy in the house, which always barked at its mistress. She beseeched her husband to kill the beast, because she was very much afraid of it, but he did not do so, although he loved her greatly. Once on a certain day the dog made as if it would bite her, but withdrew barking. Suddenly the frightened woman changed into a fox (yakan, 野干), which climbed upon the fence and sat there, while the husband, looking at the transformed wife, said: "Between you and me a child has been born, therefore I cannot forget you. Come always and sleep with me." She acted in accordance with her husband's words and came to sleep with him. For this reason she was called Ki-tsune ("come-always", 岐都禰, ki-tsu-ne). She wore at that time

1. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. I, p. 395.

2. The full title of the *Ryō-i ki* is "*Nihonkoku gempō zen-aku ryō-i ki*", 日本國現報善惡靈異記, "Record of the Supernatural Phenomena by which good and bad were manifestly rewarded and punished in the Japanese Empire." It contains the "rewards and punishments" (ingwa ōhō, 因果應報, in a Buddhistic sense) of the time from the Emperor Yūryaku (457-479) to that of the Emperor Kōnin (770-781), cf. *Gunsho ruijū*, Index p. 352. The author of this work, the Buddhist priest KEIKAI, 景戒, lived in the time of the Emperor Kōken (749-758). Although the author of the *Kokusho kaidai* (p. 1561) calls the work *Kei-i ki* instead of *Ryō-i ki*, the latter reading must be right. The legend is to be found in the *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 447, Vol. XVI, p. 24; and, further, in the *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略記, Ch. III, K.T.K. VI, p. 486 sq., and in the *Mizu kagami*, 水鏡, written in the second half of the twelfth century, Ch. I, K.T.K. XVII, p. 373.

a scarlet-painted dress. Her child was called Ki-tsu-ne, 伎都禰. He grew to be a very strong man and could run as fastly as a bird can fly.

So far the *Ryō-i ki*; and the author of the *Fusō ryakki* adds: "In the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was a man called 'Mino no kitsune', 三野狐, 'the Fox of Mino', who was perhaps this very child."

In the *Konjaku monogatari*[1] we read a story about a very tall and strong woman who lived in Mino province at the time of the Emperor Shōmu and was called "the Fox of Mino"; she was said to be a descendant of the fourth generation of the fox mentioned in the old legend of the *Ryō-i-ki*.

In the *Zenka hiki*[2] we find the first version of a curious old legend, quoted in the *Fusō ryakki*[3] and told again in the *Konjaku monogatari*[4] and in the *Genkō shakusho*[5]. It runs as follows:—

In the fifth year of the Kwambei era (893) the author of the *Zenka hiki* became Governor of Bichū province. At that time there was in Kaya district a man called Kaya Yoshifuji, who was very rich and by means of his money secured the position of shōmoku (小目, a high official) of Bizen province. In Kwambei 8 (896) he resigned his post and after that time was living in Hongō Ashimori. As his wife, who was a very lewd character, had run away from him to the capital, he lived quite alone. Suddenly he became crazy and wrote and recited love letters and poems to an imaginary woman. This lasted for 20 or 30 days, till at last he disappeared and was sought for in vain by the inmates of the house. His relations, all very rich and men of great distinction, were convinced that he had

1. 今昔物語, written before 1077; Ch, XXIII, nr 17, K.T,K. XVI, p. 1005; see below.

2. 善家秘記, written by MIYOSHI KIYOTSURA, 三善清行, who lived 844-916.

3. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. VI, p. 644, see below.

4. Ch. XVI, nr 17, K.T.K Vol. XVI, p. 930.

5. 元亨釋書, written before 1346, Ch. XXIX, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 1157.

committed suicide, and they vowed that they would make an image of the eleven-faced Kwannon, if they found the body of the unhappy man. Thereupon they cut down an oak and made the outline of the image, giving it exactly the same length as that of Yoshifuji's body. Then they bowed before this would-be statue and repeated the vow. This they did for 13 days, when to their extreme amazement Yoshifuji crept from under his godown, thin and pale as if he had been seriously ill. The floor of the godown was only 4 or 5 sun[1] from the ground, so that it was almost impossible for a man to get under it. Yet he had been lying there for thirteen days. After having recovered his senses sufficiently to give an account of his adventures, he told how a girl had several times brought him love letters and poems from a princess, and how he had answered them in the same vein. "At last," he said, "the girl came with a magnificent carriage and four postilions, to take me to the princess. After a drive of about ten miles we arrived at a splendid palace, where an exquisite meal and a very hearty reception from the princess soon made me feel quite at ease. There I lived with her, as inseparably as two branches growing together upon the same tree. She gave birth to a son, a very intelligent and beautiful child, which I loved so much that I thought about degrading my son Tadasada and putting this child in his place as son of my principal wife,—this in view of the high rank of the princess. But after three years a Buddhist priest suddenly entered the room of Her Highness, carrying a stick in his hand. The effect of his appearance was astonishing. Chamberlains and Court ladies all fled to left and right, and even the princess hid herself somewhere. The priest pushed me from behind with his stick and made me go out of the house through a very narrow passage. When I looked back I discovered that I had just crept from under my own godown!"

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1. 1 sun=1,193 inches.

This tale struck all the inmates with wonder. Immediately they demolished the godown and lo! twenty or thirty *foxes* came from under it and fled in all directions to the mountains. Yoshifuji, bewitched by these supernatural foxes (reiko, 霊狐), had been lying under the godown for thirteen days, fancying that he was spending three years in a palace. As to the priest, this was a metamorphosis of Kwannon[1], who of her pity had broken the force of the wicked sorcery. Then Yoshifuji was wholly cured and lived on for more than ten years thereafter.

It is interesting to compare herewith a story which we find in the *Shinpen otogizōshi*[2]. Apparently the above legend has inspired the author of the *Kitsune zōshi*. In this it is a Buddhist priest who gets a love letter from a lady, and is conveyed to her house in a splendid carriage drawn by an ox and escorted by three servants. The woman is beautiful and the house rich, and there are a great number of samurai and attendant ladies, who amuse themselves with feasting and drinking. The priest who is greatly influenced by the surrounding splendor, soon learns how to enjoy the luxurious life with the charming lady. He spends months and years there until one day a loud noise is heard at the gate and three or four young Buddhist priests come in, carrying crosiers[3] in their hands. The lady of the house and her servants flee away in great alarm, and the astonished priest sees them all change into foxes and run off in all directions.

Quite stupified he looks about him and discovers that he is lying under the floor of the main building of the Kongō-shōin, a Buddhist temple in Kyōto. What he had thought to be blinds and floor mats (tatami) were nothing but pieces of rough matting made of straw and reeds. The musical instruments

1. According to the *Konjaku monogatari* it was a layman, a metamorphosis of the Kwannon image which the relations had made.

2. 新篇御伽草子, published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI in 1901, Vol. II, Kitsune zōshi, 狐草子, dating from the Muromachi period (1378-1601).

2. 錫杖, *shakujō*, staves with their tops armed with metal rings, carried *by travelling priests.*

appeared to be horse and cow bones, and the plates and dishes were only broken saddles and skulls. His clothes consisted of pieces of old and dirty paper, and his whole appearance was so ridiculous, that some little boys, who were playing there and saw him creeping from under the building, broke forth into loud laughter and clapped their hands and danced with glee. A samurai, who knew the priest, was just passing and looked to see what all this laughter meant. He could hardly recognize his reverend friend and got no answer from him to his astonished questions. Then he took off the paper rags and gave the priest his own upper garment; but as the bonze was very tall, he still looked ridiculous and his legs were wholly visible. In this condition he arrived at his village. Although he thought to have been seven years in the mysterious house of his fancy, in reality he had spent only seven days under the temple. It was Jizō, who had saved him.

B. *Eleventh Century.*

The *Genji monogatari*[1] contains the following tale. A bishop who was travelling, once passed the night in a lonely house, which had such a dirty and awful appearance, that he was asked by his companions to read a sutra in order to drive away all evil influences. When two of them went behind the house with torches, they saw in the frightful looking wood a mysterious being, big and white, which they supposed to be the metamorphosis (henge, 變化) of a fox. Immediately they told the bishop about it, who said: "Although I have heard about the haunting of foxes, I have never seen it; therefore I will have a look." After these words he went out. The man whom they had found alone in the house said: "Foxes haunt the place here, but they are worthless creatures," and he did not show any fear. Afterwards the mysterious being appeared to be no spook at all, but only an ordinary girl.

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1. 源氏物語, written in 1004, Ch. 手習.

In the *O-u-ki*[1] we read the following: "On the fourth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Chōguen era (1031), the Saigū[2] called with a loud voice, not to be compared with other (human voices. A god (namely, a fox) spoke through her mouth. She was mad and built two Shintō temples which she dedicated to the gods of the Naigū and Gegū.[3] Thereupon she summoned all kinds of worthless people and made them dance the kagura[4] and perform other frantic dances night and day. Then the sorceresses of the capital began to worship a fox (imitating the Saigū) and to declare this animal to be the great divinity of Ise (太神宮). Such things are very wicked."

For the study of fox-lore as well as for that of the Tengu the *Konjaku monogatari*[5] is a very rich field. Besides the above mentioned tale, borrowed from the *Zenka hiki*[6], we find in this book the several fox legends, given below, but the tanuki or mujina are not mentioned.

Fujiwara no Toshihito, who lived in the Engi era (901-922), once caught a fox and said to it: "Go to my house in Tsuruga and say that I am coming with guests and that they must send some servants with two saddled horses to-morrow at the hour of the snake (9-11 A.M.) to the neighbourhood of Takashima." Thereupon he let the fox go, and it ran away, looking back several times. The next morning thirty men on horseback came to meet their master at the appointed place and told a strange story. "Last night," they said, "at the hour of the dog (7-9 P.M.), our mistress felt

1. 小右記, a diary of FUJIWARA NO SANESŪKE, 實資, also called ONO NO MIYA, 小野宮, who lived 956-1046. He was Udaijin, "Right Minister", hence the title of the book "Diary of the Udaijin Ono no miya."

2. 齋宮, Itsuki no miya, a virgin princess of the Blood, who was sent to the Imperial shrine at Ise at the time of the coronation of an Emperor to stay there until the latter's death or abdication.

3. The Inner and Outer Temple at Ise.

4. A sacred pantomimic dance with music.

5. 今昔物語, written before 1077 by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, who died in that year.

6. *See above p. 21.*

indisposed and had a severe pain in the breast. A Buddhist priest was called in, but the patient said: 'Why are you all so anxious? It is nothing particular, I am only a fox. I was caught by your master who is on the way home, and he ordered me to tell you to send some men with two saddled horses to the neighbourhood of Takashima, as he is coming with guests. Please do so, otherwise it will go hard with me.' We decided to go with the horses, and at once the lady recovered (the fox had left her)." Toshihito smiled and ordered his attendant to go to his house and announce his arrival. There they were astonished to hear that the fox had spoken the truth. The next day, when they were enjoying a nice meal of enormous mountain potatoes, they discovered the fox sitting on the top of a roof and looking at them. As a reward for sending the message he got some food and then went away.[1]

One evening a very good looking young man met at the Sujaku gate in Kyōto a beautiful woman with whom he at once fell in love. She refused at first to accept his proposals, saying that it would be his death to sleep with her, but at last she gave way, saying that she would die in his place. At the same time she asked him to bury her and copy a part of the Saddharma pundarika sūtra (Hokkekyō, 法花經), and to offer it on behalf of her soul. He laughed at her pessimistic notions but promised to do as she said, whereupon they spent the night together. At daybreak she went away saying: "I take your fan with me; if you come to-morrow to the Butoku-den, this fan will prove to you that I spoke the truth, and you will recognize me." The next day he went to the place indicated and saw a dead fox with the fan over its face. Deeply moved he buried the animal, and every seventh day wrote a part of the Hokkekyō and offered it in a temple. In the night of the 49th

1. Ch. XXVI, nr 17, K.T.K. XVI, pp. 1203 sqq. The same legend is to be found in the *Uji shūi monogatari*, 宇治拾遺物語, Ch. 1, K.T.K. XVII, pp. 22 sqq.

day he saw the woman in a dream as an angel, surrounded by numberless other angels. She explained to him that she had been reborn in the Trāyastrimçat heaven[1] by virtue of the sūtra. After uttering these words she ascended to the sky to the accompaniment of heavenly music.[2]

At the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was in the province of Mino a very strong and tall woman, who was called "the Fox of Mino." She was a descendant, of the fourth generation, of a man who had been married to a fox from the same province. She had the strength of a hundred men and abused the power by robbing the merchants who came and went to and from the market place. But at last she was overcome by a much smaller woman from Owari province, who forced her to stop her bad behaviour forever.[3]

At the time when the Empress Jōtōmon-in, Consort of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011), lived in the Kyōgoku-den, a palace in Kyōto, she heard, on the twentieth of the third month, when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, a divine voice reciting an old-time verse, in which the smell of the blossoms was praised. But there was nobody to be seen at the time who could have spoken these words. This made the Empress anxious, and the people were in doubt. They did not believe that it had been a *fox*, but were inclined to consider the work that of a *spirit*[4]; although it was strange that the voice had been heard in the middle of the day, while spirits are wont to appear in the night.[5]

A wet-nurse found herself alone with a child of two years in her arms at the southern front of the house of her master, when the latter suddenly heard her crying for help. He ran with sword in hand to the spot and saw to his utmost astonish-

1. 忉利天, Tō-ri ten, also written 忉利天, the "heaven of 33 (devas)", where Indra reigns.

2. Ch. XIV, nr 5, p. 759. The same legend occurs in the *Kokon chomonshū*, 古今著聞集, Ch. XX, K.T.K. XV, pp. 589 sq. According to a note it is found in the *Hokkeden*, 法花傳.

3. Ch. XXIII, nr 17, p. 1005.

4. *Mono no rei*, 物ノ靈.

5. *Ch.* XXVII, nr 28, p. 1259.

ment two wet-nurses, who were exactly alike both pulling at the child but from opposite sides. Which was the real nurse, and which the fox, or something of the kind? The frightened father brandished his sword, whereupon one of the women suddenly disappeared and the other and the child fell down unconscious. A Buddhist priest was immediately sent for, who by means of incantations brought the nurse to her senses The other woman, she declared, had appeared to her and laid hold of the child, saying: "That child is mine," but she, the nurse, had held fast to it; and they were struggling together when the master came. Nobody could say whether it was a *fox* or a *spirit*.[1]

A maid-servant received a message from her master ordering her to come at once to a house which he had rented. She hurried to the place with her child and found her mistress who gave her plenty of food and after four or five days sent her back. She left the child there, as she was soon to return. But when she arrived at the former house, she found there to her amazement those whom she had just left in the newly rented house. They asked her where she had been staying for so long a time, and did not believe her story. Then she ran back to the mysterious house and found only a lonely heath, where her child was lying alone in the grass, crying helplessly. Probably the woman had been deluded by foxes.[2]

A man who went out in the midst of a dark winter night to call a priest for his sick mother, saw on the top of a gate a glittering being which continually sneezed and laughed aloud. Thinking that it was a fox he ran away, half dead with fright. A little further on he discovered a round glittering thing which cried aloud. He shot at and hit it with an arrow when it burst into fragments and disappeared. This was certainly a trick of foxes.[3]

1. Ch. XXVII, nr 29, p. 1260.
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 32, p. 1265.
3. Same chapter, nr 33, p. 1267.

In the clear moonlight two men were seeking a horse which had been lost in the mountains. All at once they stood before an enormous cryptomeria which they had never seen at that spot before. They came to the conclusion that they had been led astray by some god, and decided to go back after having marked the tree with two arrows in order to find it the next day. But lo! as soon as their arrows hit the tree, it vanished. Then they knew clearly that it was a spook, and, frightened, took to their heels. The next day they went back to the spot and found instead of the tree the body of an old fox, with a cryptomeria twig in its mouth and the two arrows in its belly. Such was the fellow that had played them the trick![1]

A man who belonged to the Imperial Guards met in the bright moonlight a beautiful woman, with whom he began to converse. But she continually kept her fan before her face. When they had entered together the gate of the Imperial Guards, the man suddenly remembered what he had heard about men being deceived by foxes in the Hōraku-in (within the Palace), and decided to try and find out whether or not this woman was an animal of that sort. He drew his sword, grasped her by her hair and pressed her against a pillar, threatening to kill her. But she jumped about in a most violent manner, and discharged urine which stank dreadfully so that he let go of her, whereupon she changed into a fox and ran out of the gate, crying: "kō, kō." The man regretted very much that he had not killed the woman at once. If one meets a beautiful lady in a lonely place, he had better keep aloof.[2]

A spirit[3], which possessed a person and made him (or her) ill, was transferred to a "monotsuki no onna"[4] (a woman called for the purpose of placing within her a bad spirit), and it spoke

1. Same chapter, nr 37, p. 1273.
2. Same chapter, nr 38, p. 1275.
3. *Mono no ke*, 物ノ氣.
4. 物託ノ女, "possession-woman".

through her mouth to the following effect: "I am a fox. I have not come to do evil, but only to have a look round, because I thought that there was plenty of food at such places as this; the result was that I (that is the patient) was kept indoors." After these words she took from her bosom a white gem of the size of a small mandarin-orange (mikan), threw it up and caught it again. People who saw this said: "That is a strange gem. Probably the 'possession-woman' had that gem already in her pocket in order to delude mankind." Then a young man caught the gem, when the woman threw it up, and put it in his pocket. The fox which possessed the woman, begged him to give back the gem, but he refused, whereupon the fox wept and said: "To you the ball is valueless, for you do not know how to use it. Therefore, if you do not give it back to me, I will be your enemy for ever, but if you give it back, I will help and protect you as a god." The young man made the woman repeat the promise and then returned the gem. Afterwards, when an exorcist[1] had driven out the fox, the gem was no longer to be found in the woman's pocket. This was a proof that it had really been the property of the being (that is, of the fox) which had possessed her. The fox kept his promise. Once when the young man was going home in a dark night, he became quite anxious and called the fox to his aid. Immediately the animal appeared and led him forward cautiously and stealing along a narrow lane instead of the main road. From a distance he could see the reason of this strange behaviour, for there were a great number of thieves, armed with bows and sticks, on the road where he would have passed if the fox had not led him elsewhere. At the end of the lane the fox disappeared and the man went on safely to his home. Many times he was helped and protected by the animal, a proof, says the author, of how much more grateful animals are than men.[2]

1. 驗者, kensha.
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 40, p. 1278.

At a river in the neighbourhood of Kyōto it often happened that people who passed on horseback on their way to the capital saw in the evening a dirty looking girl, who asked them to take her up behind them on their horses. If they did so, she sat on the horse for a distance of four or five chō[1] and then jumped off and ran away in the shape of a crying fox. One day a young man decided to put a stop to the tricks of this animal, and rode alone to the spot, but he did not see her. On his way back to the capital, however, the girl appeared with the ordinary request. He took her on the horse and bound her tightly to the saddle. When they arrived at the gate, he delivered her into the hands of the guards, but she escaped and ran away as a fox. At the same time gate and guards all vanished as if they were wiped out of existence. When the man looked about him, he found himself in the open field and his horse was nowhere to be seen.[2]

Other legends tell about foxes which caused a man to wander about in the night without finding the right way,[3] and others that caused strange faces to appear in the night under the ceiling of an old chapel, which was supposed to be inhabited by a demon Once when three men passed the night there, they saw the faces but drove them away by brandishing their swords. This put an end to the fear of the people in the neighbourhood.[4] Further, we read that "frightening people is the work of old foxes which can all be killed by a single falcon or dog"[5]; and still another story tells about a fox being the double of a woman, and when attacked by the husband escaping in the same way as in the other tales.[6]

Finally, we read a story dating from the time of the Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016) as follows: In Mino province there was a ford in a river, where people who waded across in

1. 1 chō, 町, is 119 yards 11 inches, 1/36 of a ri (里, 2 miles, 775 yards).
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 41, p. 1280.
3. Same chapter, nr 42, p. 1284.
4. Same chapter, nr 44, p. 1287.
5. Same chapter, nr 31, p. 1262.
6. Same chapter, nr 39, p. 1276.

the night often heard a woman giving birth to a crying child and saying: "Take it in your arms." Once a fearless man took the child and refused to give it back, but on reaching his home he found that it was nothing but tree leaves. Some people said that this was the work of a *fox*, others supposed that the woman in the river was the ghost of a woman who had died in childbirth.[1]

These legends clearly show the various ideas about the fox which were prevalent at that time. Though sometimes useful to men, the animal played tricks on them for the most part, not so much for the purpose of doing them harm as to frighten and annoy them. In order to accomplish this aim they not only took a human, mostly female, shape, but also changed themselves into trees or mysterious glittering beings. Possession was common, as well as appearing in the form of a woman's double. It is very probable that the white gem, used by the fox in one of the legends, simply means its soul, which is often thought to have the shape of a white, glittering ball; it reminds us of the pearl which foxes hold in the mouth in Chinese legends.[2]

C. *Twelfth Century.*

The *Kobi no ki*[3] contains the following: "In the third year of the Kōwa era (1101) there were in the capital many different cases of fox-haunting. At the first the foxes gave meals (to the people) before the Sujaku gate, preparing rice from horse dung and vegetables from cow bones. Afterwards they did the same behind the Shikibushō (the Department of Rites and Ceremonies) and before the gates of the houses of the Kuge (Court nobles) and samurai. The people called it 'Great fox-banquets.'"

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1. Same chapter, nr 43, p. 1285.
2. See above p. 7.
3. 狐媚記, "Fox-haunting record," written by Ōe no Masafusa, (大江匡房), who lived 1040-1111, after 1101, for that year is mentioned in the legend. We find the work in the Gunsho ruijū as nr 135, Vol. VI, p. 968.

"Minamoto no Takayasu, the Zusho no sŭke (Librarian), went to the Sai-in[1] of Kamo (jinja). His carriage stood outside the gate. When night fell two or three young court nobles[2] and two women entered the carriage and drove away in the moonlight. They passed the Kamo gawa and came to the bank of the river at Shichijō (Shichijō kawara). On the way they met the Captain of the Right Imperial Guards, Nakahara no Iesue. In the carriage their nice red garments were clearly visible, although it was night[3]. The Captain was astonished and the boy, who managed the ox before the carriage, could not endure it any longer and fell with his face to the ground in the middle of the road. Then the court nobles gave him a red fan and suddenly went away. There were traces of fox paws on the cross bar of the carriage[4]. The ox boy went home, and when he looked at the fan next day, he saw that it was a bone. He immediately fell ill and died within a few days. His master, who was very much afraid, was minded to burn the carriage, but in his dream a divine man came to him and said: 'Please do not burn it; I will reward you (for the use of it).' At the change of magistrates the next year he was appointed Librarian (the reward of the fox)."

In the subsequent story the Emperor Horikawa (1086-1107) is escorted by mysterious horsemen, who cover their faces with their sleeves, and when they are asked who they are gallop away without answering. They disappear after having passed the Sujaku gate which was apparently the favourite haunting spot of foxes. Another time a bishop, famous for expounding Buddha's Law, was asked by an old woman to come to her

1. 齋院, a virgin princess of the Blood, of the same rank as the Saigū (齋宮) of Ise, and residing in the Kamo shrine at Kyōto.

2. 雲客, un-kaku.

3. The "kitsune-bi" or "fox-fire" made them quite distinct in the darkness.

4. 軾, shoku, the bar on which the person in the carriage was leaning when he bowed and saluted.

house in order to hold a service there. He promised to come; but the woman came the same evening and made her request again. So he went with her passing along the Sujaku road in Rokujō (Kyōto), which had its usual appearance with its magnificent houses and temples. In the house when they entered it the offerings were ready, but there was no one to attend. Behind a blind somebody clapped his hands, and all of a sudden wine was brought in. The astonished bishop did not eat or drink anything, but first sat down before the butsudan (the Buddhist house shrine) and struck the prayer bell with a single stroke. Suddenly the light became red and the dishes which had been prepared for the priest appeared to be a kind of dung. The whole occurrence was so startling that the bishop was quite unnerved and fled half dead with fright. The next day he went to look for the house, but there was no trace of it to be found. Apparently the foxes had hoped to make the bishop ill by causing him to eat the abominable food, but their magic power came suddenly to an end at the first stroke on the prayer bell.

A man (that is, a metamorphosed fox) bought a house in Kyōgoku in the district of Shichijō (Kyōto). Afterwards he destroyed the house, went to the Toribe field (the burial place) and used the boards of the house for burial materials (as fuel for the pile). What he had paid for the house seemed to be gold, silver and silk, but afterwards it all appeared to be nothing but old straw sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns.

MASAFUSA adds: "There are many examples of transformation of foxes in the annals of history..... I have not hitherto believed those (Chinese) tales, but now I have seen with my own eyes the same strange things in Japan. Although the world is approaching its end, the spooks are just the same as in olden times; this is most queer."[1]

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1. *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. VI, p. 969.

The *Fusō ryakki*[1] contains, besides the above mentioned tales, quoted from the *Zenka hiki*[2] and the *Ryō-i ki*[3], the following legend.

"In the biography of the abbot Sō-ō (相應)[4] we read: 'In the fourth year of the Ninna era (888) the Empress Rokujō was ill. At that time the abbot was 60 years old. He was summoned (to the Palace) and came in order to recite incantations. For three days and three nights he did not move from his seat and took no thought of either sleep or food. On the morning of the fourth day the Empress cried aloud, bent her body and rolled on the floor so violently that the bedroom nearly collapsed. In the meantime there appeared from the north-west corner of the bed curtain a supernatural fox (靈狐, reiko) which anxiously ran to and fro in all directions. The Dajōdaijin (Prime Minister of State) and all the others who were present trembled with fear and quite lost their presence of mind. Then the abbot read the 'Salvation-mantra'[5], whereupon the house stopped shaking and the fox departed. The Empress recovered and the Emperor rewarded the abbot in an imperial way."[6]

Further, several bad omina were observed within the Palace, namely, of foxes copulating[7], or howling[8]. or climbing upon a roof[9], or passing urine in the Emperor's room[10], or sitting in the seat of a high official[11]. In 905 a fox died in the Principal Administrative Department of the Benkwan (in the

1. 扶桑略記, "Abridged History of Japan," written in the 12th century by the priest Kwō-EN, 皇圓, the teacher of the priest CENKŪ, 源空 (1132-1212).
2. See above p. 21.
3. See above p. 20.
4. The same abbot exorcised in 865 a Tengu who possessed and tormented the Empress (Kojidan, Ch. III, K.T.K. XV, p. 66, comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 46).
5. Gedatsu no ju, 解脫咒.
6. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. Vol. VI, p. 634.
7. Ch. XXIII, p. 650, in 898.
8. Ch. XXIII, p. 669, in 902.
9. Ch. XXIII, p, 671, in 909.
10. Ch. XXIV, p. 684, in 927.
11. Ch. XXV, p. 722, in 932.

Palace). As there was doubt whether or not the room had become unclean by reason of this fact, it was no longer used for official purposes. But the Emperor issued a decree, stating that the building was not to be considered as unclean[1]. The same question rose in 909, when a fox had died within the Inner gate of the Palace. The Udaijin (Right Minister), ordered the Secretary (外記, geki) to examine the precedents as to the question whether or not such a thing had been declared to render the Palace unclean; for if this was the case, the religious ceremony of the next day could not take place. The Secretary answered that it had always been considered as making the Palace unclean, whereupon the Udaijin reported the matter to the Emperor. But His Majesty said: "As the fox does not belong to the six domestic animals, the Palace is not to be considered as unclean; moreover it is not mentioned in the rules regarding the ceremony."

FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA[2] relates in his diary, entitled *Taiki*[3], how in 1144 a boy of 16 years was seduced by a fox in the shape of a young woman in the Nōden (a building of the Palace) and in consequence caught a bad venereal disease. A few days before a fox had come under the eaves and looked at him. "I never heard such strange things before", remarks the writer.

On the same page he gives the following account: "In olden times there were many foxes in a certain yashiki (compound of a nobleman) at Kyōto. When, a few years ago, these foxes reappeared, there a bow and arrow were set up (as a kind of magic) to prevent them from coming, but it had no effect and they showed themselves precisely as before. Thereupon I laid food (a bait, probably poisoned) at the fox-door[4]

1. Ch. XXIII, p. 670.

2. 藤原頼長, who lived 1120-1156.

3. 台記, a diary which runs from 1142 till 1155.

4. Kitsune-do, a lattice door, through which one could see from inside without being seen from outside.

and since that time no foxes appeared there any more. What makes me sure that the foxes were divine spirits (神靈) is that they were not tempted by the bait or terrified by the bow-sorcery; these were clearly of no effect. But within the compound of the yashiki there is a little old shrine, and it was the god of this which probably caused the foxes to appear. Moreover the mansion repeatedly escaped the fires which occurred from time to time on all sides of it, and even one which broke out within itself did no damage".

Here we see the fox as a seducer of young men, just as in China, but on the other hand as a protector against fire. The divinity of the shrine mentioned was probably Inari, the Rice goddess.

Another diary, the *Sankaiki*[1], contains the following details. On the fifth day of the sixth month of the second year of the Jijō era (1178) there was a discussion at the Court about a fox which had been killed by means of an arrow in the neighbourhood of the palace of the Saigū at Ise. When the Emperor asked for precedents, it was reported to him that in 1072 the third son of Narisŭke, the former Lord of Yamato province, namely, Fujiwara no Nakasue, who had killed a spiritual fox (靈狐, reiko) in the office of the Saigū at Ise (the white foxes at Ise were called *shira-tōme*, 白專女), was banished to Tōsa province. And in 1132 a fox was killed before the palace of the Saigū. On hearing this report the Emperor ordered a Doctor of Law to investigate the law on the subject. When this Doctor gave the results of his research, they corresponded to the report already made (that is, in respect to exile as punishment). According to the Law it was forbidden to shoot an arrow in the compound of a palace, and the killing of a fox was as great a crime as the killing of a divine spirit (神靈).

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1. 山槐記, diary of NAKAYAMA TADACHIKA, 中山忠親, who lived *1130-1195*.

In the *Hyakurenshō*[1] we find both these cases (of 1072 and 1178) mentioned; while the *Gukwanshō*[2] and the *Jikkinshō*[3] refer to the former case only.

D. *Thirteenth Century.*

The *Kojidan*[4] speaks of a pupil of Bishop Enzen (延禪) who was sick for a long time with an intermittent fever The bishop, supposing he was possessed, went out into the street and humbly begged for food, which he gave to the boy in the belief that this humiliating act would benefit him. The boy folded his arms and said: "I am a divine fox; but being opposed by your powerful influence, I do not know what to do. Henceforth I will never come again."

In the *Uji shūi monogatari*[5] we read the following legends: A samurai who went home one evening met a fox, which he pursued and hit with an arrow in its loin. The fox tumbled down and howled loudly, and then limped away through the grass. The animal went on for two chō before the samurai in the direction of the latter's house, which was at a distance of only four or five chō. When the man saw that the animal had fire in its mouth, he set spurs to his horse, but it was already too late. The fox, on arriving at the house, had transformed itself into a man and set the house on fire. The samurai, who thought that it was the work of a real man, pursued him, but the fox resumed his vulpine form and disappeared into the high grass. The house was burnt down. Even such creatures take immediate revenge for wrongs done to them; it is better not to shoot them.[6]

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1. 百錬抄, written after 1259, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, Ch. V, p. 44 and Ch. VIII, p. 127.

2. 愚管抄, written after 1225, Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 46.

3. 十訓抄, written in 1252, Ch. X, nr 31. K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 809.

4. 古事談, written 1210-1220, Ch. III, K. T. K. Vol. XV, p. 77.

5. 宇治拾遺物語, written 1213-18; but according to FLORENZ, Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur, p. 244, much later, shortly before 1333.

6. Ch. III, K. T. K. XVII, p. 85.

In olden times a *mono no ke* (the spirit of a being), who had possessed a person and made him ill, was transferred to a woman (by the incantations of an exorcist) and spoke by the mouth of the woman[1] the following words: "I am no curse-causing spirit. I am a fox which passed by here seeking for food. My children, which are in a grave-house, are hungry and I came here because I thought I would find some food for them; when I have eaten an offering-rice cake, I will go away." Thereupon the possession-woman was given such a cake and after eating it with a voracious appetite, she asked for some more to take to her parents and children. When she got this she put it into her bosom and requested the exorcist to drive the fox out of her, for it was the fox that was speaking through her all the time. Then the woman fell on her face and after a while rose up; but strangely enough the rice cake had by that time disappeared out of her bosom! Apparently the fox had taken the cake away with him.[2]

A *tanuki* trick is told in the same work.[3] A holy man, who lived in a mountain for many years, was often visited by a hunter, who had a great veneration for him and always brought him food. One day the saint told the hunter that Fugen Bosatsu[4] came night after night as a sign of the efficacy of his (the saint's) prayers. The hunter, who was curious to see this miracle, stayed there hoping to see it; and in the middle of the night the Bodhisattva really appeared, seated on his white elephant. The devout hermit wept and worshipped, but the hunter, who thought it queer that such a divine apparition should be visible even to the eyes of common people like himself and the young servant of the hermit, decided to put it to the test. From behind the praying saint he shot an arrow in the

1. A mono-tsuki no onna, "possession-woman," comp. the tale of the *Konjaku monogatari*, Ch. XXVII, nr 39, above p. 29.

2. Ch. IV, p. 86.

3. Ch. VIII, p. 170.

4. 普賢菩薩, Samantabhadra.

direction of Fugen, and lo! the glorious Bodhisattva disappeared at once and there was a sound as of something tumbling down into the valley. The next day they found a big *tanuki* with the arrow in its dead body. The good hermit had been deceived by this animal because he lacked knowledge, and the hunter by means of reflection discovered the trick.

This is the first passage in Japanese literature where we find the *tanuki* mentioned as haunting men. It is clear that this animal appeared in Japanese folklore much later than the fox and the mujina. For with the *Uji shūi monogatari* we are already at the beginning of the thirteenth century (or later), and the above mentioned list of forebodings (p. 15), which includes the crying of tanuki on the different zodiacal days, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. The reason for this late appearance is that the importance of the tanuki in Chinese folklore is not to be compared with that of the fox. The legends were rare and therefore did not find their way among the Japanese people as early as did those of the fox.

In the *Gukwanshō*[1] we read that Bishop Ji-en (probably the author of the Gukwanshō) wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198), who believed that the ghost of the Emperor Go Shirakawa had spoken by the mouths of certain persons three in number, ordering the people to worship him. The bishop wrote, as I mentioned in my paper on the Tengu,[2] that he considered the matter to be the work of *foxes* or Tengu, which already in olden times liked to be worshipped and to throw the world into confusion. The Emperor followed the bishop's advice and took no notice of the ghost's command. With respect to one of the possessed persons, a woman, the Bishop said: "If it is clear that she is not possessed by a *fox* or tanuki (狐狸, kori) and that she has spoken voluntarily (that is, if she has tried to deceive the Emperor and the people), than she must certainly be banished. But although men

1. 愚管抄, written before 1225, Ch. VI, K.T.K. XIV, p. 556 sq.
2. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 50.

are strange beings, I do not believe that this is the case. It is certainly a fox or a Tengu, that has caused her to speak so. If the woman is simply put away in some corner, the fox or tanuki will at last go out of her and keep quiet thereafter." So the Emperor ordered the woman to be sent to a mountain monastery, where she gradually recovered.

This is the first time that we come across the term *kori* (foxes and tanuki), so common in later days. In another passage of the same work[1] "Celestial Dogs" and "Terrestrial Dogs" (天狗地狗) are mentioned by the writer as the probable authors of the unprecedented event of a Fujiwara's (namely Yoritsune's) becoming Shōgun of Kamakura (1219). For this matter caused great indignation among the other members of the Fujiwara family. BAKIN[2] gathers from the fact that the Tengu are bracketed now with foxes and again with "Terrestrial Dogs," that the latter must be the same as foxes.

In the *Gempei seisuiki*[3] we read the following:—The Emperor Shirakawa (1072-1086) went on one occasion late at night with a few followers to the Gion temple at Kyōto, in order to visit a woman for whom he had built a palace in that neighbourhood. It was pitch-dark, as the moon had not yet risen. Suddenly a light appeared, which was extinguished the next moment, but came again directly and in such fantastic form that the Emperor shivered with fear. Tadamori, who was sent ahead to seize the light and bring it to his Imperial Master, thought that it was a demon or an *old fox* of the Gion wood. Slowly and stealthily he rode in the direction of the mysteriously shining thing, and was about to make a violent attack upon it with his long sword, when a voice was heard and he discovered that it was simply an old priest bearing a torch, who had been sent by the abbot to meet the Emperor.[4]

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1. Ch. VII, p. 597.
2. *Nimaze no kizenshū*, 烹雑の記前集 (written in 1811), p. 1054. Comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, p. 11.
3. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250; Teikoku Bunko [illegible]
4. *Ch. XXVI, p. 676.*

When Tsunemasa, Lord of Tamba, went as a pilgrim to Chikubu island, he spent a whole night there praying to Benzaiten to protect him against his enemies and to cause the Imperial Majesty to shine over all the country. At daybreak he heard the sound of the waves of the lake, and of the wind blowing through the pine trees, and in the joy of his heart he played several times on a biwa (lute), which one of the priests gave him, to the delight of all the priests who were present and who wept with admiration. Benten accepted the musical offering; for from above the front steps of the temple a *white fox* appeared, and, walking in the garden, the animal looked watchfully in the direction of the Lord of Tamba. It was a wonderful thing indeed. Tsunemasa thankfully considered this fox a manifestation of the goddess and did not doubt that his prayer would be answered. After he had given expression to his joy in the shape of a poem, the fox cried "kō, kō", and hid itself behind the temple.[1]

One day Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) pursued a big fox on the Rendai plain, and was already about to shoot it, when the fox suddenly changed into a yellow woman, who smiled and spoke to him, saying: "If you spare my life, I will fulfill your wish." On hearing these words Kiyomori removed the arrow from the bow and asked the woman who she was. She answered: "I am the 'King in the midst of the 74 roads.'"[2] "Then you are probably the '*Deva-King the Venerable Fox*,'"[3] Kiyomori said, and alighting from his horse he reverently bowed himself down before her. Thereupon the woman resumed her former fox shape and disappeared, crying "kō, kō". Kiyomori reflected upon the matter in the following way: "It is the work of the God of the Kitchen[4] that I am poor. For attaining wealth by suppressing the Kitchen-god, Benten's 'beautiful names'[5]

1. Ch. XXVIII, p. 728.
2. 七十四道の中の王.
3. 貴狐天王, Kiko Tennō, that is, Dagini Ten.
4. 竈神, Kwōjin.
5. 妙音, myō-on.

are unsurpassed. One of those names, is the 'Deva-King the Venerable Fox', of to-day. Therefore I must fully practice the 'Law of Daten'[1]."

"The Chinese Empress Pao Sz',[2] after having ruined the Emperor Yiu[3] of the Western Cheu dynasty (B.C. 781), became a fox with three tails which cried 'kō kō' and entered an old grave. The fox changed itself into a beautiful woman in order to enchant men, and by means of a bewitching smile she did no end of mischief; eight or nine out of every ten men were seduced by her"[4] ..... "In order to ruin the Emperor Yiu the king of another country practiced the 'Law of Daten.' *Daten is a fox.*"[5]

This is the first time *Daten*, that is, *Dagini Ten*, is mentioned. We read about this Deva in several books of different ages which for the sake of clearness and chronological order will be brought together and treated below.

A valuable book of reference is the *Kokon chomonshū*[6], in which we read a number of legends.

A Dainagon, whose house became more and more haunted by foxes, decided to hold a battue. In the night after he had given orders therefor, he saw in a dream an old grey-head with the stature of a tall boy in a green hunting-dress, who squatted under an orange tree in the garden. On being asked his name, the strange individual said, trembling with fear: "I have been living here in your house through two generations, and I have a great number of children and grand-children, whom I have always tried to keep from doing mischief, but they would not listen to me. Now I am very much ashamed to be sharing

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1. 陀天法. Daten is Dagini Ten, see below. The legend is to be found Ch. I, p. 12.

2. 褒姒. See above p. 8; she was originally his favourite concubine.

3. 幽王.

4. Ch. VI, p. 161.

5. *Ch. VI, p. 162.*

6. 古今著聞集, written in 1254, K.T.K. Vol. XV.

with them your just anger; please, forgive it for this time and I will protect you forever, and always let you know whenever any good luck may be coming your way." Thereupon the dreamer awoke, got up and opened the door of the verandah. On the same spot where he had seen the mysterious man in his dream, he discovered in the morning light an old hairless fox, which shyly tried to hide itself behind a bamboo bench..... The battue did not take place and from that time the fox always announced to the Dainagon whatever good luck he had to expect.[1]

Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), called Chisoku-in dono, a very ambitious man, ordered a Buddhist priest who was famous for the power of his incantations, to practice the *Dagini* doctrine[2], which has effect at a previously appointed time. The priest said: "This doctrine has never failed. Within seven days it will have success; if not, you must prolong it for another seven days. In case of non-efficiency after that interval you may banish me." After seven days the priest requested Tadazane to send somebody to have a look, and when the man went he saw a fox which came and ate the offerings without fear of the surrounding people. This was so far a good sign, said the priest, but he had to continue the rites for seven days more. He did so, and on the last day of that period Tadazane saw during his siesta a beautiful woman passing by his bed. Her hair was 3 shaku longer than the border of her silken robe. As he seized it, she said: "Why do you do that; it is not good to do so." Her voice, gestures and face were all supernatural, so that he supposed her to be an angel from heaven. But the apparition broke away from him so violently, that her hair was torn from her haid, whereupon Tadazane awoke and saw that he held a fox tail in his hand. As soon as the priest, for whom he had at once sent, heard of this dream, he

1. Ch. XVII, (變化), p. 549.
2. 吒枳尼法, Dagini no hō.

was delighted and said that he never had had such a splendid effect for his prayers, and that the next day, at the hour of the horse (11-1 P.M.), Tadazane's wish would be fulfilled. The priest was right, for really there came at that hour a very lucky message for him from the Emperor. Afterwards Tadazane became Prime Minister and rewarded the priest with a high post. The fox tail, which he kept in a beautiful box, was subsequently treasured up in a monastery. Tadazane learned the Dagini rites, practiced them himself whenever he wished for anything, and never did so in vain. The fox that ate the offerings and appeared in the dream was apparently Dagini Ten herself. Besides the tail there was also an image for which a small Shintō shrine was built, called "the shrine of the Celestial Divinity of Happiness."[1]

In the Shōhei era (931-937) several hundred foxes came on one occasion to worship the Daibutsu of Tōdaiji. As they were driven away by the people, their spirit (靈) possessed a man and said through him: "We have been living already a long time in this monastery. We worship the venerable image because it is to be afflicted and burnt to-day."[2]

At the time of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198) the palace of a Princess in Kyōto was haunted. Shōda Yorinori waited night after night in vain for the spook, till at last, in the seventh night, when he was half asleep, his head was bombarded with potsherds. First he did not see anything, but after a while a black being jumped over him. When he caught it and looked to see what it was, he found that it was nothing but an old, hairless *tanuki*! He pressed the animal down and brought it alive to the princess, who rewarded him with the present of a sword. After that there were no more spooks in the palace.[3]

An old mountain lake was frequented by a great number of water birds, but everybody who hunted them was drowned.

1. Ch. VI, p. 312. The name of the divinity was 福天神, Fukutenjin, simply another name for Dagini Ten. See below.

2. Ch. XX, p. 586.

3. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

One day a brave man decided to put a stop to this mysterious matter, and went alone in the dark, armed with a bow and arrows and a big sword, his way lying through the lonely mountains. On reaching the lake he sat down and waited a long time under a pine tree which stood on the bank with its trunk hanging out over the water. Suddenly, in the dead of night, the surface of the lake was disturbed and waves began to dash upon the shore. The man bent his bow and waited. There appeared a light in the midst of the lake, the form of which he could not distinguish. It came flying in his direction, but when it reached a point just above the tree and saw the audacious man aiming his bow at it, it flew back over the lake. As this was repeated time and again, the man grew tired, and, throwing his bow on the ground, drew his sword. Then the spook came nearer and he saw in the light a grinning old hag, whom he immediately seized. She tried in vain to pull him into the lake, for he stood like a pillar and gave her a stab with his knife, which made her weaker and weaker, till at last the light disappeared. The hag died and turned out to be an *old tanuki*, which he took home and showed to his astonished brothers, who had refused to go with him for fear of the dangerous spook.[1]

A captain of the Left Gate Guards, called Saitō Sukeyasu, who was hunting in the province of Tamba, once passed the night in an old chapel against the advice of the villagers, who told him that the chapel was inhabited by an anthropophagous monster. He preferred to run the risk of being devoured by the monster to remaining in the snowstorm outside. While he was leaning against a pillar, half asleep, he heard somebody approaching in the garden. Peeping through a chink of the sliding-door he discovered a pitch-black Buddhist priest (法師, hōshi), who was so tall that his head reached to the eaves; but Sukeyasu could not distinguish him clearly. The priest stretch-

1. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

ed a horrible, hairy, thin arm through the chink of the sliding-door and stroked Sukeyasu's forehead, but when the latter sat upright, he withdrew the arm immediately. After a while the hairy hand appeared and stroked Sukeyasu again, but this time the captain grasped and held it tightly. In the struggle which ensued the sliding-door got pushed out of its groove and fell over on the verandah. The giant was underneath and when pressed down by Sukeyasu, became smaller and smaller and his arm thinner and thinner, and he cried with a very weak voice. Then the captain called his servants and ordered them to strike a light. And lo! the gigantic spook appeared to be only an old tanuki. The next day Sukeyasu was proceeding to show the animal to the villagers in order to convince them that the monster was not so dangerous after all and that it was now dead, but the servants had roasted and eaten the tanuki, and only its head remained. This was shown to the astonished peasants. From that time the chapel was no longer haunted by anthropophagous beings.[1]

In the next legend we read about a rain of pebbles which continually descended in the house of a minister in Kyōto. Nobody knew from whence they came. Although the inmates were not hit by the pebbles, the thing perplexed them greatly, till a samurai from the country gave them the advice to bring tanuki together from all sides and to prepare a meal from them. As he came from the country, they trusted him and followed his advice. Nice mats were spread in the garden, many lamps were lighted, and a great number of tanuki, roasted and cooked in various ways, were eaten, while the sake cup went round after a most jolly fashion. With loud voices the feasters cried out: "You tanuki, you mean fellows, why do you haunt the house of the Minister? Those who do such things are punished in this way (namely, by being killed and eaten)." Thereupon they threw the bones upon the earthen wall surrounding a neighbour-

1. *Ch. XVII, p. 550.*

ing monastery and ate and drank again. "Now they will not play such tricks any longer," they said to one another, and really, for a long time there was no further pebble rain in that house. "This is no lie," the author adds, "for it is a strange fact which happened only a little while ago. Doubtless the pebble rain was the work of tanuki."[1]

The *Azuma kagami*[2] speaks of three fox-omina. The first occurred in 1186, when "a fox brought forth a young one at the foot of Eikoku san. This young fox came into the palace of the Shōgun at Kamakura. According to the diviners it was a bad omen. Many strange things had already happened during the previous year."[3] The second omen was in 1213, when it thundered in the night, and at the same time a fox cried several times in the southern garden of the Shōgun's palace.[4] The third time was in 1250. In that year a fox, which cried every night in that same garden, was shot by one of the Shōgun's Body-Guards, and ran away through the eastern Chinese gate; its crying was heard in the direction of Hiki ga yatsu (valley).[5]

In 1188, on the 14th day of the 9th month, a child was born and disappeared. After four years it was found, as a little boy, in an old grave inhabited by a fox. The discovery was due to a dream in which the grave had been indicated. The boy was taken home, but the fox of the grave changed itself into an old man who suddenly appeared and gave a sword and a comb to the boy, secretly whispering into his ear: "You will become the Lord of Japan. To-day you will attain that rank." This child was Shigemochi, and Nagashige, his heir, afterwards carried the sword.[6]

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1. Ch. XVII, p. 551.
2. 吾妻鏡 (afterwards written 東鏡), written shortly after 1266.
3. Ch. VI, p. 7.
4. Ch. XXI, p. 45.
5. Ch. XL, p. 30.
6. Ch. VIII, p. 27.

In the *Zoku kojidan*[1] we read: "In olden times somebody shot a fox in the neighbourhood of a temple in which a fox (yakan, 野干) was considered to be the body of a god (that is, in which a fox-shaped god was worshipped). The Court nobles deliberated whether the fox had been killed or not, but the Dainagon Tsunenobu said that it was no crime to shoot a god, however exalted he might be, when that god ran out of his temple in the shape of a fox."

E. *Fourteenth Century.*

URABE NO KENKŌ[2] tells in the *Tsurezuregusa*[3] the following story:—"There were spooks in the Palace at Kyōto. While some courtiers were playing *go*, somebody lifted the blind and looked at the game. It was a fox sitting like a man, but it ran away when the astonished players cried out: 'A fox!' It was apparently a fox that had tried to haunt them, but, being not yet well trained to the business, had not succeeded."

In the *Masu kagami*[4] we read the following: In 1283 the priests of Hiyoshi, on Hieizan, came to the capital and placed the mikoshi of the god in the Palace, as a sign of their anger, because the Emperor had declined some request they had made. Then they returned to their mountain home, leaving the mikoshi behind. For fear of the god the Emperor (Go Uda) went out from the Palace and established himself in a private house. But after a while he left there and returned to the Palace for the following reason. In that private house there was a chapel of Waka-miya of Iwashimizu, where a large number of foxes lived. Somebody had offended these animals in such a way as to cause their revenge to fall upon the house. Their anger revealed itself in a great variety of strange incidents, and the

1. 續古事談, written at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. Ch. II (臣節), *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 487, Vol. XVII, p. 661.

2. 卜部兼好.

3. *Written 1334-39*; nr 230.

4. 增鏡, *written* 1340-1350. Ch. XII, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p. 1139.

Emperor thought it better to return to the Palace. Apparently he was more afraid of the foxes than of Hiyoshi, the mighty god of Hieizan.

In the *Taiheiki*[1] we find the legend about Kakuban (the priest of Kōya-san into whose heart the Tengu had stolen and who was found by the monks of Kōya seated after the fashion of the image of Fudō Myōō), which I have given in detail in my treatise on the Tengu.[2] The monks thought that Kakuban had transformed himself by means of some magic art *which old tanuki or old foxes possess.*"

In Ch. XXII[3] an aged nun seated in a sedan-chair is believed to be an old tanuki or fox, which must be forced to show its original shape by making smoke enter its nose, or by being shot.

F. *Fifteenth Century.*

In the *Yasutomiki*[4] we read for the first time about people who had foxes in their service for magical purposes. This kind of sorcery was called "kitsune-tsukai, 狐仕, the employment of foxes." Under date of the 10th day of the ninth month of 1420 YASUTOMI writes the following: "This morning Takama, the physician of Muromachi dono (the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi), was thrown into prison along with his son and younger brother. Since recently the rumour has spread that they have foxes in their service (have used them, 仕, tsukau), yesterday the Consort of the Shōgun ordered exorcists to hold incantations (kaji), whereupon two foxes fled from her rooms. The foxes were caught and killed, and, while it was thus apparent that Takama had foxes in his service, he was summoned this morning (to the palace). This noon Sadamune

1. 太平記, written about 1382. Vol. III, Ch. XVIII, p. 2.
2. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 62 seq.
3. Vol. III, p. 6-a.
4. 康富記, a diary of NAKAHARA YASUTOMI, 中原康富, who lived 1398-1457.

Ason, the Chief-Diviner[1], was also summoned, because he too was said to use foxes. How terrible, terrible are the deeds of the people in these times, in which the end of the world is drawing near!".....Same year, tenth month, 9th day: "According to what I heard afterwards the prisoner Takama was yesterday banished to Sanuki province, and Toshitsune Ason would have undergone the same punishment if he had not beforehand become a monk of the monastery at Akino. These all were people who used foxes."

A famous and interesting legend is to be found in the *Kagakushū*[2], sub voce "*Dog hunting.*" We read—"In olden times there was in India a king called Hansoku (班足) whose consort surpassed all others in wickedness. She persuaded the king to order the decapitation of a thousand men. Afterwards reborn in China as the consort of the Emperor Yiu (幽王), of Cheu, called Pao-Sz' (褒姒), she deceived the people and ruined the empire (781 B.C.) After her death she was reborn in Japan as *Tamamo no mae* (玉藻前) in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155). Then she killed an immense number of people. Later she changed into a *white fox* and brought harm upon very many more. The people of the time proposed to hunt the fox, but first to learn the art of hunting on horseback by hunting dogs. The white fox, aware of this purpose transformed itself into a stone. As birds and quadrupeds which touch this deadly stone die immediately, it is called the *sesshō-seki* (殺生石), or 'life-killing stone'; it is now on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province. This was the origin of dog hunting."

The same thing we find mentioned in the *Nikkenroku*[3], where we read the following:—"Second year of the Kyō-toku

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1. Onyō no kami, 陰陽頭.

2. 下學集, written in 1444 by the priest SHAKU NO HATOTSU, 釋破衲, Ch. 下.

3. 日件録, the diary of the Buddhist priest GWA-UN, 臥雲, written anno 1453 sqq.; *Zoku Shiseki shūran*, Vol. II, p. 16.

era (1453), second month, 25th day. The abbot of Rinkō-in, called Shuzan, paid me a visit, and during the conversation we spoke about dog shooting. He said: 'The Emperor Toba (1107-1123) had a pretty concubine, of whose origin nobody knew. She was called Tamamo no mae and was very much beloved by the Emperor, with whom she spoke about Indian and Chinese matters, being thoroughly acquainted therewith. But when the Emperor fell ill and consulted a diviner, the latter declared that the illness was caused by the woman, and when, in consequence, prayers were recited with a view to curing the patient, the concubine turned into a fox and ran away. This fox, which lived on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province, was pursued, but in vain, because it was so extraordinarily spry. Therefore the Emperor ordered the samurai to shoot dogs on horseback in order to learn thereby how to shoot foxes. Afterwards Kazusa-no-sŭke killed the fox, and in its tail were two needles, which he gave to (his master) Yoritomo (Minamoto no Yoritomo, the Shōgun of Kamakura, 1147-1199). After receiving these needles the latter became finally the ruler of the world. This (namely the Emperor Toba's order to the samurai) is the reason why nowadays dogs are hunted. The fox was a metamorphosis of Pao-Sz' (the abandoned concubine of King Yiu, who caused the fall of the Western Cheu dynasty in 781 B.C.).'"

In ŌWADA TATEKI'S[1] *Yōkyoku tsūkai*[2] we find the legend of Tamamo no mae dramatised as follows: A Buddhist priest, named Gennō, is warned by a village woman that he is quite near to the dangerous "life-killing stone." The woman and the chorus tell him the legend of Tamamo no mae, the beautiful and learned concubine of the Emperor Toba, who was well acquainted with Sutras and Vinayas, Confucius' doctrine, Chinese and Japanese arts, poetry and music, and who

1. 大和田建樹.

2. 謠曲通解, "Explanation of Songs"; these songs date from the Ashikaga period (1336-1573).

was called "Pearl" (Tama) on account of the clearness of her mind. One evening the Emperor had assembled all the talented men among the courtiers, and they played for him on the flute and the lute. It was a very melancholy evening at the end of autumn. The moon had not yet risen, a drizzling rain was falling and the wind was blowing. All of a sudden the lights went out, and in the darkness Tamamo no mae's body shone like a brilliant sun, enlightening the whole palace. At the same time the Emperor became ill. The Court magician, Abe no Yasunari, declared that it was all the work of the concubine, who thereupon flew away to the Nasu moor and changed into a white fox.

In the second act the village woman appears to be the spirit of Tamamo no mae herself. She promises the priest, at his request, to show her fox shape that night, and then disappears into the stone. In the next scene the stone splits of itself, and inside of it a light becomes visible, in the midst of which the shape of a fox is to be seen. The fox tells him that she is the divinity of the grave of the Crown prince Hansoku (班足), in India, who appeared in China as Pao-Sz', the consort of King Yiu, and in Japan as Tamamo no mae. Abe no Yasunari had, after the accident in the Palace, begun an offering and forced her, the concubine, to carry the five-coloured gohei. This and his ardent prayers caused her to suffer so much, that she threw away the gohei and flew through the air to the Nasu moor, where she hid herself. Then an Imperial message was sent to Miura-no-sŭke Yoshiaki and Kazusa-no-sŭke Hirotsune, ordering them to kill this fox. First they shot dogs for a hundred days in order to get into training, and then they surrounded the moor and killed the fox. Its angry spirit, however, remained there and became the "Life-killing stone," which was fatal to men for many years thereafter. The priest exorcises the spirit by means of incantations, and it disappears, on promising to do *no further evil.*

Professor CHAMBERLAIN, who also gives an account of this drama[1], remarks: "The stone itself no longer exists; but the poisonous exhalations which still issue from the ground on which it stood are destructive to insect and bird."

The same legend is to be found in the Zen priest Gennō's[2] biography, in KAWAI TSUNEHISA'S[3] book entitled *Shimpen Kamakura shi*[4], where also the history of the monastery Kaizōji[5], at Kamakura, founded by the same priest, is given. This work is quoted by KEIZAN KOJI[6] in his *Enkyo zatsuwa*[7]. We read there that spooks had already appeared long before the banquet occurred, and that it was in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155) (instead of Toba[8]). During the banquet, in the depth of night, the Palace shook violently and the lamps went out. It was Yoshiaki who afterwards killed the fox, the spirit of which more than 100 years later became the notorious stone. Gennō was ordered by the Emperor Go Fukakusa (1246-1259) to go to the moor and put a stop to the strange matter. "When the priest came to the stone, he saw a heap of bones and skulls surrounding it. He read aloud the "Hasō daki' en"[9], a Zen text, and said: 'Originally you were a stone. Whence came the spirit and whither does it intend to go?' Than he uttered a gatha (Buddhist stanza) and struck the stone with his staff, breaking it at once. That night a woman of majestic beauty appeared and thanked him, saying: 'I have been reborn in Heaven by virtue of your pure exhortation'. And then she vanished. From that time Gennō's fame became great in the capital and in all the country. The Shōgun of Kamakura, Hōjō Tokiyori (1226-1263), who heard about

1. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 8th ed. (1907), p. 216.
2. 源翁.
3. 河井恒久.
4. 新篇鎌倉志.
5. 海蔵寺.
6. 荊山居士.
7. 燕居雜話, written in 1837; *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. V, p. 320.
8. Comp. the *Kagakushū*, above p. 51.
9. 破竈墮機緣.

Gennō's miraculous power, gave him a village as a reward of its exercise. This happened in the Kenchō era (1249-1255)."

The *Ainōshō*[1], an encyclopedia dating from 1446, treats of the question why a fox is called *Myōbu no o mae*[2]. "In China," it says, "the Court ladies are called '*myōbu*' (命婦) ..... As there are female divinities in the temples in which foxes are worshipped, perhaps these goddesses were called 'myōbu' after the palace ladies. Or have they (the fox-goddesses) gotten this name because the foxes were originally the messengers of a god that was so called (Myōbu)? I shall ask other people about this."

With reference to this name "myōbu," we find some information in the *Inari jinjaki hiketsu*[3]. "In this temple (that is, the temple of Inari at Kyōto)," it says, "a fox is called '*myōbu*' for the following reason.—At the time of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) a Court lady (myōbu), a very devout believer in Inari, made a vow to spend seven days and nights in the temple. But on the third day she was requested by the priest to leave, as she had become unclean through menstruation. But she refused to do so and said: 'Inari is a divinity who is the same for both clean and unclean persons; so I can stay here', and she composed a verse in this sense. That night Inari appeared to her in a dream and recited a verse indicating that the goddess disliked the menstruation. Then the woman left the temple and gave the name of 'Myōbu' to the fox Akomachi (one of the three foxes worshipped on Mount Inari), according to the tradition of the temple.....Another name for foxes is '*Tōme no o mae*'; *tōme* means 'old woman'".

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1. 塵劫抄, Ch. I, nr 57, p. 10; written by the Buddhist priest GYŌGO, 行誉.

2. 命婦ノ御前.

3. [illegible], written by HAGURA KŌMAN, 羽倉廣満, who [illegible] at Kyōto in the Kyōhō era (1716-1735).

In the *Reijū zakki*[1] we read the following concerning the name "*tōme*": "As to the word '*tōme*' for *fox*, this has the following origin. On the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) there was in olden times a temple in which three foxes were worshipped as gods; the name of that temple was *Tō-u-me sha* (登宇女社), or *Myōbu sha* (命婦社). This may be the reason why in later times everybody called a fox '*tōme*' (專) .....This name is found already in the *Genji monogatari* (1004), *Uji shūi monogatari* (1213-18), *Hyakurenshō* (after 1259) and so on."

The *Inari jinjakō*[2] thus refers to the names *myōbu* and *tōme*. "Nowadays the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) is called the 'Upper Temple' (Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly the name of this temple was *Tōme no sha* or *Myōbu no sha*, and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As these three foxes lived a long, long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple, where they did strange things, the people came finally to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and to worship them together in one temple."

Another word for fox is *yakan* (野干). In the *Wakun no shiori*[3] we read sub voce "Fox": "The fox is also called 'yakan'. As to the Buddhist yakan (射干), that is different from the fox. We find in the dictionaries: '豻 (kan), which is the same as field-dog (野犬, ya-ken); it resembles a fox but is smaller; it comes from Manchuria (胡地).'"

In the old legend which we found in the *Ryō-i-ki*[4] the word *yakan* is said to be the old word for *kitsune*, which is

1. 靈獸雜記, written by TSUTANOYA SHUJIN, 蔦屋主人, "the Master of the Ivy House", probably in the beginning of the 19th century, the principal work on Japanese fox-lore.

2. 稻荷神社考, written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NO NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏陸, who called himself after his ancestor SUGAWARA; his own name was MAEDA NATSUKAGE, 前田夏陸. Ch. II, p. 25-a, under the heading "*Myōbu-sha*, also called *Tōme Miketsu kami*, 專女三狐神."

3. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776.

4. See above p. 20.

explained by popular tradition to be "come always." We did not find "yakan" in other works of the eighth century, nor in those of the ninth and tenth centuries. Of all the fox stories of the *Konjaku monogatari* in one only is the word "yakan" used, side by side with the word "kitsune", as having the same meaning. In one of the tales of the *Mizu kagami* (12th century) it stands alone, while the only work of the 13th century which uses the word is the *Zoku kojidan*; but in the same tale the fox is also called "kitsune" and apparently "yakan" is only used as belonging to the story in its oldest form. After that time it does not occur. The *Wamyōshō*[1], quoted by KAIBARA YOSHIFURU[2] in his *Wajiga*[3], refers to a Chinese work entitled "*K'ao shing ts'ich yun*[4], which says: "The fox is an animal called *yakan* (野干). In China a fox is called yakan by mistake. Some say that the yakan is not the same as the fox. The yakan is small and has a big tail and can climb trees; the fox is big and cannot do this." And another Chinese book, the *Tsu t'ing shi yuen*[5] says: "Yakan is in Sanskrit 'shikkara' (悉迦羅); it is also called 夜干, or 射干 (yakan); its bark is like that of a wolf."

Probably legends about this Indian animal came to China in Buddhist form and were there transferred to the fox. The Chinese work "*Shih i*"[6] quoted by HIRANO HITSUDAI[7] in his *Honchō shokkan*[8] explains the yakan (射干) as follows: "In Buddhistic sutras both yakan and 貂 (ten, sable, marter, mustela melampus) are bad animals and resemble blue-

1. 和名鈔, (the full title is *Wamyō ruijū shō*, 和名類聚鈔), written by MINAMOTO NO SHITAGAU, 源順, who lived 911-983.

2. 貝原好古.

3. 倭爾雅, a dictionary written in 1688; Ch. VI, Section Animals, s.v. Fox.

4. 考聲切韻.

5. 祖庭事苑.

6. 拾遺, written by CH'EN T'ANG-K'I of the T'ang dynasty.

7. 平野重太.

8. 本[illegible]

yellow dogs. They devour men and can climb trees." Hirano remarks: "Perhaps the fox is called 'yakan' in Japan in imitation of the bad animal of the Buddhist sutras. There is an old saying that 'a yakan resembles a dog.' This is also borrowed from the Buddhist sutras. In general the thing called 'yakan' (野干) is the worst and most haunting and harm-doing of all foxes."

As to the name "*tōka*," we find the following explanation in the *Butsurui shōkō*.[1] "In Kwantō the fox is called '*kitsune*' in the day-time, and '*tōka*' at night. In Hitachi province a white fox is called *tōka*." 'The reason (for this name) must be that the people say the fox is the sacred messenger of *Inari*, the two characters of whose name, 稲荷, are pronounced *tō-ka* (in kan-on)." And the *Reijū zakki*[2] quotes a passage of the above mentioned *Inarijinja ki hiketsu*, which runs thus: "Inari is called 'Tōka, 稲荷' which name is to be written 豊宇賀, Toyo-u-ga, another name of *Uga no mitama* (倉稲魂).[3] 'Toyo-uga' means 'abundant food.'"

After this digression, which we have made in order to bring together all references to the names of the fox, we will return to our starting-point, the *Ainōshō*. We find in this old encyclopedia still another passage on foxes, under the heading: "Ignes fatui, called *Fox-fire* (kitsune-bi)."[4] Here we find the following explanation. "In the old Chinese classic entitled *Li ki*[5] we read that rotten plants become fire-flies. It is also said that fire-flies come forth from horse blood. Fox-fire (kitsune-bi, 狐火) is also written 燐火, kutsune-bi (rin-kwa, the meaning of the characters is *ignis fatuus*). As this ignis fatuus is said to come forth from horse blood, the people think fox-fire is made by means of burning horse bones."

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1. 物類稱呼.
2. Vol. II, p. 515.
3. The "Spirit of the Rice" worshipped on Mount Inari. See below.
4. 狐火云燐火.
5. 禮記, Ch. 月令.

G. *Sixteenth Century.*

Among the *Otogi zōshi*[1] there is one legend, entitled "Kobatana-gitsune," which is merely a new form of the old story of the fox which took the shape of a woman and lived with a man as his wife, till a dog made her flee away home to her parents. In this version of the tale she afterwards changes herself into a nun and leads a pious life, although always longing after her former husband.

In the *Shimpen otogi zōshi*[2] we find besides the above[3] mentioned story two short passages on foxes, both in the *Mottomo no sōshi*,[4] which dates from about 1620. Here we read: "As to the transformations of foxes, these are brought to light by smoking their noses," and a verse on summer runs as follows: "Of Inari's festival fox-fires are the torches."

In the *Hōjō godaiki*, "History of five generations of the Hōjō family"[5], we read: "An old samurai who had been in the service of Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515-1570) told the following story: 'Although Ujiyasu was a warrior, he was very fond of poetry. One summer evening he was walking about when a fox passed crying before him. Thereupon one of his attendants remarked: "In olden times, when Yoritomo was hunting on the Mihara plain in Shinano province, it began to rain and thunder. Then Kajiwara Kagesue recited a verse, and the thunder, affected by the verse, stopped at once. Now, as it is a very bad omen for a fox to appear in summer time, it would be

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1. 御伽草子, legends dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, compiled and published in two editions (1891 and 1901) by IMAIZUMI TEISŪKE, 今泉定介. Comp. FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur*, pp. 357 sqq.

2. 新編御伽草子, 20 tales of about the same time, compiled and published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI, 萩野由之, in 1901.

3. Pg. 23.

4. 尤之雙紙; Vol. II, [illegible]

5. 北條五代記, [illegible] Buddhist priest who lived [illegible]

well to drive the bad omen away by making some verses." But nobody made any. Then Ujiyasu himself produced a nice and very subtle poem, the hidden sense of which was that a fox ought not to appear in summer. And lo! at daybreak the fox lay dead on the spot where it had cried. The people thought this strange and wondered at the miraculous power of the poem.' "

H. *Seventeenth Century.*

The *Ō-u ei-kei gunki*[1] contains the following legend:— According to tradition Onodera Shigemochi, the forefather of Yoshimichi, Lord of Dewa, who was living at Koga in the province of Shimōsa, once when a boy saved a young fox from maltreatment at the hands of other boys. The same night, when he was looking at the moon, an old man came and thanked him on his knees for having saved his child, the little fox. He said that he was a white fox (byakko), who had been already a long time in the service of Inari Daimyōjin. At the same time he gave Shigemochi a small packet of medicine, with the words: "This is a very powerful medicine, made by the goddess (Inari); by means of this you will this year obtain territory from the hand of the Emperor. You must ask him for a dominion in the East, namely Yamakita, in Dewa province. Your children and grandchildren will always possess that territory and have great prosperity. When you go thither, I will accompany you." Thereupon the old man suddenly vanished, leaving the astonished Shigemochi with the medicine in his hand. The next day the Emperor became severely ill, and nobody could cure him. In and outside the capital a proclamation was made, promising to give to him who could cure the Emperor

1. 奥羽永慶軍記, "A History of the war between Ūshū and Ushū (Mutsu and Dewa provinces) from the Eiroku era (1558-1569) till the Keichō era 1596-1614)" (hence the words "Ō-u ei-kei"), written by TOBE MASANAO, 戸部正直, a samurai of the Akita clan, who probably lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. *Shiwa shūsō*, Vol. XV, Ch. 36.

whatever reward he might wish for. Then Shigemochi came with his medicine, and in one day had such great success, that the Emperor offered him a dominion. Following the advice of the fox he chose Yamashita, in Dewa province, and "from that time up till now, during four hundred years, his descendants possess it and live there in full prosperity."

In the *Taionki*[1] we read: "The Emperor has three 'sacred utensils' (shinki, 神器). His retainers have three treasures (sambō, 三寶), namely, first, the portrait of the Daishokukwan (that is, KAMATARI, 鎌足, the first of the FUJIWARA, who lived 614-669 and obtained the title of daishokukwan shortly before his death); secondly, the *Hokkekyō* (Saddharma pundarīka sūtra), written with golden ink by the abbot EIRYŌ, 惠亮, and thirdly, the '*Sword of the Little Fox.*'[2] The Kwanjōshō ('Prime Minister'), namely SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE (845-903), who was transformed after death into a great peal of thunder (because he died in anger on account of an unjust exile), bore a grudge against the Court and killed Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909) who had caused his exile. Night and day it blew and rained continuously; it was terrible, just as if an army of gods tore the Palace asunder. The Emperor (Daigo, 897-930) was very much afraid and asked TEISHIN KŌ (貞信公, Fujiwara no Tadahira): 'Which god has the palace watch to-day?' Thereupon Teishinkō saw a *white fox* coming forth from the hilt of his sword, and he answered: 'Your Majesty can be at ease; for to-day it is *Inari's* great divinity that is guarding the Palace.' Immediately after these words the thunder and rain stopped and the sky became clear. This sword is called 'The sword of the Little fox.'"

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1. 載恩記, written by MATSUNAGA TEITOKU, 松永貞德, who lived 1570-1653; also called *Karin* [illegible] ction of various poems." Vol. I, p. 21.

2. *Kogitsune no tac*[illegible]

The *Shinchomonshū*[1] contains several fox and tanuki legends. A man was sitting before the Inari temple at Kyōto, when an old fox came out of the temple and jumped to and fro over the torii. As the man looked at it in great astonishment, the fox said to him: "You must jump also." "That is impossible for me," he answered, but the fox replied: "If that is the case, I will teach you," and taking off the man's haori, the animal threw a long rope over the torii and pulled it to and fro. The man felt as if he also jumped across and became quite perplexed. On having returned to his village he knocked at the door of his house, but his wife and children would not open to him and exclaimed: "Good Heavens, it is an old fox; don't let him in." In vain he assured them that he was their husband and father, and then with tears came to the sad conclusion that he had fallen alive upon the "animal-road" (one of the six conditions of sentient existence in Buddhism, the so-called "six paths," 六道, or gāti). Thereupon he went away and lived thenceforth by the seashore, eating only seaweed and fish, while the villagers pitied him greatly and erected a small Inari shrine in his honour.[2]

At the time that the Dainagon of Owari was hawking in Tsushima, he wished to have prepared the medicine called U-sai-en (烏犀圓, which is made up of the livers of several animals), and ordered one of his retainers to have some one take out the "living liver" of a fox. The samurai gave the order to a bird catcher who caught a fox, but as the man desired to go home, he accepted the offer of one of the samurai's kitchen servants and gave him the animal with the permission to eat the flesh after removing the liver. But as the kitchen servant was doing it, his wife, who was in Kiyosu (Owari province), was suddenly possessed by a being which spoke through her, saying: "There was no reason why he should kill me, as he is no official (that

1. 新著聞集, written about 1700. Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, *Kinsei kidan zenshū*, 近世奇談全集.

2. Ch. X, p. 141.

is, it was not his duty to kill me); therefore I will take vengeance. He has not only killed me, but he has eaten my flesh, so that he is my deadly enemy; and as I cannot get him in my power, I will kill his wife, after having made her mad." When this matter reached the ears of the Lord of Owari, he said: "Because a fox is a supernatural being, it will listen to reasonable words," and he sent a messenger to the house of the unhappy woman telling him to address the fox as follows: "Why do you torment this woman? It was according to my order that you were killed. Although I might have killed you when hunting foxes for my amusement, this time I wanted to have medicine prepared; is it not delightful to you to have lost your life for the sake of mankind?" When the woman heard these words, she shed tears and said (that is, the fox spoke through her): "It is of advantage to us animals to listen to the Lord's commands," and then all of a sudden the spirit (mono no ke) went out of the woman.[1]

In the same chapter[2] we find a tale about a fox which had eaten a turtle (suppon, a tortoise) of a Buddhist temple just at the time that the Lord of Iga visited that sanctuary. When the latter heard of it, he ordered a fox-hunt to be conducted early the next morning. That night he heard some noises in front of his room, and when he opened the door and looked out, saw a fox, bound with creeping vines, the ends of which two other foxes held in their mouths. Upon the Lord's question as to what they intended to do with the culprit, they attacked the animal and killed it at once. There is a similar story found in the same chapter.[3] A fox devoured a peacock, which a Minister of Education had lent to Andō, Lord of Tsushima. The latter was so furious about the matter, that he ordered his servants to demolish the Inari shrine in his compound. That night a fox appeared to him in a dream (it was the Inari of the

1. Ch. XVI, p. 226.
2. Ch. XVI, p. 229.
3. Ch. XVI, p. 234.

shrine), and said it was another fox that devoured the peacock and the proof would be forthcoming within three days. Three days afterwards the Lord dreamed again, when the fox came a second time and said: "I have made the examination and punished the culprit." When the astonished Lord went out on the verandah, he saw a big old fox lying dead on the floor. Immediately he had a new Inari shrine built.

An unsuccessful metamorphosis of a fox is the subject of another tale. A man who had left his house at sunset in order to go to a neighbouring town, came back very soon, accompanied by a servant, and pretended to his wife that he had already settled his business. As he was very tired, he went to bed at once, but an old woman, who was in the house, told her mistress that she had seen that this person was blind in his *left* eye, while her master was blind in the *right* one. In order to look into the matter closely they called the sleeping man, under pretext that the old woman felt indisposed and wanted medicine. After some grumbling he got up and now both women could clearly see that he was blind in the wrong eye. When he got to sleep again, they stabbed him to death, and under the strokes he cried like a fox, "kon-kon, kwai-kwai." Then the servant of the house beat to death his companion who was also a fox. Apparently the one who had taken the shape of the master was not yet well enough trained to successfully transform himself.[1]

In 1672 a man who had caught a fox, but would not kill it because the next day was the anniversary of his father's death, was requested by a friend, called Shōsaburō, to give him the animal. When he did so, Shōsaburō at once killed it, crushing in its ears and mouth by blows. Just at that time the cruel man's wife gave birth to a girl baby with split ears and a distorted mouth. This deformity was the curse of the fox.[2]

In the monastery of Kōhōji in Shimōsa province a wooden image of Nichiren recited sutras every night, and from all

1. Ch. XVII, p. 236.
2. Ch. XIV, p. 210.

sides of the neighbourhood men and women flocked together to witness the miracle. But the abbot of the monastery, who could not understand the matter, one night stopped the people, who came to listen as usual, and alone addressed the image, asking it questions about the mysteries of the Law, and threatening to cut it to pieces and throw it away, if it did not answer immediately. When there came no reply, the reverend man forthwith took a broad axe and pulled the image down. And lo! from behind it an *old tanuki* jumped out and fled away. The animal was pursued and beaten to death.[1]

In the *Edo sōga no ko*[2] we read the following particulars about the Inari temple of Ōji (王子) in the neighbourhood of Ueno, the well-known district of Yedo: "Every year, on New Year's eve the foxes of the eight provinces of Kwantō gather in the night at this temple and light the fox-fire (kitsune-bi). People think that if this fire burns well, there will be a good crop." And the poet IKENISHI GONSUI[3] says in his *Edo Benkei*[4]:

"The eve of the year, when the torches burn
And the Kwantō foxes come."

Another hokku (that is, haikai, a verse of seventeen syllables) of TOMOJI[5] in the *Toshidoshi no kwai*[6] runs as follows:

"Mekari being too far, I'll go
To look at the foxes of Ōji."

Mekari (和布刈) is a god enshrined at Ise, where he is worshipped at midnight on New Year's eve. RYŪTEI TANEHIKO[7], the famous novelist, who quotes these passages, remarks:

1. Ch. VIII, p. 111.
2. 江戸惣鹿子, written in 1689, Ch. III.
3. 池西言水.
4. 江戸辯慶, written in 1680.
5. 友而.
6. 年年ノ會.
7. 柳亭種彦, who lived in Yedo 1782-1842. He quotes these passages in his *Ryūteiki*, 柳亭記, *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. VI, p. 118.

"Although it is clear from TOMOJI's verse that this matter existed already in the Empō era (1673-1680), we do not know when it began. In olden times foxes may actually have come together, but nowadays it is only an imitation of fox-fire with lighted torches."

It may be mentioned that KONDŌ GIKYŪ[1], who probably lived in the 18th century, refers in his *Edoshi*[2] to the work "*Edo sunago*"[3], where we read the following:—"The Inari temple at Ōji is, according to tradition, the head of all the Inari temples in Kwantō. Every year the people predict luck or calamity from the fox-fire which appears on the last night of the year." And further on: "Tradition says that there is very much fox-fire on New Year's eve at the so-called Shōzoku-enoki (裝束榎, 'the Enoki tree of the Ceremonial Dress', which stands in the field before the Inari temple at Ōji). It is said that the foxes (which come from all sides of Kwantō to this place) change their garments at the foot of this tree (in order to go up to the temple in full ceremonial dress)."

A great number of writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries speak in general terms about foxes, tanuki and mujina, Dagini Ten and Inari, kitsune-tsukai and kuda-mochi. For the sake of clearness I shall put them all together in chronological order, but first give the different legends to be found in books of the same two centuries.

I. *Eighteenth Century.*

In the *Honchō koji inenshū*[4] we read the following stories:—In the Keichō era (1596-1614) there was at Mihara, in Bingo province, a man who caught foxes by means of traps. On being converted by an eminent Buddhist priest, he became a

1. 近藤義休.
2. 江戸志, Ch. IV.
3. 江戸砂子, written in 1732 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾凉.
4. 本朝故事因縁集, probably written in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

priest himself and prayed for a blessed future life. Then the angry ghosts of the foxes which he had killed during many years, together with those which he had not yet killed, an innumerable number, appeared before his eyes and did all kinds of bad things, nay were even about to kill his whole family. The frightened hunter said: "I shall destroy you by means of prayers (nembutsu), uttered with a heart full of Bodhi (bodaishin, Buddhistic intelligence, a devotional disposition of the mind)", and he took his rosary and recited the myōgō (litt. "name", that is "Namu Amida Butsu"), praying incessantly. But the foxes laughed and said: "We do not care at all for your Buddha, your rosary and your prayers. We will kill your whole family." And some of the family did actually fall ill, being possessed by the foxes, and they repeated what the latter had said. Then the hunter stopped praying, threw away his rosary, and returned to his old profession, whereupon the foxes ceased to haunt him any longer.[1]

In the beginning of the same era a samurai of the house of Asano (Daimyō of Wakayama in Kii province) was requested by a fox in the shape of a man to forbid one of his retainers to catch and kill foxes. He promised to do so, and when he had fulfilled the promise, the fox appeared again in human shape and offered him a reward. The samurai asked him to fill his godown with gold and silver, but the fox said: "I am a messenger of Inari Daimyōjin, who gave me the rank of *Kiko myōjin* (貴狐明神, "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox"). Riches make a man unhappy; the proper thing for you, a samurai, is landed property. This I will give you." After these words the fox disappeared, and the samurai received land which produced 2500 koku of rice.[2]

A fox took the shape of the consort of the Lord of Shikoku, and the latter found to his unbounded astonishment two women sitting in his house, who were exactly alike and

1. Ch. III, nr 78, p. 16-a.
2. Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a.

who both pretended to be his real wife. A physician believed that it was the so-called "soul-separating"[1] illness, which causes one woman to become two. He uttered a Buddhist stanza (gatha, 喝), and striking on the floor with his staff proceeded to recite prayers, but all in vain. Then the husband seized the women and shut them up. As he saw that one of them ate quite different food from the ordinary, he examined that one by torture, whereupon she became a fox. He then decided to kill the animal, but a crowd of 4 or 5000 people, Buddhist priests and laymen, men and women, came before the gate and answered the Lord's question, as to who they were, as follows: "We are the foxes of the whole of Shikoku, who come to you with a request. The fox who has done you a wrong is a descendant of Kiko myōjin, the 'Venerable Fox-god'; his name is Osagitsune, he is a messenger of Inari, and the King of the Foxes of Japan. If you do him harm, there will come great calamity upon the country. He is our teacher of haunting, and if he dies we cannot haunt any longer. Please spare his life!" The Lord promised that if they all would leave Shikoku by ship, he would send the prisoner after them. Thereupon they gave him a written oath, that they never would return to Shikoku as long as this document existed. They went away and since that time there have been no foxes in Shikoku. The document was, in the author's time, still in the hands of the same family.[2]

The *Sakai kagami*[3] contains the following legend:—"In the Eiroku era (1381-1383) there was a shrine called Kō-un-an[4], in the compound of the Buddhist temple Shōrinji[5] in the neighbourhood of Tsurigitsune-dera.[6] The priest of that shrine,

1. 離魂, ri-kon.
2. Ch. III, nr 87, p. 3-b.
3. 堺鑑, written by KINUGASA ICHIJUN, 衣笠一淳, who lived 1679-1746. Ch. II, 古跡.
4. 耕雲菴.
5. 小林寺.
6. 釣狐寺, "Fox-catching monastery."

called Hakuzō, was a devout worshipper of Inari, the protectress of the temple, and brought her offerings every day. One day there was a three-legged wild fox in the wood, which was apparently a sign that the goddess (Inari) had heard his prayers. The priest took the animal home in his arms and attended it carefully. It was a supernatural fox (霊狐, reiko), which always immediately knew the thoughts of the priest. When robbers came, the fox drove them away. Up till now the descendants of this animal, all three-legged foxes, live in that monastery, for Inari's divine power is great. The comedy called "Tsurigitsune' (釣狐) finds its origin in that monastery. A fox, having changed itself into an old man, looked at the performance of the comedy and afterwards taught the writer the *good* magic arts of foxes (in opposition to their bad tricks)."

As to *comedies* about foxes, we find one in the *Kyōgenki*[1], entitled "*Kitsune*"[2]. A fox, in the shape of a Buddhist monk, an uncle of a hunter, comes to the latter's house in the mountains and warns him that it is very bad to catch and kill foxes. The hunter promises to throw his trap into the river and never to catch foxes again, but he deceives the would-be uncle and puts the trap near by instead of throwing it away. At last the fox falls into the trap himself, on having resumed his vulpine shape. In the course of the conversation between uncle and nephew the fox tells the famous legend of Tamamo no mae[3] in order to impress upon the hunter's mind what a strong feeling of revenge foxes have.

We find a *tanuki* story in the *Kwaidan toshiotoko*[4]. In olden times there lived in Yedo a physician, called Kugano Kendō. One day he was called to a house in Banchō, a district of Yedo,

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1. 狂言記, which dates from the Muromachi period (1333-1601).

2. *Kyōgen zenshū*, 狂言全集, "Complete collection of comedies", edited by the Hakubunkwan, Vol. I, p. 71, Ch. II, nr 2.

3. See above p. 51 seqq.

4. 怪談登志男, written in 1749 by ZANSETSUSHA SOKYŪ, 斬雪舎業及. Ch. II, p. 6.

but when he got there—it was already growing dark—the master of the house was not at home and he was requested to wait a little. In the saloon he was served by a little boy-servant, who looked very nice but ran away when the doctor took his hand and caressed him. On looking back he observed that the boy's face became suddenly as much as 3 shaku long, and that he had only one eye in the midst of his forehead, a small nose and a big mouth. Looking at Kendō he disappeared. The latter, who was a very courageous man, was astonished but did not go away. Shortly afterwards the master of the house came home. When the doctor told him in an undertone what had happened, he burst out laughing and said: "Oh, that was that boy again, he always frightens strangers in that way. Did n't he put on a face like this?" and the man imitated exactly the horrible face the boy had shown. This was too much for the doctor; he ran to the front door and called for his followers. But they had all gone home, except the sandal (zōri)-carrier. It was pitch-dark, and Kendō was quite frightened, but the zōri-man said there was a lantern. And lo! at once it became so light that even the smallest things could be seen, and in the blinding light the face of the zōri-carrier was three shaku long, with one eye in the forehead, a small nose and an enormous mouth, just as in the case of the two other spooks. At the sight the doctor fell down with a cry and became unconscious. In the meantime some of the inmates of the physician's house, who did not understand why he did not come home, went with the followers to the house in Banchō to seek their master. But they found, not the nice house which they had seen there that very evening, but instead an old, dirty, desolate and tumble-down shack, and the people of the neighbourhood told them that it was known already for a long time to be haunted, was always desolate and only inhabited by *foxes and tanuki*. Nobody dared even to pass by it. At last the doctor was found lying on his face in a near-by bamboo grove. They took him home, but it was two days before he could think and

speak, and a whole month before he was quite recovered. Nobody dared venture into the neighbourhood of the mysterious house, which was said to be the abode of some *old tanuki* that had played this trick upon the physician. Afterwards, however, the animals were driven away, and nowadays no trace of them is to be found. Bustling streets have taken the place of that lonely spot and nobody now knows anything about the haunted house.

In the *Rōō chawa*[1] we find the following legends.—A fox had devoured the falcon of a Daimyō, who became so angry that he announced to the Inari of his compound that he would let her shrine go to decay. In the night many flaming torches were seen, and the next morning a fox-skin was found hanging on a tree near the Inari shrine. A diviner was called and when this man, standing before the shrine, dipped bamboo leaves into boiling water and sprinkled his body therewith, the goddess possessed him and spoke through his mouth, saying that the culprit, a very venerable court-lady[2] and sacred messenger of Inari, had been seized and skinned at her command in order to pacify the Lord.[3]

On the same page another story is told about a female servant of Hideyoshi's consort, who was possessed by a fox (1536-1598). Hideyoshi sent a private letter to the temple of Inari, asking the goddess why she was angry, and requesting her, if this was not the case, to order her servant, the fox, to go out of the woman immediately, otherwise he would order a fox-hunt throughout the whole of Japan. This letter was placed by a priest in the inner part of the temple, and lo! within a single day the woman was cured.

On p. 367 the fox's revenge is narrated. A hunter, who had frightened a sleeping fox by discharging his gun near the

1. 老媼茶話, "Tea-talks of old women," written in 1742 by MISAKA DAIYATA, 三坂大彌太.

2. Comp. *myōbu*, above p. 55.

3. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū, 近世奇談全集, p. 380.

animal's ear, was visited in the middle of the night by two magistrates with a whole retinue, who ordered him in the name of the Lord to commit harakiri, because he had been shooting in the Lord's demesne. The poor man was about to obey the command, and the magistrates were standing at each side of him will full authority, when the house dogs jumped into the room and attacked them. Suddenly the stately men of the law changed into foxes and were killed, both they and their followers, which tried to escape in all directions in their original shape. This was the revenge of the fox that had been aroused from his sleep.

An old tanuki, which was pursued by a dog, was saved by a child. That night the animal appeared in the dreams of the child's parents in the shape of a nice child, and asked permission to live under the verandah during the winter. The next morning the master of the house ordered all the inmates to let the tanuki alone. Now and then they gave the animal food, and after having announced it before in the dreams of husband and wife the tanuki played the belly-drum for them one night, and made very nice music. At last he appeared in their dreams for the third time and told them that he would be bitten to death by a dog the next day. "In my former existence", he said, "I was the hunter Kenkurō, and Kenkurō's previous existence was the same as my present one; it is his dog that must kill me to-morrow. We animals have this advantage over men that we know about previous and future existences." The next morning the man went out to seek the tanuki and found it dead, killed by a dog, and he buried the animal near his house.[1]

On p. 263 we find *old tanuki and foxes* (狐狸, kori) mentioned together, as frequently elsewhere. "There are", as we read there, "three kinds of strange animals. First, thin ones, with emaciated faces, red eyes, thin and long trunks, legs as

1. Pg. 280.

long as those of a horse, and a cry that is loud like the tone of a bell. These are tanuki. Secondly, tanuki with round faces, sharp noses, spotted skins, and that are blind of an eye. And thirdly, foxes with large ears, round eyes, pointed cheeks, wide mouths, old and big, but without a right arm (!)." It seems that this description is partly that of the animals themselves, partly that of their human metamorphoses. The missing right arm reminds us of the three-legged foxes, mentioned in the *Sakai kagami*.[1] As to the one-eyed tanuki, to this kind belonged the beasts which haunted the physician in the *Kwaidan toshiotoko*[2], and also the old one-eyed woman in the following :—A monastery was haunted by tanuki and foxes. One night a man came and made as if to stroke the face of a priest, but the latter seized his arm and cut it off; and it was the hairy leg of an old fox. Another time a guest who passed the night in the monastery was kept awake by a large number of puppies, which kept continually appearing and disappearing. He went to the privy, but when he was about to leave it, the door was strongly pressed upon from the outside. He peeped through a crack in the door and saw an old woman standing on the other side. Immediately he pushed his sword through the crack and pierced her breast, whereupon she fled, bleeding profusely. A moment later a light appeared as of a comet flying through the air and falling upon the verandah. When the man ran to the spot it was again the same old witch. Once more he hit her with his sword and she fled, leaving a splotch of blood on the stone before the verandah. The next evening an old *one-eyed* woman came with a little girl to the abbot and requested him to read a mass at the funeral of her elder sister. The abbot, who knew that they were tanuki, menaced her with a piece of bamboo, and both woman and child ran away. That night a great number of burning torches were to be seen in the neighbourhood, and it was as if

1. See above p. 69.
2. See above p. 69 seqq.

a big crowd was reading sutras and praying. Temple gongs and kettledrums resounded, but at last the torches disappeared and the voices became silent. The next day the abbot sent somebody to the spot, and an old dead tanuki, as big as a calf, was dug out of the ground. It was, of course, the old woman whom the guest had wounded.[1]

"As to old foxes and tanuki, on clear, calm moonlight nights they come with their young out of their holes and play together on flutes and drums, to the delight of the villagers who hear the music from afar. This is, according to old tradition, the belly-drum (hara-tsuzumi) of the tanuki. In olden times it was said that foxes and tanuki, more than a thousand years old, could do supernatural things, such for example as producing thunder and rain and robbing the bodies of the dead."[2])

On p. 282 a *mujina* is mentioned, which appeared in a castle in the shape of a boy and predicted to the castellan his approaching death. On the next New Year's morning the man found a new coffin and funeral apparatus in the parlour, and in the evening there was everywhere a sound as of the beating of mochi (rice cake). Shortly afterwards the castellan fell ill and died. In the summer of the same year somebody saw a tall lay-bonze, black as pitch, scooping up water near the castle ; and when he attacked the strange apparition, it suddenly vanished. Some time afterwards the decaying body of a dead mujina was discovered in a wood, and from that time no strange things happened.

The *Sanshū kidan*[3] speaks about a fox, not yet experienced enough in transforming itself, which makes a mistake and walks about as a man with a fox's tail, much to the amusement and derision of those whom he wishes to delude, and then full of shame he runs away[4]. Another time a fox appears to the abbot

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1. Pg. 267.
2. Pg. 266.
3. 三州奇談, written in 1764 by HOTTA BAKUSUI, 堀田参水; Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū.
4. Ch. I, p. 674.

of a monastery as the ghost of a man who had recently died, and complains to him about a mistake in his posthumous name, which prevents his going to heaven. He shows the abbot the paper with the wrongly written name, which he had probably picked up somewhere in a field. But the abbot, who knows quite well that a real ghost cannot carry anything, seizes the wrist of the mysterious guest and does not let loose in spite of all his struggling, beseeching utterances, stinking breath and demoniacal facial contortions. At last the spook takes its real shape, that of a big fox, and asks with tears for permission to go away. The abbot then sets him free, but first shows him to the astonished inmates of the monastery.[1]

A third story tells about a pregnant white fox, the life of which was spared by a hunter against the order of his master, who punished the hunter for his disobedience with the deprivation of all his rights and then dismissed him. In a dream the distressed man saw the fox in the shape of a woman who said to him: "For my sake you are unhappy, but I will make you rich and eminent. Go to Yedo, where my husband is." The man did so, and one night a white fox appeared to him and taught him a magic formula for the cure of all diseases. This made his fortune, and he thankfully built an Inari shrine and caused a friend to do the same with the money that had been lent to him for taking the journey to Yedo, and which the friend would not accept when he went to return it. A son of this friend did not take care of the shrine and was punished by Inari, becoming crazy and leading such a bad life that he lost all his property. Thereupon a member of the same family was possessed and said: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's (the wicked son's) house; if you take me to a special hall in the temple of Sannō, I will always be a tutelary god." This request was acceded to, and in the night a light appeared in evidence of the divine power of the fox, who henceforth protected the country.[2]

1. Ch. II, p. 704.
2. *Ch. III*, p. 793.

With regard to the severity of the *revenge* taken by Inari, we may learn about it from a story of the *Shinchomonshū*,[1] where a man who had cut down Inari's sacred trees commits suicide after his wife and children have become mad and his mother has been killed by lightning. And we read per contra in Ch. III, p. 782 of the same work about rewards obtained from foxes. A man in whose compound a white fox had died, saw how hundreds of foxes came together in the night and, after coffining the dead fox, gave it a splendid funeral. Deeply moved the man erected a shrine over the grave and asked an Inari priest to celebrate in the shrine a yearly festival. His reward was great wealth, like that of a poor peasant who had become a beggar, and yet gave food to a fox which he saw bringing forth young under the eaves of an old Shintō temple where he was himself passing the night with his two children on the way to Yedo. On coming into the neighbourhood of Yedo he met an old ascete, who gave food to his children, as much as they could eat. The innkeeper said: "That man has been here already for years, begging food on the highway, but nobody knows where he lives. He is believed to be the metamorphosis of a fox, and tradition says that whoever gets anything from him becomes extraordinarily happy." This was true, for the sons of the poor peasant became rich merchants and bought a yashiki (a piece of ground with a house in it).[2]

On p. 819 (Ch. IV) we read about a sorcerer who gave performances in Kyōto with "spirit foxes" (氣狐, ki-ko) and gold-dragons (金龍, kinryū), and who could produce two persons from one.

An old *tanuki* or *fox* was supposed to be the original shape of a strange woman, not less than thirty shaku[3] long, with a face 3 shaku in length, who was seen several times at dead of

1. See above p. 62, note 1; Ch. IX, p. 124.
2. Ch. III, p. 783.
3. 1 shaku=11.9 inches.

night, with a lighted torch in her hand. It was certainly the vital spirit (精) of an old being that lived in that neighbourhood[1]. Also in other regions nocturnal apparitions, as for example black priests of enormous stature, who attacked passers by, or a six or seven shaku long female head which passed by laughing, accompanied by lightning and earthquake, or which spat upon a man, who became yellow and fell ill, but was cured by means of the medicine called ekikitō (益氣湯, a remedy against sunstroke); or a flaming head which burned the foot of any one that kicked against it, all these apparitions were explained as the work of *old tanuki*, or the vital spirits of old beings, or else of a bird which had transformed itself.[2] An old tanuki knocked at a gate night after night, till it was killed with an arrow[3]. *Ignes fatui* were ascribed to an old tanuki which had taken the shape of a tall lay-bonze (nyūdō, 入道) and was killed by a hunter[4].

Tanuki and *mujina* (貉) are mentioned together in a story on p. 749 (Ch. III). An old Buddhist monk was killed by dogs and appeared to be a mujina. When this was reported to the abbot of the monastery to which he had pretended to belong, the abbot said: "That monk lived here for about two hundred years. Nobody knew his origin; but it was known that he had saved a large number of gold-pieces, received from the supporters of the monastery. About ten days ago he suddenly came and said: 'To-day I have been killed by a dog in Kita-ura; you must hold a funeral service for me.' Thereupon he vanished." The abbot held the service, thinking that the soul of the monk would reach Nirvana by virtue of the masses said; and, in order to free the soul from the love of money, which the monk had shown during life, he gave all the gold the man had saved to the two coolies who had

1. Ch. I, p. 668.
2. Ch. III, p. 771.
3. Ch. IV, p. 827.
4. Ch. III, p. 752.

informed him of the death of the mujina. But the curse of the spook-monk was attached to the money, and caused madness and death to the whole family of one of the two men. When the other heard this, he immediately erected a stone monument for the monk and had a funeral service held. On a paper, on which the mujina had written some unreadable characters there was a red seal containing the character 霾, a combination of 雨, rain, and 狸, tanuki. The auther adds: "In Japan as well as in China there are a great number of legends in which tanuki and mujina transformed themselves into men and discussed all kinds of things. The mujina of Morotake-zan[1] take the shape of monks and discuss Buddhist sutras. The old stranger who talked about the five Chinese classics with the Chinese called Tung Chung-shu[2] is said to have been a mujina[3]. These animals live in holes, yet they know when it will rain. This is all due to the supernatural power of the tanuki and mujina. But it is a strange fact that the old mujina of this legend, who had lived for such a long time among men and possessed such enormous magical power, could be killed by a mere dog."

It was also a mujina who haunted, in the beginning of the Kyōho era (1716-1735), the neighbourhood of a big oak. Whoever passed by the tree at night, saw an old witch with a suckling in her arms, which she would throw at the frightened man. If he drew his sword and struck the suckling it appeared to be a stone. A samurai who had heard about this matter, attacked the vixen instead of the child and gave her such a violent cut with his sword, that she uttered a loud cry and disappeared. The suckling also at once vanished. The samurai's sword was covered with blood, and the next morning bloody traces led to a big hole under a bamboo fence, where a dead mujina was found. The hero was admired by all who heard of the incident, but afterwards the revenge of the mujina

1. 諸嶽山.
2. 董仲舒.
3. According to BAKIN, above p. 11, it was a tanuki.

caused his death. For when in a fight he jumped over a fence the hem of his trousers caught fast and caused him to fall, whereupon he was killed by his pursuer. People said that the spirit (氣) of the old mujina had taken vengeance upon him, and from that time nobody dared approach or repair the fence, because this was supposed to cause calamity.[1]

In the *Sanshū kidan kōhen*[2] we read a story about a fox that had taken the shape of a Zen priest, and was discussing religious topics with another priest, but suddenly ran away in his vulpine form because he became suspicious that the other was a transformed dog.

On p. 909, Ch. III, three things are mentioned which were causes of unhappiness to a certain family: 1. falconry, 2. fox-catching-comedies (tsurigitsune no kyōgen[3]) and 3. a grey horse (kawarage no uma). Falconry was forbidden by Kwannon who, on having transformed herself into a snowy heron, was attacked by a falcon. As to the fox-catching comedies, they were considered to be unlucky because one of the family, who in his dream had heard foxes howling in the garden and tried to imitate them, had become mad and wandered about every night, crying like a fox, and then soon afterwards died. The grey horse was an unhappy thing for the following reason. The family always kept a large number of foxes, because in olden times it was once helped in a fight by these animals. Therefore it was strickly forbidden to let dogs enter the compound. Once when a grey horse had come there all kinds of strange things happened, probably because the foxes hated that colour, or for some other mysterious reason. In the night the groom could not sleep, and the horse itself became dull and lost its usual spirit. A woman was several times seen standing in front of the stable. The unhappy colour grey

1. Ch. V, p. 846.

2. 三州奇談後編, written in 1779; Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū; Ch. III, p. 900.

3. Comp. above p. 69.

(kawarage) was also the colour of the small cat of a little girl, which made a noise on the roof night after night for three successive nights as if a heavy weight was thrown down upon it. When it was discovered that this cat was certainly a haunting demon, the beast changed into a fox and ran away, but the poor girl directly fell ill and died.[1]

A bridal procession, the persons in which had blackened their faces with oil and kettle black, was supposed to be a procession of foxes with human shapes and fox heads. They were submitted to a trial by fumigating their faces[1] and putting them in a bath, neither of which foxes can stand. Then it appeared that they were real men.[2]

An old fox was saved from the hands of some boys by a man who pitied the animal and gave it food. The other villagers said that he was too soft-hearted and that therefore the fox certainly would possess him instead of taking it out on the boys by possessing them. He believed this himself and imagined that his hands and feet already moved in a queer sort of way, nay he even wrapped horse dung in paper and looked at it as if he would eat it. He stopped working and shut himself up in a room. There he waited three days, always expecting the fox to appear. And at last the beast did come, jumping into the room in the dead of night. The frightened man cried loudly for help, but the fox quieted him and said that he did not come to possess him, but only to say that the foxes of the neighbourhood were not thinking of possessing men for fear of being caught by dogs, and that he could quietly resume his work. Thereupon the fox disappeared and the man awoke as from a dream. He was quite cured and worked thereafter as usual.[3]

Ignes fatui, believed to be produced by *tanuki* and *mujina*, appeared on rainy nights.[4]

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1. Ch. III, p. 917.
2. Ch. VI, p. 963.
3. Ch. VII, p. 985.
4. Ch. VI, p. 956. Comp. above p. 77.

In the *Umpyō zasshi*[1] we read the following story.—In Ōsaka there was a field play-actor who was called the "target-mark-man;" because he challenged everybody to use him as a target and aim at his naked stomach. Many persons tried it for fun (paying him, of course, for this strange performance), but he always escaped the bullet by a quick movement like that of a flying bird. For this his fame spread all over the city. An old sharpshooter, who had many pupils, was forced by the latter to show his art against this strange target, although he at first refused because he did not like useless blood-shedding. He hit the clothes of the target-man, not the stomach itself, but lo! the man died in the midst of the smoke. When the pupils, full of admiration at their master's skill, asked him for an explanation of the matter, he said: "This target-man had a fox in his service, which followed him for the sake of food. The fox, hiding its body in the clothes, presented a false shape to the deluded people. Whoever hit this shape, only hit the air; but I hit the clothes in which the fox was hidden, and therefore there must be a dead fox." And sure enough an old fox, killed by a bullet, was found the next day in the village Namba. The teacher who knew his art and the wicked demons so well, must have been a clever man indeed.

The *Kanden kōhitsu*[2] gives the following legends:—"There is a fox which lives in Shōnenji, a Buddhist temple of the Ikkō sect in a village in the neighbourhood of Hachiman in Ōmi province. This fox has protected the temple from the beginning till now against fire and other calamities, and is said to be also a guardian of the priest, whenever the latter goes out to perform his religious duties. Although invisible to human eyes, the fox once complained with a human voice to the

1. 雲郷雜志, written by YANAGIZAWA KIEN, 柳澤淇園, who died in 1758. The preface is written in 1796 and the book is printed in 1843. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 818.

2. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799 by KANDENRO KŌKEI, [illegible] whose own name was BAN SUKEYOSHI, 伴蒿蹊, and whose [illegible] "Kandenro." He lived 173[illegible]

priest, saying that some one had made him dirty by throwing something on the priest's sandals, while he, the fox, was sitting on them as a guardian during a religious service in a private house. The priest answered that his anger was irrational, as nobody could see him, which the fox admitted to be true. On another occasion the animal gave the following information :— 'In general we foxes are divided into three ranks, to wit, the so-called "shuryō"[1] or "chiefs," which belong to the first rank ; the "yorikata"[2] or "assistants," to the second rank ; and the "yako"[3] or "field-foxes", to the third. Those which bring calamity upon mankind are mostly field-foxes. But we, the chiefs, can only govern the assistants and field-foxes which are under our immediate command, not those of other chiefs. There are chiefs everywhere, and when one of them wants to govern the assistants or field-foxes of another chief, the latter gets very angry and never forgets it; for they are more implacable even than men.' This was the answer the fox gave when he was asked about a fox-possession. If anybody wants to ask something of the fox, he generally writes the question down and puts the paper in the main hall of the temple, where he afterwards finds a written answer. The fox may also answer with a human voice, although invisible. As a rule he has respect for the priest of the temple and treats him as his master. Once the fox asked for assistance because he had, as he said, not money enough to secure a higher rank. The priest assented but thought it strange, and asked the fox how he had got any money at all. The answer was: 'I have always picked up and kept the money which fell beside the offering-box.' The fox is said to live always above the ceiling of the main hall. As to the use of money for getting a higher position, this is not confined to this particular fox, for I have heard the same said about other foxes. Therefore I asked the

1. 主領.
2. 寄方.
3. 野狐.

priests of Inari where these animals paid the money, but none of of them knew anything about it. The deeds of foxes are secret."[1]

In the compound of Zōjōji, the great Buddhist temple in the Shiba district (Yedo), there was a little fox shrine. One day the abbot ordered a newly arrived priest to take an offering to that shrine and to perform the service there. Next day a man with a cap and a ceremonial dress came and requested another priest to tell the abbot that he, the stranger, would like to obtain a new shrine, as Benten had appeared in his former one, where he had lived for many years. The fact was that the priest had thought it was a Benten shrine where he was to hold a service and had therefore held a Benten service in the fox shrine. The abbot ordered a new shrine to be built for the fox, who then appeared again in the same shape, thanked the priest for having told the matter to the abbot, and promised to protect him during his whole life, so that he should never be in want of clothes or food. Another priest of the same temple was possessed by a fox and acted as a woman. He asked the abbot for a new shrine and an offering of a rice cake on the first and fifteenth of each month, because his own shrine, which had been in the garden of the neighbours, had been demolished. The abbot assented, whereupon the possessed priest wrote the name of the fox in beautiful characters on a tablet, which was attached to the torii of the new shrine.[2]

"In Nambu (that is, Ōshū), at a place called Shichi no he (七戸), there is a moor about six ri[3] square. Every year, at the end of the second month, the so-called fox-regiment (狐隊, ko-tai) is to be seen there. The people of the neighbourhood go to look at it, carrying sake and other refreshments. Generally it is on a day with a lightly clouded sky. If one pays attention to the matter beforehand and sees twenty or thirty

1. Ch. III, p. 71 sq.
2. Ch. III, p. 72.
3. 1 ri=2 miles, 775 yards.

foxes appearing and jumping about, the fox-regiment will certainly come that day. If the people then praise them loudly, suddenly a castle appears at a distance of two chō[1], and about two hundred helmeted horsemen, in full armour, seem to draw themselves up in long battle array. If the spectators continually applaud, the foxes suddenly imitate two processions of vassals, at one time that of the daimyō of Matsumae, and at another that of the daimyō of Tsugaru. Probably the battle array and the castle are intended to represent the old battle of the Kuriyagawa. It is said that the foxes of that moor do not appear except on this one occasion. If the spectators are numerous and cheer loudly, there are also a large number of foxes and the performance is brilliant; but if there are only a few spectators, there are also only a small number of foxes. This I have heard from an eyewitness."[2]

The so-called *mujina belly-drum* is mentioned in a book entitled *Shōnai kasei dan*[3]. It was heard in the An-ei era (1772-1780), on clear autumn nights, when the moon shone brightly, and it lasted from 3 to 5 A.M., continually sounding "ton, ton", now far away, now near at hand. But at last it was discovered to be only the treading of a pair of bellows in a smithy, the sound of which seemed to be farther away or nearer according to the wind, and at 5 o'clock, when the streets became noisy, was drowned by other sounds.

J. *Nineteenth Century.*

KYOKUTEI BAKIN[4] refers in his *Enseki zasshi*[5] to the *Ikkyū hanashi*[6], where we read a story about a tanuki which appeared

1. 1 chō=119 yards, 11 inches.
2. Ch. IV, p. 27.
3. 庄内可成談, quoted by INOUE in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. II, p. 230.
4. 曲亭馬琴.
5. 燕石雑志, written in 1810; Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a, under the heading "Tanuke", 田之怪.
6. 一休話説, a book of the Kwambun era (1661-1672); the author is unknown.

to a dying man as Amida riding on a purple cloud, but on being hit by an arrow assumed its own shape. This, says BAKIN, is simply stolen from the *Uji shūi monogatari*.[1]

Further, BAKIN tells of a well-known tanuki which lived a long time in Sado province and was called Danzaburō. This was a supernatural animal, which lent money to the people. Those who wanted to borrow money from him, wrote the amount and the date of repayment on a piece of paper, which they signed with their name and seal and then laid near the tanuki's hole. When they came back the next morning and looked, the money was lying at the entrance of the hole, if the tanuki would lend it. But gradually the number of people increased so much, and there were so many who did not pay back, that the tanuki stopped lending. The same tanuki called a physician when he was ill. He had taken human shape and sent a sedan-chair for the doctor to come in. After a few days he was better and went to the physician with a big plate full of money, but the man would not accept it and asked who he was. Then the tanuki said that he was Danzaburō, whereupon the doctor refused the money still more emphatically, because, as he said, the tanuki certainly had not obtained his wealth in a good way. But Danzaburō answered that he had come by it honestly through picking up treasures lying in ditches and valleys, where houses had been burnt down in time of war or destroyed by floods. When the doctor still refused to accept the money, the tanuki came back with a precious sword, which was accepted.

The same tanuki was believed to cause *fata morgana*[2]. "Several times, on bright evenings, there arose from the Futatsuiwa ("Two Rocks") a vapour (氣, ki), half blue half red, which had the shape of a big house or a castle with halls and walls of earth and stone, which were all plainly visible; it was no mirage (shinkirō, 蜃氣樓, fata morgana caused by the

1. Comp. above p. 39.
2. Comp. above pp. 83 84.

breath (氣, ki) of a marine animal, the mizuchi, 蜃). This was considered to be the work of Danzaburō."

On p. 10 of the same chapter BAKIN remarks: "As there are no foxes in Sado, tanuki and mujina possess men there. In Hachijōjima, where no foxes, tanuki or mujina are to be found, mountain cats are said to do the same." Further, he says: "There was recently in Kamakura a priest-servant connected with a certain monastery, who went about in Izu and Kasuga begging for money. He made drawings and many villagers and women living in the mountains bought them from him. At last he was killed by a dog at Numazu and the astonished people discovered that he was a transformed tanuki." BAKIN supposes that the word "tanuki" was originally "ta no ke", 田怪, "rice-field-spook", or "ta-neko", 田猫, "rice-field-cat". He says that the tanuki is also called "field-cat",[1] and the cat "house-tanuki."[2]

The *Shumparō hikki*[3] contains the following communication by a physician in Ashimori, Bichū province. "Several times I have cured people of my village who were possessed by foxes. This was once the case with a woman whom the fox obstinately refused to leave. Therefore, I pinched her whole body and rubbed her forearms; I further bound one of her arms, which swelled up like a tumour (the fox, being pursued by the rubbing and pinching, had taken refuge in the arm), and was about to stick a needle into it, when the woman said: 'Now I will go away.' Thereupon I untied the bandage, but immediately the patient was in the same condition as before the treatment. The fox had deceived me. Again I rubbed her, and this time the fox came up to the shoulder. I was about to kill the animal by pricking it with a needle, when it became submissive and said: 'Now I will really go away, and to prove that I do

1. 野猫, ya-byō.

2. 家狸, ka-ri. Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a.

3. 春波樓筆記, written by SHIBA KŌKAN, 司馬江漢, who lived 1746-1818. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 1162.

you may find my body in the bamboo grove.' And so it was, the body was there. Then I untied the bandage and with a cry the fox went out of the patient. Thus it is only the spirit (氣, ki, "breath") of a fox which possesses men, not its body."

The *Shōkan zakki*[1] tells about a fox who had shaken off his vulpine form at the age of 500 years and went as an old pilgrim to a neighbouring Buddhist temple. He listened to a sermon and requested the priest to free him wholly from his fox body by means of some formula. The priest did so, and the old man said: "Now I am free; please give me a funeral as of a Buddhist monk". Then the priest went to the mountains and found a dead fox, which he buried.

A rich source of information on this subject is the *Tōen shōsetsu*[2]. We find there the following legends:—A man married a woman whom he had met on the road. She gave birth to two children and they lived together for years. Once, when she was dozing before the fire with her youngest child at the breast, the other child cried out suddenly: "Just look, father, mother has a fox face!" Immediately the woman sprang to her feet and ran away, and without coming back. After considerable search a baby's toy and a letter were found before a fox hole near by. When the woman's son grew up, he went away on a pilgrimage and never returned. The people always spoke of him as the "fox-uncle."[3]

In the An-ei era (1772-1780) a well-known jōruri-actor was richly entertained in a large farmer's house, where a big crowd filled the room and enthusiastically applauded him when he gave proof of his talent. After he had recited a long time,

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1. 清閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 1046.

2. 兎園小說, written in 1825 by BAKIN and seven others. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II).

3. Ch. VI, p. 570.

suddenly it became silent about him and lo! he was alone. No house, no room was to be seen, and in the dim morning light he found himself in a grave-yard! Hastily he fled away home, in the belief that foxes had deceived him and given him horse dung and cow urine instead of nice food and wine. The idea made him ill and confused, and for some days he kept to his bed. In the meantime the rumour rapidly spread all over the province, that he had been haunted by foxes which had asked him to play for them And this was true; but his suspicion about the food and wine the brutes had offered him was not correct, for on that same night a wedding had taken place in a neighbouring village, and all the eatables and drinkables which were ready for the guests had disappeared in a mysterious way. That was certainly the work of foxes or tanuki, for on the moor where they had entertained the actor, fish-bones and wine-cups lay spread about. Apparently the foxes, admiring his art, had offered him the food and wine, stolen from the wedding party. After some days the actor recovered, but he henceforth chose another profession and only recited jōruri now and then at somebody's request.[1]

In 1820 the daughter of a wholesale merchant in Yedo was possessed by the ghost of Bishop Yūten. She wrote a myōgō [2] and Yūten's name and signature. The rumour spread, and people came from all sides in order to obtain from her a myōgō. They said: "The bishop, who in olden times saved a bad woman of Habu mura (from hell) has come again!" Bishop Yūten namely, who had died in 1718, had quieted the angry spirit of a bad woman by means of reading a sutra. Thus a large crowd daily gathered before the gate of the girl's house and she wrote myōgō for them all. But at times when the ghost was not in her, she was nothing but an ordinary girl. The author (who was one of the authors of the *Tōen shōsetsu*)

1. Ch. VII, p. 589.

2. 名號, "name": "Namu Amida Butsu," 南無阿彌陀佛, that is, an invocation of Amida.

had got such a myōgō from an acquaintance. The characters were written on a magnificent ground of red brocade, but two of them were wrong. On account of these mistakes an old man, an authority in such things, declared it to be the work of *foxes* or *tanuki*. He said that the mistakes were made intentionally, for fear of Buddha's punishment (for in this way, with the wrong characters, it was no real myōgō and therefore no sacrilege!). At last, when a man interrogated the girl closely, the fox showed his real nature, and there was no doubt any longer about her being possessed by such an animal. The fox, hard pressed by the questions, went out of the girl. The reason of the possession was that her mother, a widow, had illicit intercourse with a silk merchant who often passed the night in her house (apparently the man had a fox in his service and carried the beast with him). When this came to be known, the silk merchant fled, the widow was sent to her native village and the girl went to the house of relatives.[1]

In 1809 a fox appeared to a certain man in a dream, and told him that he (the fox) was the son of the Inari from behind a shop in Hongō (a district of Yedo), and that he had quarrelled with his mother, so that he did not want to return home. He requested the dreamer to allow him to stay in his house and promised that he would not annoy him. The man assented and saw that the fox was very glad; then he awoke, wondering what the strange dream might mean. The next day the maid-servant began at once to work much harder than usual. She drew water, washed rice, chopped fuel, and even sewed, which art she never had learned. She worked in this way every day, and did more than five men. Once she predicted rain, although the sky was quite clear, and caused her master to take his umbrella with him when he went out, which proved afterwards to have been very good advice. Another day she predicted the arrival of guests. All her predictions came true, and she was

1. Ch. IX, p. 679.

altogether exceedingly useful. It was all due to the fox which possessed her and which showed its thankfulness in this way.[1]

After having qualified the haunting of foxes as very bad, but that of tanuki as harmless, the author speaks about the *writings* and *drawings* of tanuki, as seen by himself. One of them was a divine communication[2] by the Inari of Kyōto[3], a mixture of seal-characters, square style and running-hand, with many mistakes in the language. It had been written by a Buddhist priest who had stayed in the house (where the writing was preserved), and who was called "the silent ascete" (because he did not speak). After some time he was attacked by a dog and bitten to death, whereupon he appeared to be a tanuki. A similar legend was told about another specimen of handwriting at Kawasaki, where in the author's time a tanuki in the shape of a Buddhist priest had lived for a space of six years, engaged in converting people; at last he was killed by a dog near Tsurumi. Another old tanuki, also transformed into a bonze, had drawn a picture, which was shown to the author by its owner.[4]

A medical student in Nakabashi was so fond of tanuki, that he collected everything that had to do with them, books and drawings, curios etc. He possessed for example a so-called *ri-seki* (狸石), or "tanuki stone", a natural stone which looked exactly as if it were painted. It was not quite two sun long, and was slightly red and white, with a black tanuki in it. All the ornament's of the student's tobacco-pouch, the metal of his purse, and so on, had the shape of tanuki. During the whole of his life the tanuki was his favourite topic of conversation. Probably there was some connection between him and this animal carried over from a previous existence.[5]

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1. Ch. VIII, p. 612.
2. 託宣, taku-sen.
3. Inari sansha, "the three temples of Inari"; see below.
4. Ch. V, p. 522.
5. Ch. V, p. 527.

In 1805 a tanuki lived above the ceiling of a house in Ōnuki-mura, a village in Katori district, Shimōsa province. At the request of a guest, who wished to see the writing of the tanuki, the master of the house took some paper and a pencil, struck fire upon it from a flint (as upon an offering) and placed it in the room. After a while paper and pencil flew of themselves to the ceiling and were soon found to have been used by the tanuki, for there were some characters on the paper, and also the words, "Tanuki, 108 years old". The next year the animal wrote, "109 years", a proof that it was true, said the people. Sometimes the tanuki would descend from the ceiling into the room and come to the master of the house, and one day the master jokingly said to it: "As you understand magic art, you must show something rare on such and such a day, because I intend to invite some guests then." When the fixed day came and the guests were assembled, the host told them what he had said to the tanuki, and everybody was on the tiptoe of expectation. All at once the garden changed into a broad dyke, and all sorts of merchants were there, building large shops or exhibiting their wares on mats. From all sides buyers came, and it was a busy market scene. At last the vision disappeared. This caused the rumour about the tanuki to spread more and more, and a lot of people asked to see the writing, ill persons came to be cured, greedy ones came for gain, and each prayer uttered was said to be heard by the tanuki. As the number of pilgrims continually increased, the rumour reached the ears of the Yedo authorities. An official was secretly sent to the place and made a close search into the matter, but as it appeared to be no mere scheme of a yamabushi or such kind of fellow, and took place in the house of a samurai, who was castellan of a great daimyō, the official did not find any ground for complaint and went away back. But from that time nobody was allowed to enter the tanuki-house without introduction. Moreover, it was said that the tanuki at last did not appear any more. Later, shortly before 1825, a

tanuki was exhibited in Ryōgoku (in Yedo), but the authorities prohibited the show, for fear that this tanuki would become as famous as that of Ōnuki-mura.[1]

In the Kwansei era (1789-1800) a tanuki had taken the shape of a woman and stood night after night on a cross-roads at a mountain inn, in order to seduce men. Afterwards the animal made a hole in a garden near by and lived there.[2]

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*[3] tells about foxes which, on being disturbed by the throwing of a stone, took vengeance by preventing the culprit from passing along a narrow path. They did this by means of long daimyō processions and by knocking at the victim's gate in the middle of the night and causing him to go out in vain. Their shape was quite human, but their cry was somewhat hoarse.[4] Further, a so-called "*kuda*" (管, pipe) is mentioned, "a strange beast of the size of a cat, with a cat's head, the trunk of a river otter, dark grey hair over the whole body, and a big tail; in short, a kind of large squirrel, which is called "kuda" by the people of Shinano province and is well known as a spook-beast."[5] This beast caused a farmer's wife to cry in the night, and it was killed in the dark by the physician who was called in.[6]

A devout old tanuki in human shape, with a rosary in hand, had a talk with an old woman every evening, and at last predicted that he would fall into a trap and die on the next day thereafter. He said that he could not avoid this fate, and that his body would be without wounds and with a half-white tail. And he was found just so and buried, and a funeral service was conducted on his behalf by the abbot of a neighbouring monastery at the request of the old woman, who also erected a stone monu-

1. Ch. V, p. 525.
2. Ch. V, p. 528.
3. 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849 by MIYOSHI SHŌSAN, 三好想山. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū.
4. Ch. I, p. 432.
5. Compare the kuda-gitsune (kwanko) below.
6. Ch. IV, p. 564.

ment on the tanuki's grave.[1] In the same way an old fox knew of his unavoidable death beforehand.[2]

A bad tanuki trick is told on p. 614 (Ch. V). A man had promised his sweetheart to go to a wood in the evening, in order that they might commit suicide together. But his love of life was stronger than his love for the girl, and he did not turn up. A tanuki, who was aware of it and saw the girl waiting in vain, took the shape of her lover and going with her into the depth of the wood, threw a string over a branch of a tree and hung the girl at one end and himself at the other. But he forgot that he was much lighter than the girl, being only a tanuki, and the result was that he was pulled into the air and strangled, while the girl's feet just barely touched the ground. So she was found alive, although unconscious, and the dead tanuki was hanging over her head.

INOUE ENRYŌ, whose excellent work, the *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, "Lectures on Folklore",[3] we have mentioned already very often, gives information which he obtained from country folk. Included in it are the following stories.—A farmer in Shimozuke province had thrown a stone at a strange bird which he saw sitting by the roadside. On returning home he suddenly fell ill, and no medicines could cure him. His condition grew worse and worse, and he fell into a state of madness which made his father think that the sickness was the work of foxes or tanuki. An exorcist (shugenja, yamabushi) was called and requested to fast and pray on behalf of the patient. The man put the "sacred instruments"[4] against the wall and recited some tantras (magical formulae) before them. Then he sat down with his back to the wall. The patient, who was so weak

1. Ch. IV, p. 576.
2. Ch. IV, p. 585.
3. 妖怪學講義, by 井上圓了; third edition published in 1897.
4. 神器, shinki, namely *gohei*, etc. The gohei are the well-known paper slips, fastened upon a stick, through which gods and demons are believed to enter a medium. Comp. PERCIVAL LOWELL, *Occult Japan*, p. 153.

that he could not get up, was lying beside him on a mattress, and a great number of spectators (amongst whom was the man who wrote of the matter years afterwards to INOUE) stood before and behind him. The exorcist requested that one of them come before him, and an old woman went to the front. But soon she appeared to be no good medium, and a man of about forty years took her place. After having washed and purified himself he sat down opposite the exorcist, with closed eyes and the gohei in his hands. The others sat about him in a circle, imitating the exorcist and reciting together magic formulae. After a while the gohei in the medium's hands began to move, first gently, then faster, till at last it was shaking violently. The others, seeing the effect of the tantras, recited with still louder voices, till the gohei shook so very violently indeed that it struck upon the ground.[1] Then the tantra reciting stopped and the exorcist asked the medium in a low voice: "From whence do you come and whither are you going?" But there came no answer. Thereupon the exorcist ordered him to show the directions with the gohei, and the medium pointed first to the South and then to the North-East. The exorcist, however, was not yet satisfied, and by more tantras and mudras (finger-distortions) he at last forced the medium to talk. The fox speaking through his mouth said: "I am afraid of my surroundings and want to go away. The reason why I have possessed the master of this house is that he hit me with a stone when I was sitting near a temple in the shape of a bird. I would take vengeance on him, but now I am so afraid (of the tantras and finger-charms) that I am going away immediately. Please give me twelve mon." Those who heard this said unanimously: "It must be an old fox who wants to cross a river in human shape. There is a river in the direction he has indicated, and the ferry fee is twelve mon. Therefore you must give the money to this man (the medium) and also food of

1. Comp. LOWELL I.I.

which foxes are fond." Then the medium was carried out of the house. He cried continually, "Kon, kon", and fell sound asleep on the back of the man who carried him. The money and food that were given to him disappeared out of his hands (the fox taking them). After a while the medium awoke, but he was still stupified and did not remember anything of what he had said in his trance. He had only a little pain in his hands and feet.[1]

So wrote the eye-witness, who had seen the thing in his youth. It is evident that the fox, on being transferred by means of the tantras from the patient into the gohei and thence into the medium, had been compelled to go out of the latter by more tantras and mudras. He had taken the money and the food with him and left the medium unconscious behind. In the same way many fox-possessed patients are cured by the priests of a Shingon temple, who lead them before the Buddha image and read sutras on their behalf. The body of the patient begins suddenly to shake, and the priest asks the fox whence he comes and why he has possessed the patient, and the fox answers through the latter's mouth. It is curious that people who dislike sake when in their senses are fond of it when they are possessed by a fox. Some say that those possessed by a male fox cry "Kon-kon", and those by a female, "Gya-gya".[2]

In the Kaei era (1848-1853) a man was walking in the bright moonshine under a perfectly clear sky; when lo! all of a sudden it became pitch-dark. The man, a fearless fellow, calmly sat down by the roadside and smoked his pipe (foxes cannot stand smoke). Gradually it became as bright as before, and in the moonlight an old fox was stealing away on the other side of the road. The man thought to himself: "That fellow would haunt me, but he has failed because I was not afraid."[3]

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1. Vol. IV, p. 221.
2. Vol. IV, p. 220.
3. Vol. IV, p. 206.

The *hypnotic* power of an old fox was seen in another case. A farmer was walking over his field in a careless and queer sort of way, treading on the plants, turning from left to right and vice versa, and swinging his dung pail automatically from left to right. An old fox went before him, and the man followed after and swung his bucket exactly as the animal walked and moved its tail. Another farmer who saw this, drove the fox away; but the hypnotised man wished to follow the brute and said: "I have also business in that village over there". His friend, however, prevented him from going, and brought him back to his senses. Thereupon he told how he had run behind the fox to drive him away, now to the right, now to the left, till a neighbour had come and asked to go with him; so they had walked together to a village near by. It was clear that the fox had taken the shape of that neighbour and deceived the man.[1]

A similar case is mentioned on p. 209; but there it was an old *tanuki* which exercised the hypnotic power. The animal sat on a tree and looked at a farmer, who, walking to and fro through the field, thought that he was crossing a stream and muttered: "Deep, deep". Another who saw it shot the tanuki dead, and at the same time that the brute fell out of the tree, the farmer fell on the ground and wailed as if he had been hit. Another time a man stood before the dry bed of a brook, thinking it a broad stream, which he could not cross. Probably a fox played him this trick.[2]

A samurai's sword, with which he had killed a spook-fox, which stood on a bridge in the shape of a woman, became a precious heritage of his family, and when somebody is possessed by a fox or tanuki, he is cured at once by the laying of the sword upon his head.[3]

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1. Vol. IV, p. 206.
2. Vol. IV, p. 207.
3. Vol. IV, p. 208.

In 1893 a newspaper gave an account of a mysterious voice in the air, heard in Ōme village, Yamanashi prefecture, which answered all questions asked of it, at first only in the night, but later on in the day-time also. It knew the ages of the people, also events occurring here and there, nay even the thoughts of men. It predicted luck or calamity to single persons or to whole families, and prescribed strange but very effective medicines for sick persons. This voice was ascribed to a fox.[1]

In Shikoku, where no foxes are, the *tanuki* are looked upon as the culprits, when strange things happen. In the house of a peasant in Itano district, Awa province, some years ago, there were queer goings-on. A kitchen-knife moved without being touched, a fish disappeared out of a pot in which it was cooking, a messenger of a creditor came for money and got it, but two days afterwards the creditor asserted he had sent no messenger nor received any money. One night the tail of the peasant's horse was bitten off, and another night the horse broke out of its stable and ran to a neighbouring village. There was no doubt this was all the work of some old tanuki. Although the door of the stable was carefully closed, yet the horse escaped once again. When the stable was examined, the door was closed as before, and nothing particular was to be seen, but spread over the floor lay the money which the false messenger had received. In the same province, in Tomioka village, an old tanuki was believed to have bitten off the greater parts of some big tai fishes, which a few villagers had carried to a temple in the mountains.[2]

So far the legends on foxes and badgers. Let us now see what the principal works of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries say about these animals in general.

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1. Vol. IV, p. 201, comp. above p. 27.
2. Vol. IV, p. 204 sq.

CHAPTER III.

Ideas about foxes and badgers, prevalent in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

The *Honchō shokkan*[1], written in 1697, gives interesting details concerning the popular ideas of that time about foxes. We read there[2] the following. "When people hear them crying, they predict good luck or calamity.....The fox-fire is made by means of their tails, or, according to others, by means of human skulls, dry horse bones and old wood that has been lying under the ground; what is true I do not know. If people have fever or become mad or melancholy, or if a woman has died in childbed and strange things happen afterwards, or if a baby cries in the night as a result of bad dreams —this is all mostly the work of foxes, and a result of demoniacal possession. Those who are haunted by foxes are commonly children, women, and stupid, very timid or half crazy men. If the fox-possession is light, the fox can be exorcised by magicians (巫祝). The vital spirit (精) of the fox goes in under the skin and makes a tumour; if one examines this tumour well and rubs it hard and pricks it with a needle or a knife, the fox goes away. Further, if one lets loose a very good hunting dog, the dog knows the smell of the fox and barks continually and wants to bite the patient; then the fox goes away. If the possession is a serious one, the fox will not leave for years, and the patient becomes a good-for-nothing. If the fox has enmity (宿怨) against the patient and does not go out of him, he finally takes the patient's life. Others say that if a fox changes into a woman and has sexual intercourse with a

1. 本朝食鑑, written in 1697 by HIRANO HITSUDAI, 平野必大; see above p. 57, where we referred to this book in respect to the name "*yakan*".

2. Ch. XI, Section Animals, p. 20.

man, this man dies or if not, the fox itself dies.[1] But this is very strange and illogical. Further, it is said that if it is doubtful whether somebody is possessed by a fox or not, *shikimi* leaves[2] must be cooked and given as a medicine to the patient. One possessed by a fox dislikes this very much, and refuses to take the medicine, but those who are really ill, take it, even though they dislike it. This is logical."

"Of late there are sorcerers in Japan who have foxes in their service. They say that they have studied the *Izuna* doctrine[3]. This doctrine can be described as follows: They seek the den of a fox and always keep a pregnant fox and tame it. When the time of bringing forth its young has come, they are still more careful in guarding the fox. When the cub has grown up, the mother fox comes with it to the sorcerer and requests him to give it a name. He does so, whereupon the mother bows and goes away with it. If afterwards the sorcerer encounters any sort of difficulty, he secretly calls the young fox by its name, and the animal comes to him, being invisible. If the sorcerer asks it about some secret matter, the fox always knows and can tell him. The bystanders cannot see the fox. As the sorcerer tells wonderful things, the people consider him a god. But if he afterwards does something impure, or is idle, the fox never comes again and at the last the sorcerer is ruined."

"From olden times the following tradition has prevailed among the people: The fox is the divine messenger of Inari. All the foxes of Japan come as pilgrims to the temple of Inari at Kyōto.

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1. Comp. above p. 26.

2. The *shikimi* (樒) is "the Illicium religiosum, an evergreen tree of the order Magnoliaceae growing wild in the mountains of warm regions. The leaves have a fragrant odor and are used to adorn the vases offered to Buddha. An incense is prepared from the dried leaves by reducing them to powder." See "Useful plants of Japan," published by the Agricultural Society of Japan, s v., from which book Mr. G. TSUDA was kind enough to give me the above information.

3. 飯縄法, Izuna no hō; see below.

They can jump over torii, and haunt (men). According to their skill in haunting they obtain various ranks from Inari."

"Formerly I heard an old sorcerer remark: 'The goddess Inari is the child of Susanoo no Mikoto, namely *Uga no mitama*.[1] Whether or not in very olden times the fox was Inari's messenger, I do not know. But in every village, and in every house, there were foxes which always hid themselves and were invisible. Therefore, wherever there was a space between villages and between houses, a little shrine was sure to be built and a fox-god was worshipped under the name "Inari"; this divinity was prayed to for luck and believed to be a protection against calamity.'"

"A fox does not fear death, and if one cuts open its belly in order to take out the liver for preparing the medicine called U-sai-en [2], the animal does not move or tremble or even wince; when all its viscera are taken out, it dies just as if it is lying quietly with its head on a hillock. Although the fox is full of suspicion, yet it cannot resist the smell of rat fried in oil (abura-age), and is killed (in consequence of this weakness). Therefore the Japanese hunters catch them in traps, in which they put a dead rat, fried in oil, as a bait. Nowadays people do not eat fox flesh, but they take the fat and prepare an unguent from it, which being applied on boils has a marvellously beneficial effect."

A work of the same period, the *Yamato Honzō* [3], says that this animal produces fire by striking its tail, but at the same time the author remarks: "When the fox breathes out, its breath is as a fire, and this is called fox-fire"....."When the ice on lake Suwa, in Shinano province, gets strong, the foxes put ear to it and pass over, and then men pass over also; but if the listening takes place in spring, the people do not pass over

1. 倉稲魂霊, "The Soul of the Rice in the Store-houses", see below.

2. See above p. 62.

3. 大和本草, written by KAIBARA ATSUNOBU, 貝原篤信, who lived 1629-1714. Ch. XVI, s.v. Fox.

any more. If a man is possessed and has become mad, they burn wolf dung and make him sniff in (the smoke), or they make him drink a cup of thin tea (which foxes dislike), or else they prick the patient with the tail (that is, with the needles which are on both sides of the tail) of the ei fish; this has a good effect, they say."

KOJIMA FUKYU[1] says: "The fox is an animal of Darkness[2] to the uttermost degree. Therefore the external evil (that is, the fox) enters people whose Light-spirit[3] has diminished. In general exaggeration of joy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, hatred and greed causes man to lose his original character and to become empty, and only possessed of the spirit of Darkness[4]. How could it happen otherwise on such occasions but that bad demons should enter into him?"

In the *Wakan sansai zue*[5] we read the following:—"In Japan there are foxes in all the provinces except Shikoku. As a rule they attain to a very old age, that of several hundred years. All foxes have human names, as for example in Yamato, Genkurō, and in Ōmi, Kosaemon. According to tradition they are the divine messengers of *Uga no mitama*, "the Soul of the Rice in the granaries". The foxes of Japan are all servants of the Inari temple at Kyōto, and the people build Inari shrines in order to worship them. Foxes which are worshipped in this way are of higher rank than others. When a fox is distressed, he generally cries like a little child (gya-gya), and when he is

1. 兒島不求, in his "*Heishoku wakumonchin*", 秉燭或問珍, written in 1710 and printed in 1737; quoted by INOUE, *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. IV, p. 180.

2. 陰獸, injū, an animal belonging to the principle *Yin* (陰, Jap. *in* or *on*) opposite to that of *Yang*, 陽 (Jap. yō).

3. 陽氣, yōki, Yang-spirit.

4. 陰氣, in-ki.

5. 和漢三才圖會, "Japanese-Chinese picture book about the three Powers (Heaven, Earth and Man)", a Japanese recasting of the Chinese encyclopedia *San tsai tu hwui*, 三才圖會, written in 1713, by TERAJIMA RYŌAN, 寺島良安. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 590, s.v. Fox.

joyful, he cries as if one were beating a pot (kon-kon). By nature he is afraid of dogs, and when he is pursued by a dog, he discharges such stinking urine, that the dog cannot approach him. If he wants to haunt mankind, he puts a skull upon his head and bows towards the Great Bear, whereupon he changes into a man. He deludes people, avenges harm done to him and proves himself thankful for kindnesses received. He likes azuki-meshi (rice and red pea-beans mixed and boiled) and abura-age (things fried in oil or grease) very much."

"As to fox-possession, the wicked spirit (that is, the spirit of the fox) enters the patient between the side of the shoulder and the armpit, and at that spot a tumour develops. The pulse of the patient becomes irregular and generally the thumb shakes violently. If a person who is well versed in the matter pricks the patient with a hot needle, the fox goes away. Or if one is in doubt (whether it is fox-possession or not), he gives the patient a dose of roasted shikimi leaves. One who is possessed by a fox will not swallow this at all, but if the illness is real the patient will swallow it readily, even though he dislikes the smell and the taste.[1]

Regarding the *tanuki*, the same encyclopedia[2] says that its flesh cures piles and running ulcers, if it is eaten three times in the form of soup[3]. An old poem by JAKU-REN[4] seems to show that in his time[5] the belly-drum was already known, for it runs as follows:

"An old monastery, where nobody lives,
Where even the bells give never a sound,
And tanuki alone beat the temple drum."

1. Comp. above p. 99.
2. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 589, s.v. tanuki.
3. Comp. the *Seki no Aki kaze*, 關ノ秋風, written by SHIRAKAWA RAKU-Ō, 白川樂翁, "The merry old man of Shirakawa", that is, the famous statesman MATSUDAIRA SADANOBU, who lived 1758-1829 and wrote after his political fall (1812), *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 973, where we read about tanuki juice and the good effect of the ashes of a burned tanuki head in curing an illness which makes the patient absent-minded and forgetful.
4. 寂蓮, that is, FUJIWARA NO SADANAGA, who died in 1202.
5. The twelfth century.

The tanuki are short-legged animals and cannot run fast, but they are very agile tree-climbers. *Old* tanuki can transform themselves and haunt people and places just as foxes can. Sometimes they drum on their bellies in order to amuse themselves; this is called "the tanuki-belly-drum." Sometimes they enter a house in the mountains, and sit at the fireside; and when they become warm their private organs swell up and become even larger than their bodies.

The *kaze-danuki* or "wind-badger" is, according to the Chinese author of the encyclopedia, an animal of the same size as a tanuki or otter, with the form of a monkey, but smaller. Its eyes are red and its tail is so short that it looks as if it had no tail at all. Its colour is blue, yellow and black. "In the day-time it lies motionless, but at night it jumps up in the wind and flies like a bird through the air. When people catch it in a net and look at it, it is ashamed and knocking its head on the ground begs for mercy. If one attacks it, it dies suddenly, but if it is then laid with its mouth toward the wind, it revives after a while. 'It only really dies when one breaks its bones and crushes its brain. One author says: 'If one wishes to cut it with a sword, the sword does not cut, and if one wishes to burn it, this also is impossible. If one strikes it, it is as if the skin were of iron; if one breaks its head, it stands up again when it gets its wind. It only dies if one stops up its nose with acorus gramineus.[1]' The Japanese author adds: "There are many kaze-danuki in the mountain forests of Ling Nan[2], but I have not heard that there are any in Japan."

So far the *Wakan sansai zue*. The flying through the air of this creature reminds us of the *kama-itachi*[3] or "sickle-

1. Sekishō, 石菖. Vgl. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. of China IV, p. 321, about the Acorus Calamus, 菖蒲, ch'ang-p'u. The Yang power of this plant, the name of which is written as a double sun (菖), can conquer the animal of the Darkness, Yin.

2. 嶺南, in China.

3. 鎌鼬.

weasel". We find the kaze-danuki mentioned in the *Sanshū kidan*[1], where a one-legged, square-faced, ugly and malicious looking woman, who stood in the dead of night on the top of the balustrade of a bridge and laughed loudly in order to terrify drunken people, is supposed by the author, HOTTA BAKUSUI[2], to be perhaps a *fūri*[3] or "wind-tanuki", since the being could both walk and fly. Further, SHŌSAN, the writer of the *Shōsan chomon kishū*[4], quotes the *Wakan sansai zue*, but thinks that the wind-tanuki and the sickle-weasel are different things, although belonging to the same general class; for the shape of the former is visible, but the latter never so.

In respect to the *fox-fire* (kitsune-bi), the *Wakun no shiori*[5] says: "The breath of the fox is called fox-fire; some authors say that the fox makes fire by striking its tail. Fox-fire is said to burn with a bluish light; it is a demoniacal ignis fatuus.[6]"

SHŌSAN[7] remarks that often in drizzling nights a large number of lights appear. Somebody once hid himself in the midst of growing corn and saw the foxes approaching; but when he cried out, they extinguished their lights and stood still. Afterwards he found a lot of *horse bones* near by, which were probably the torches the foxes had held in their mouths. In other regions horse *hoofs* were believed to be the means by which the foxes produced the lights. According to KIUCHI SEKITEI[8] they have a shining pearl, the "kitsune no tama", at the end of their tails, but SHŌSAN thinks this to be something different from the fox-fire. This pearl reminds us of the

1. Written in 1779, see above p. 74. note 3; Ch. V, pp. 949 sq.
2. 堀田参水; p. 952.
3. 風狸, kaze-danuki.
4. Written in 1849, see above p. 92, note 3; Ch. II, p. 470.
5. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776; Vol. I, ch. VII, p. 10.
6. 鬼燐, ki-rin.
7. *Shōsan chomon kishū*, Ch. I, p. 432.
8. 木内石亭, in his "*Unkonshi*", 雲根志, written in 1772.

Chinese ideas[1] about the miraculous pearl which foxes hold in their mouths and which probably represents the fox soul. One of the two wooden foxes before the Inari shrines frequently has a pearl in its mouth, and the other a key[2].

SHŌSAN mentions also the explanation of HADA KANAE[3], in his *Isshōwa*[4], where somebody pretends to have seen that the light is caused by the *breath* of the foxes.

As to the *cutting of hair* ascribed to foxes, about which we read in the Chinese books[5], I have found this only once mentioned in Japanese literature, namely, in the *Wakun no shiori*[6], where we read: "In the (Chinese book) *K'ié-lan ki*[7], a transformed fox is said to have cut the hair of a hundred and thirty men. Not long ago the same thing happened in Yedo and in Okayama in Bizen province."

CHAPTER IV.

Fox-sorcery, Izuna and Dagini Ten.

Here and there in old Japanese works we have found passages about men who *had foxes in their service* in order to exercise *magic power*. And in close connection therewith is mentioned the doctrine of *Dagini Ten* and that of *Izuna*.

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1. See above p. 7.
2. Comp. BAKIN, *Enseki zasshi*, Ch. I, nr 9, p. 23-b.
3. 秦鼎, who died in 1831.
4. 一宵話, "Talks of one night."
5. See above p. 7.
6. See above p. 104, note 5; Vol. I, Ch. VII, p. 6-b.
7. This is probably the *Loh-yang K'ié-lan ki*, 洛陽伽藍記, written by YANG HIÜEN-CHI, 楊衒之, under the Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-557). Comp. DE GROOT, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 598, where is also question of the Wei dynasty.

We read first about the "*Law of Daten*" and the "*Deva-King, the Venerable Fox*" in the *Gempei seisuiki* (1250), where Kiyomori (1118—1181) met this Deva and decided to practice Daten's Law [1]. In the same work a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed nine-tailed fox, Pao Sz'. We read there that Daten is a fox.[2]

In the *Kokon chomonshū* (1254) a priest practiced the *Dagini*[3] doctrine for the sake of Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), and Dagini herself ate the offerings, having taken the shape of a fox, and appeared in Tadazane's dream as a supernatural woman, a heavenly angel (天女, devi) whose hair afterwards appeared to be a fox's tail.[4]

The word "*kitsune-tsukai*"[5], "employment of foxes" for magical purposes, appears for the first time in the *Yasutomi ki*, the diary of NAKAHARA NO YASUTOMI, who there relates how in 1420 the Shōgun's physician, his son and younger brother, as well as the Chief-Diviner, Sadamune Ason, were accused of having foxes in their service, and two foxes were driven out of the rooms of the Shōgun's Consort by means of incantations. The physician was banished to Sanuki province[6].

In the Keichō era (1596-1614) we find the Deva-king, the "Venerable Fox", under a Shintō name, *Kiko myōjin*[7], "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox", as a messenger of Inari, and afterwards his descendant, Osagitsune (長狐), exercising the same function and at the same time that of king over all the Foxes of Japan.[8]

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1. See above p. 42; 陀天法, 貴狐天王.
2. See above p. 43.
3. 吒祇尼法, Dagini no hō.
4. See above p. 44.
5. 狐仕.
6. See above p. 50 sq.
7. *Honchō koji inen shū*, Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a, see above p. 67; 貴狐明神.
8. Ibidem, nr 87, p. 3-b, above p. 68.

In the eighteenth century the field play actor in Ōsaka, about whom we read in the *Umpyō zasshi* (before 1758), deluded the people by means of a magical fox, which showed a false target to those who shot at the man's exposed stomach.[1]

The *Izuna*[2] doctrine we found mentioned in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697), where there is a description of the way in which a sorcerer obtained his fox by the use of that doctrine.[3] The *Kenen ihen*[4] gives the following explanation:—"Izuna is the name of a mountain in Shinano province. As there is a *Tengu* shrine on the top of that mountain, the doctrine practiced there is called after the mountain's name. It is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*[5], and is practiced in vain if one uses old incense."

ASAKAWA ZENAN[6], who quotes this passage, remarks that the doctrine of this Dagini Ten includes perhaps the employment of foxes, and he refers to the above mentioned passage of the *Kokon chomonshū*. As to Izuna's shape, he adds: "In Kami Yoshida village, Kai province, there have been from olden times in the house of Kosaru Iyo, a Shintō priest of mount Fuji, three copper images of Dōryō, Izuna and Sengen (Asama)[7]. It is said that Izuna and Dōryō are both small Tengu each standing on a fox." And he further states[8] that Ōsugi dono[9] is also represented in nearly the same way, viz. as a small Tengu standing on a fox. These facts lead him

1. See above p. 81.

2. 飯縄法.

3. See above p. 99.

4. 薩国遺編, written by OGYŪ MOKEI, 荻生茂卿, that is, SORAI, 徂徠, who lived 1665-1728.

5. 茶吉尼天.

6. 朝川善庵, in his *Zen-an zuihitsu*, 善庵随筆, written before 1853, Hyakka setsurin, Vol. I, p. 672, under the heading "Izuna Gongen", 飯綱權現, "Manifestation of (Mount) Izuna."

7. 道了, 飯綱 and 浅間.

8. Pg. 673.

9. 大杉.

to think that there is some connection between Tengu and foxes[1].

In the *Matsunoya gwaishū*[2] we read the following: *Izuna Saburō* (a Tengu) of Shinano province appears in a poem on the Tengu of Kurama. The name is written 飯縄, or 伊縄. On Mount Izuna in the neighbourhood of Togakushi (戸隠) in Shinano there are two Shintō temples, the Main Temple (Hongū, 本宮) and the Village Temple (Sato no Miya, 里ノ宮), with a distance of about one ri between them. The hand-washing place is called Ichi no sōchi[3]; its length is 5 chō, its breadth about 3 chō, and in the midst is an island. The sand of this pond is called '*izuna*' (飯沙, 'rice-sand'), because it consists of white grains like cooked rice, its taste resembles that of rice, and it is eatable. The name Izuna owes its origin to this 'rice-sand.' With reference to this temple compare the *Etsuyū kōnōshō*[4]. According to the temple tradition, the divinity who is worshipped there is *Ukemochi no kami*[5]. In the *Baison saihitsu*[6] and the *Wakun no shiori*[7] it is said that the Izuna doctrine is a worship of *foxes* and that the doctrine of Dagini Ten is heterodox. But since in the poem on the Tengu of Kurama Izuna Saburō (三郎) and Fuji Tarō are mentioned among the *Tengu*, the explanation of the Izuna doctrine as *fox* worship is not acceptable. Also on Takao san in Musashi province and on Hasuge san (波須計) and Nakazawa yama (中澤) in Sagami province there are great Shintō temples of *Izuna Gongen*, and the gods worshipped there are all *Tengu*. We read in Ch. III of the *Wakun no shiori* that

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*The Tengu*."

2. 松屋外集, written in 1839 by TAKADA TOMOKIYO, 高田與清.

3. 一之倉池.

4. 越遊行囊抄, Ch. V.

5. 保食神, the Goddess of Food. Comp. Uga no mitama on Mount Inari, and her connection with the fox.

6. 梅村載筆, written by HAYASHI HARUNOBU, 林春信, who lived 1642-1666.

7. 倭訓栞, see above p. 56, note 3.

this god is worshipped also on Izuna yama near Sendai in Mutsu, and on Hinaga take (日永嶽) in Echizen."

So far TAKADA TOMOKIYO. Let us now hear the opinion of the author of the *Reijū zakki*[1], who has the following to say about Izuna:—"Of late there are persons who make use of foxes and call this the Izuna doctrine. According to what I have heard, these foxes are very small. They are probably of the same kind as the so-called *kuda-mochi* and *osaki-tsukai*." Then he quotes the passage of the *Matsunoya gwaishū* and says: "It is not certain that the Kurama-Tengu poem affords any real proof. And is there any clear proof of the assertion (of TAKADA TOMOKIYO) that in the Izuna temples of all provinces Tengu are worshipped? The Izuna rites are the practice of the heterodox doctrine of Dagini Ten, as it is called, and they include the use of *foxes*. The Tengu may have rejoiced in such a wicked doctrine and mixed themselves up in it, and if they lived on Mount Izuna they may have been called Izuna Saburō."

Another work, the *Bōsō manroku*[2], gives the following: "There is a heterodox doctrine, the cult of a bad devil (akuma, 惡魔), which blinds the eyes of the people, namely the so-called magic art of *Izuna* (伊豆那). I do not know when it began or who transmitted it. In the *Yamato honzō*[3] we read that it is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*. The name is written, 飯綱 and 飯縄. It is said that Dagini Ten got the name of Izuna Saburō, because he was worshipped on Izuna yama at Sendai in Ōshū. In the *Sōgi monogatari*[4] we read that two persons practiced together this Izuna doctrine.

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1. 靈獸雜記, "A miscellany on Supernatural Animals", probably written in the beginning of the 19th century; it is our principal source of information on Japanese fox-lore on account of the large number of works to which it refers.

2. 茅窓漫錄, written by CHIHIARA TEI, 茅原定, who lived 1773-1840; Hyakka setsurin, Vol. I, p. 1029, under the heading "Izuna".

3. 大和本草, written before 1714, see above p. 100, note 3.

4. 宗祇物語, written by the priest SŌGI, 宗祇, who lived 1420-1502.

This heterodox cult is also found on Togakushi yama in Shinano, Hinagatake in Echizen, Takao san in Musashi, and Akiba san in Tōtōmi province in the Shintō temple of Sanjakúbō[1]. Formerly this cult was transferred from Mount Togakushi to Mount Akiba (two hundred years ago, and it comprises twenty different rites[2]). The name Dagini, written in four different ways, namely 荼吉尼, 陀吉尼, 陀祇尼 and 荼耆尼, is originally simply another name for *fox*.....As in the Dagini doctrine foxes are always used, the Buddhists call Dagini Ten also *Hakushin ko-ō Bosatsu*[3], the 'Bodhisattva, the white Fox-King,' or *Kiko Tennō*[4], the 'Deva-King, the Venerable Fox,' and it is said that Inari's shintai (god-body) is the image of this Dagini Ten. This heterodox doctrine has existed from olden times up to the present day. In order to drive away the Izuna sorcery, the leaves of the mō plant (莽草, mō-sō) are burned; for then the sorcery cannot be practiced.[5] In the Chinese book *Cheu li*[6] we read: 'The Cook (前氏) has the function of taking away the bad influences of ku-sorcery[7]; he burns mō plants and fumigates therewith (those who are possessed by means of sorcery), whereupon (the wicked creature) dies.' As this evil sorcery is of the same sort (as the Dagini or Izuna doctrine), fumigation with the mō plant must be a good means of driving it out."

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1. Comp. above p. 108, and TEININ's enumeration of the Great Tengu of Japan, where we find Naigubu of Takao, Sanjakubō of Akiba and Jirō of Izuna mentioned (Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II).

2. Comp. INOUE l.l. IV, p. 228.

3. 白晨狐王菩薩.

4. 貴狐天王, comp. above p. 42.

5. A note says: "The mō plant is mentioned in the Chinese work *Pen ts'ao kang muh*, 本草綱目; the people call it *shikimi* (illicium religiosum, comp. above p. 99, note 2) and lay it as an offering before the Buddha images."

6. 周禮, Ceremonies of the Cheu dynasty.

7. 蠱物. About the *ku* sorcery by means of small reptiles and insects comp. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. V, pp. 826-869.

The *Inari jinjakō*[1] speaks about Izuna and Dagini in the following way[2]:—"For that reason (namely because three foxes were worshipped in the temple behind that of Inari at Kyōto, and the people had begun to call them the sacred messengers of that divinity) the cult of the Indian fox-god Dagini in later times got gradually mixed up with that of Inari, a terribly unreasonable thing! The heterodox cult of this Dagini seems to have spread rapidly in Japan. We read in the *Montoku jitsuroku*[3], sub dato 852, second month, in the biography of Fujiwara no Takafusa, Lord of Echizen, the following story: 'In spring of Tenchō 4 (827) he was appointed Lord of Mino. There was in the Mushiroda district (of Mino province) a sorceress (妖巫) whose spirit (靈, that is, the spirit which she worshipped) went round from place to place and secretly devoured the hearts of mankind. This special kind of sorcery spread and did much harm to the people. For a long time the officials were afraid of it and did not dare to enter the district. Takafusa, however, went alone on horseback to the place, arrested the entire company of the sorceresses and punished them severely. So the evil was stopped.' These sorceresses probably used the heterodox doctrine of the Dagini, called the 'Devourers of Human Hearts'. The *kuda-mochi*[4] and *ōsaki-tsukai*[5], which are very much feared by the people, and are found in Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc., where they do much harm by means of spook-foxes, must be magic arts which are continuations of that heterodox doctrine of the 'Heart-devourers'. It is strictly forbidden to practice these arts, yet they are still in use."

1. 稲荷神社考, "Reflections on the Inari temple," written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏陰, whose own name was MAEDA (前田).

2. Ch. II, p. 26.

3. Written in 878, see above p. 17, note 7; Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 487.

4. 管持, the keeping of so-called kuda or "pipe-foxes." See below.

5. 大前使, the employment of the osaki or ōsaki-foxes. See below.

As to these "Heart-devourers" MAEDA gives the following explanation:—"In the *Kokkyōshū*[1] we read: 'The *Dainichi kyō*[2], Ch. IV, explains the matter of Dagini and Shingon. It refers to the work *Emmitsushō*[3], which says: "The Dagini are under the command of the Yakshas, can steal the hearts of men by their magic art, and can devour them. There are two kinds of Dagini, to wit: the 'Real kind' (實類) and 'Those who belong to the Mandara' (漫荼羅衆 or 中). The former are called "Devourers of human hearts" (kanshoku jinshin, 餤食人心). Although they can do miraculous things, are free in their movements and bring good luck to those who worship them, yet their cult is regarded as heterodox. As to the Mandara-Dagini, they are just like Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and therefore devour all the filth of the hearts and cause men to live in Nirvāna."

MAEDA further speaks about the Dagini in Kōbō Daishi's monastery, Tōji. He quotes the *Shūyōshū*[4] where we read: "Kōbō Daishi, on awakening from samādhi (abstract contemplation), taught Bishop Hino-o (檜尾, his pupil) regarding the Yakshas of Tōji. He said: 'In this monastery there are wonderful gods called *Yasha jin*[5] (Yakshas) and *Madara jin*[6], who inform those who believe in them and worship them of coming good luck and calamity. Their shape is as follows: They have three faces and six arms. These three faces are those of three devas; the middle face is gold-coloured, the left one white, the right red. The middle one is Sei Ten (聖天), the left *Dagini*, the right is *Benzai* (辨才).'"

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1. 谷響集, written by the Buddhist priest UNSHŌ, 運敞, who lived 1613-1693. Ch. IX.

2. 大日經.

3. 演密抄.

4. 拾要集, written by SHUKAKU, 守覺, an Imperial Prince who had become a Buddhist priest, 法親王, and lived 1149-1202.

5. 夜叉神.

6. 摩多羅神.

The *Tenchō gyoki*[1] says: "In Tōji there are guardian-devas; they are messengers of Inari Myōjin, and are called, 'Messengers with a great Bōdhi heart.'" It may be mentioned that the god of Mount Inari was the principal guardian god of Tōji, and was met by Kōbō Daishi in that neighbourhood in the shape of an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. Thus there was close connection between this divinity and the monastery[2]. According to MAEDA again, in olden times the Dagini cult was very secret; and as the worshippers were afraid to call it openly by its name, they borrowed the name of other gods and called the Dagini "the sacred messengers of Inari", or they gave a Dagini shrine the name of "Temple of Fuku-daijin", the "Great God of Felicity" (福大神)[3], or "Temple of the Holy Woman"[4], in the same way the so-called *Izuna Gongen*, the "Manifestation of Mount Izuna", is none other than the Dagini worshipped on Mount Izuna in Shinano province. As to the image of Dagini Ten, tradition says that the Shingon sect gave it the shape of a female angel, a devī (天女), which corresponds with the white face of the above mentioned image in Tōji. This angel image received, according to MAEDA, the borrowed name of Inari, so that finally Inari was wrongly believed to be a female god. I will explain below what I think about this last question, but the idea that the heterodox Dagini cult was hidden behind other names seems to be very plausible, and I believe with MAEDA that the Dagini and Izuna doctrines are one and the same.

In MIURA KENSŬKE'S[5] Buddhistic dictionary entitled *Bukkyō iroha jiten*[6] we read sub voce *Dagini Ten*: "The Dagini Ten belong to the section of Yakshas. On being

1. 天長御記, "Imperial record of the Tenchō era" (824-33).
2. It was the mountain god, and not the Spirit of the Rice; see below.
3. See above p. 45, the legend in the *Kokonchomonshū*, Ch. VI, p. 312.
4. 聖女社, Seijosha, on Hieizan; *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p 29.
5. 三浦兼助.
6. 佛教いろは字典, 2nd edition, 1904, Vol. II, p. 206.

tortured by Daikoku Tenjin[1] (Mahākāla), who bestows luck, they are said to have stopped devouring men. The *Shinzoku butsuji hen*[2] states the following: 'These (Dagini) are foxes. In the Mandara they are called Yakshas. They are independent in what they do and quick in their movements. They must be the same as the Japanese Izuna god. Izuna is the name of the place where they are worshipped. A detailed explanation is to be found in the *Kokkyōshū*.[3]' In the Commentary on the *Dainichikyō*[4] we read: 'After having called all the Dagini together by means of his art, he (Mahākāla) scolded them and said: "Because you always devour men, I will now devour you."'" In the same dictionary s.v. *Dai Benten*[5] we read: "When this Deva appears as Dagini Ten, she distributes luck and long life." This corresponds with the above mentioned image of the divinity worshipped in Tōji, whose several faces were those of Sei Ten, Dagini Ten and *Benten*.

In respect to *Izuna* we find in YOSHIDA TŌGO's Geographical Dictionary[6], that according to the *Kiku ichiran*[7] "*Miketsu no kami*" (三狐神, "Three fox-divinities"[8]) are worshipped in the Izuna temple on the top of Mount Izuna in Shinano province, and that according to the explanation by KAIBARA[9] Izuna no kami is the same as Dagini Ten. YOSHIDA quotes also the work *Ōnin kōki*[10], which states that women up to the age of forty years

1. 大黒天神.
2. 眞俗佛事編.
3. See above p. 112, note 1.
4. 大日經疏.
5. Vol. II, p. 211.
6. 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, published in 1907; Vol. II, p. 2400.
7. 奇區一覽, written in 1834 by IDE MICHISADA, 井出道貞, and printed in 1887; the full name of the book is *Shinano kiku-shōgai ichiran*, 信濃奇區勝概一覽; it is also called *Shinano kishōroku*, 信濃奇勝錄.
8. Comp. the Miketsu no kami of Mount Inari, see below.
9. The author of the *Yamato Honzō*, see above p. 109.
10. 應仁後記, "History of the time after the Ōnin era (1467-1468)" written by KOBAYASHI, 小林, in 1769.

were not allowed to approach the temple, and that the magic arts (mahō, 魔法), called the *Izuna* and *Atago* doctrines, were performed by bonzes and yamabushi only after thorough purification and fasting, and that everybody who saw or heard about it felt his hair stand on end for fear. In view of the tradition that Izuna and Atago had one and the same idol or honzon (本尊), YOSHIDA concludes that the Izuna and Atago doctrines were one and the same.

Now we have seen in the treatise on the Tengu[1], that Atago is the principal *Tengu* mountain of Japan, so that, if the same rites are really practiced on Izuna, the author of the above quoted *Matsunoya gwaishū*[2] is right, and the Izuna doctrine is a Tengu cult. This becomes more probable from the fact that one of the peaks of Mount Izuna is called "Tengu no take", or "Tengu peak," which popular tradition reports to be a "devil place" (魔所, masho)[3], and further from ASAKAWA's description of Izuna's image as "a small Tengu standing on a fox".[4] As we noticed in the paper on the Tengu[5], the Japanese confounded the Chinese ideas about Celestial Dogs and foxes (Celestial Foxes as well as ordinary spook-foxes), and we need not be surprised to find the two demons combined, as on Mount Izuna. The fact that Mount Izuna is not mentioned in the Tengu tales seems to indicate that the part played by the Tengu is not regarded as important at this place; but on the other hand we find Jirō of Izuna mentioned in TEININ's list of great Tengu[6]. Apparently the original demon of Mount Izuna was thought to have a fox shape and his cult was afterwards combined with that of a Tengu, as the image proves. The fox became the servant of the Tengu, and was

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II.
2. See above p. 108.
3. See YOSHIDA's *Geographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 2400.
4. Above p. 107.
5. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 34 sqq.
6. Ibidem, Ch. II, § 9.

believed to use his magic power in the service of the worshippers. As to the fox regarded as a servant and riding horse of the demons, we can refer for information to HU SHEN[1], a Chinese author of the Han dynasty, who said: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride." Finally the Shingon priests came with their secret Dagini cult and explained the magical rites, practiced on the Izuna mountain, as those of their own Dagini; for the sake of secrecy, however, they called it simply the Izuna doctrine. This seems to me the most national solution of this complicated problem.

As we have seen above[2], Dagini Ten was considered to be a fox, and her doctrine heterodox. Sometimes we find this Deva mentioned as a Bodhisattva sometimes, as a Deva-king, while for the most part she is thought to be a *female* divinity, and to be countless in number instead of only one, just as in the cases of the Yakshas, Garudas and other demons.

Here again, as in the case of the Tengu and the Garudas[3] it is Professor GRÜNWEDEL's excellent work, entitled "*Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*", which gives us full information as to the nature of the mysterious Dagini Ten. Their Sanscrit name is *Dākinī*, and they form a special class of female divinities, whose name in the Tibetan translation means "Air-walker".[4] They are the fourth of the holy beings of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, and come immediately after the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas[5]. Their favourite abode is Udyāna, which is, like Kāshmīr, the classical land of *sorcery* and *witchcraft*[6]. Padmasambhava, the great saint, got his *mystic doctrine*, written in an unknown language, from the Dākinīs, and hid the books in caves until mankind should be able to read

1. 許愼.
2. P. 43.
3. Tengu treatise, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Ch. III.
4. GRÜNWEDEL l.l., p. 24.
5. Ibidem p. 28.
6. Pg. 44.

them[1]. He was master of all kinds of *magic*, and by practicing meditation in eight cemeteries got supernatural power by exorcising and consecrating several Dākinīs[2]. And because he was the strongest of all who practiced the tantra system, he was summoned by the King of Tibet to conquer the demons who prohibited the spreading of Buddhism in his dominions. He also succeeded in conquering Māra's army of demons, which tried to prevent him from reaching Tibet.[3] When he left that country, the horse Valāha, the "King of Horses", appeared in the clouds, and all Dākinīs came with it, bending their bodies under the horse and surrounding Padmasambhava in great numbers[4]. There are two classes of Dākinīs, namely those "who have already left the world", and those who still live on earth as local divinities. This reminds us of the distinction made by the Shingon sect between the Mandara-Dagini who are on the same level as Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and the so-called "Real kind" of Dagini.[5] The former class of Dākinīs are represented as naked, dancing women, having chains and crowns of skulls; but they often appear as demons or *animals* to those who worship them, which worship is in order to the obtaining from them of supernatural wisdom. This they possess and, for the benefit of all creatures, communicate in the form of a special consecration to the devotees absorbed in profound meditation. But if they are insulted, they get furious and try to kill the culprit. They suppress the anthropophagous demons who are their subjects[6], and are faithful protectors of Buddhism. As such they lead the mule of Çrīdevī, the great protectress of Buddha's Law, over the sea of blood, which that

1. Pg. 45.
2. Pg. 49.
3. Pg. 54.
4. Pg. 55.
5. Above p. 112.
6. Comp. above p. 111, where the Dagini themselves were mentioned as devourers of men, suppressed by Mahākāla.

goddess has made by killing numberless demons. As local gods they ride on animals: lions, dragons, gazelles etc.

These facts convince us that there are *many* Dākinīs, that they are *female* divinities, and that they bestow supernatural wisdom, that is, knowledge of *magic* art, upon their worshippers. This corresponds well with what we read about Dagini Ten in Japan; but the vulpine shape of the latter is not spoken of in Tibet, nor do we find it mentioned in Chinese books. The only passage where a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed *fox* Pao Sz' is in a *Japanese* work, the *Gempei seisuiki*[1], and we do not find this divinity mentioned even in the legend of Tamamo no mae, who was the same fox in a later existence.[2] So it seems that Dagini's fox shape and fox sorcery in general were limited to Japan.

We saw in GRÜNWEDEL'S work that the Dākinī often appear to the devotees in the shape of *animals*, and that those among them who are still living on earth as local divinities, are represented as riding on animals. This may be the key to the problem. For it is possible that the Shingon priests, who introduced the mystic Dākinī cult into Japan, found there already a flourishing fox-sorcery and came to the conclusion that these magical foxes, worshipped on such mountains as Izuna and elsewhere, were nothing but manifestations or servants of the Dākinī. If this is true, the fox-magic is perhaps an original Japanese cult; for it seems that it was not to be found in China, otherwise DE GROOT would have mentioned it where he speaks about the "infliction of evil by means of the soul of a quadruped."[3] And it is not particularly strange that the Japanese fox-sorcery should be independent of foreign influences; for the Inari cult is also an original Japanese fox-worship and a

1. See above p. 43.

2. See above p. 51.

3. *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, pp. 816 sq., Book II, Part III, Chapter I (Sorcery).

proof of the importance and of the great power of this animal in the eyes of the primitive Japanese people, long before the importation of Chinese and Buddhistic ideas. Moreover, the dog-magic found in Japan belongs to the same class, and is not mentioned by DE GROOT as prevailing in China. Yet we read in the foresaid chapter of DE GROOT's work[1]: "Instead of their own souls in an animal shape, sorcerers and sorceresses project the souls of animals for their evil purposes, or perhaps those animals themselves." This is exactly the case in the Japanese fox, dog, and snake-magic, so that we cannot deny that the idea may have been imported from China and then extended in Japan. But it is also possible that it existed already in Japan before the Japanese mind was imbued with Chinese thought; for ethnology has taught us how much the primitive beliefs of the most different peoples resemble one another.

As to the way in which the fox-sorcery is practiced, we have seen in the *Honchō shokkan*[2], written in 1697, that at that time the Izuna sorcerers were said to have foxes in their service whose mothers they had fed during pregnancy, and who came when they (the sorcerers) called them, but were invisible to bystanders. In 1742 the *Rō-ō chawa*[3] gives a similar account. We read there the following: "The Izuna doctrine is practiced by sorcerers who have foxes in their service. First, they purify themselves by fasting, and then go into the mountains to seek fox holes. If they find a pregnant fox, they politely ask her to make her young their child. Night and day they bring her food, and when the little fox is born, the mother takes it to them. Then the sorcerer says to the young fox: 'Henceforth you shall follow me as my shadow.' He gives the young animal a name, and then mother and child go away. From that time the fox always appears immediately when he is

1. Pg. 824.
2. See above p. 99.
3. *Zoku Tsikoku Bunko*, Vol. XLVII, p. 362; see above p. 71, note 1.

called by name by the sorcerer, and tells him all kinds of secret things, the knowledge of which gives him among the people the reputation of being a divine man. But if such a fox-sorcerer becomes in the smallest degree lewd or greedy, he cannot exercise his art any longer, for the fox does not come again." In the same work we find a story about a samurai, who understood the Izuna doctrine, and came to an inn where the daughter of the house was possessed by a fox. The animal had already predicted the arrival of the samurai and its own death through the mouth of the girl. The sorcerer cut the girl into two pieces with his sword and lo! the next morning it appeared to be a dead fox and the girl herself was sleeping quietly in a hidden corner of the house.[1]

ISE TEIJŌ[2] gives the following: "The people of to-day (eighteenth century) call magical arts or sorcery *mahō-tsukai*[3], 'using demoniacal doctrines', or *gehō tsukai*[4], 'using heterodox doctrines', or '*Izuna-tsukai*.' This is not an orthodox doctrine, but heterodox sorcery, by means of which the eyes of the people are blinded and they are deceived. It is what in China is called '*senjutsu*, 仙術, magic art of the Sien,' and there the persons who practice it are called *dōshi*, 道士 (the Japanese yamabushi). Buddhist priests also borrow this sorcery in order to use it as an ornament of their religion, calling the wonderful results they obtain by it the effect of Buddha's power, and converting the people to Buddhism in this way. In recent years a priest of the Nichiren sect, who used a fox, caused the animal to possess persons simply in order to drive it out again by means of his prayers. Thus he got the name of being a miracle worker and made a living in this way, but he was arrested by the authorities and banished."

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1. Ibidem p. 363.

1. 伊勢貞丈, who lived 1715-1784; in his *Ise mampitsu*, 伊勢萬筆, Ch. 即位.

2. 魔法使.

3. 外法使.

The same author speaks in another book[1] about the dog-sorcery in Tosa province, which has much resemblance to fox-sorcery except that the dog-god, "inu-gami"[2], is the spirit of a *dead* dog, while the fox-god is that of a *living* fox. As in the case of fox-sorcery, so dog-magic is in the hands of special families, which have no intercourse with other people and do not intermarry with them. For they are hated and feared, as they make the dog-god possess people and speak by their mouth, ordering them to send food or clothes or other things to the sorcerer who uses him. "But if one carries a *fox tooth* in his pocket, the dog-god cannot possess him, and if one goes to the house of a person, who is possessed by a dog-god, carrying a fox tooth in his pocket, the dog-god goes out of the patient at once. As there are no foxes in Shikoku, it is said that there are people who keep a fox tooth bought in another province. Further, it is said that, if one's forefather has used a dog-god, the latter is transferred to his children and grandchildren and does not leave the family. Moreover, the *snake-god* (蛇神, hebi-gami) belongs to the same class as the dog-god, and is said to bestow wealth upon the families of those who use him."

In the *Kanden kōhitsu*[3], which was written in 1799, we read the following:—"In the neighbourhood of Izumo and Hōki provinces there is the so-called *kitsune-mochi* (狐持, "fox-keeping"). The custom is so general there, that people ask one another how many foxes they possess. If one is on bad terms with somebody, he causes him to be possessed and haunted by a fox, just as do those who practice the *inugami-tsukai* (employment of dog-gods, in Kyūshū). Thus they are very powerful enemies."

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1. 軸艫訓, *Jikuro kun*, Ch. III, p. 10. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 sqq.

2. 犬神, comp. ASTON, *Shinto*, p. 332.

3. 閑田耕筆, see above p. 81, note 2; Ch. II, p. 55.

The author of the *Reijū zakki*[1] (written after 1839) is in doubt whether or not the *kudamochi* and *ōsaki-tsukai*[2] existed in the earliest times, and refers to the *Fusō ryakki* and *Yasutomi ki*, where we read about the foxes exorcised by the abbot Sō-ō[3] and used by the Court physician Takama.[4]

As for MAEDA, the author of the *Inari jinjakō* (1836), his opinion, which we have given above[5], is that the kuda-mochi and osaki-tsukai of Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc. must be survivals of the Dagini doctrine.

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*[6], written in 1849, speaks about the so-called *kuda* (管, pipe), well-known in the province of *Shinano* as a spook-beast. "It does not show itself to human eyes. From generation to generation it remains in the same families, the members of which have no intercourse with others and have an extraordinary aversion to marriage. As to the *kuda-gitsune* (管狐, 'pipe-fox'), to be found in Sanshū and Enshū (Mikawa and Tōtōmi provinces), this is such a small animal, that it can be put into a pipe, hence the name 'pipe-fox'; it is a fox of the size of a rat."

In the *Zenan zuihitsu*[7] we read the following: "The *hiko* (狒狐), also called *reiko* (霊狐, spiritual foxes) mentioned in Chinese books, are old spook-foxes, resembling black cats; in Japan they are called *kwanko* (管狐, that is, 'kuda-gitsune', 'pipe-foxes'). They have about the same size as weasels or rats, and vertical eyes; for the rest they are just like field foxes, except that their hair is thinner. Those who have these *kwanko* in their service hold in the hand a bamboo pipe, a little shorter than the bamboo instrument by means of which

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1. See above p. 109.
2. 苦陀持, "the keeping of kuda", and 大前使, "the employment of osaki".
3. Above p. 35.
4. Above p. 50.
5. Pg. 111.
6. See above p. 92.
7. 善庵随筆, written by ASAKAWA ZENAN, 朝川善庵, who died in 1853. Hyakka setsurin, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 674.

the fire in the furnace is blown, and they recite a magical formula, whereupon the fox suddenly appears in the pipe and answers all questions asked of it one by one. It is said that originally a yamabushi, after the pure and careful practice of asceticism got this magic art from *Kimpusen* (that is, from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen, 金峯山[1]). These foxes are numerous in the neighbourhood of the Northern mountains of Suruga, Tōtōmi and Mikawa provinces. As for the eight provinces of Kwantō, they are mostly in Kōzuke and Shimozuke. In Osaki[2] village, Kōzuke province, there is in the whole village not one family that does not keep such foxes. For this reason they are also called 'osaki-gitsune.' But according to the work *Rōchiroku*[3], it is *Ōsaki* (大前) in Musashi province. I do not know which of the two is true. The so-called *ki-ko* (氣狐, spirit-foxes, of the Chinese books) are nowadays the wild foxes which deceive mankind and cause a curse; they possess men and ask for food through their mouths. They are also the osaki-foxes, which yamabushi have in their service. As to the 'air-foxes' (kū-ko, 空狐), these are Tengu." The tradition that sorcery by means of pipe-foxes came from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen is significant, if we compare it with what was said above[4] about Izuna and the Tengu.

INOUE ENRYŌ gives in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*[5] a great number of interesting details on the employment of magical foxes. He quotes an article of the *Dai Nihon kyōiku shimbun*[6], where we read[7]: "In Ina, Shinano province, there is a creature called *kwanko*, 'pipe-fox.' Its size is about that of a mouse, its tail is like a pipe, cut in two; hence the name 'pipe-fox.' Although it is a very small beast, its shape is said

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*the Tengu*", Ch. II, § 9.
2. 尾崎.
3. 狐憑錄, written in 1627-1630 by MIYAKE SHŌSAI, 三宅尚齋, who wrote it in prison with his blood.
4. Pg. 115.
5. Third edition (1897), Vol. IV, pp. 180 sqq.
6. 大日本教育新聞, "Educational newspaper of Great Japan."
7. Pg. 193.

to resemble that of a fox. Oral tradition says that this pipe-fox was originally borrowed from the Inari of Fushimi in Yamashiro province, and that it was a picture of a little fox in a shrine. When the time came to take it back to Fushimi, the priests of Inari sealed it up as a very precious thing, but what condition it is in now we do not know. It is a fact, however, that the pipe-fox exists. It is a very quick and intelligent beast, and if tamed is inseparable from its master and lives in his pocket or sleeve. These foxes examine into all kinds of things and tell what they discover over and over again to their master, so that those who keep them are said to be able to explain the past and predict the future of other people. Those who practice the so-called *kitsune-tsukai* keep this pipe-fox in their bosoms; the fox climbs up to the ear, and what it says is communicated to others. Such persons are said to explain and predict the past and future of men remarkably well. A pipe-fox shows itself only to its master, not to others. But those who keep such foxes can be recognized by the special smell which hangs about them."

After having referred to the principal Chinese books, mentioned above, and to some of the older and later Japanese works, INOUE quotes from more recent information, sent to him from here and there about the country, and found in newspapers, on the subject of the haunting of foxes and tanuki in general, and of the *employment of foxes* by people. A man from Gumma prefecture, Kōzuke province, wrote that the people in the neighbourhood of Mount Chichibu in Musashi are always inclined to consider every strange thing that happens the work of foxes or tanuki. If rice or silkworms have been stolen, or a stone falls suddenly, or something moves or totters in a queer sort of way, it is all ascribed to these animals. A queer sound, as if sand were falling, which was heard in an inn where they kept many *osaki-gitsune*, was believed to be caused by a lot of invisible foxes that were passing by, and the same animals sprinkled some boys with ashes in the night. Another per-

son saw a tea-kettle lifted up to the ceiling by an invisible hand.[1] Once a man bought fuel in a shop, but when he got home, its weight was only half what it had been. Of course, an osaki-fox, kept in the shop, had pulled the weight of the balance down in order to deceive the buyer and for the advantage of the shopkeeper. Another time a lot of cakes were stolen from a shop night after night, and found next morning in a house near by. All these things happened in houses where osaki-foxes were kept. In the same part of the country many rich families became bankrupt, quite without reason, and all within a few months, and other families, that were rather poor, attained with the same rapidity to great wealth. According to popular opinion this was the work of osaki-foxes, which secretly carried money and grain and furniture etc. from the houses in decline to those whose star was in the ascendant. The osaki-fox is smaller than the ordinary fox and looks exactly like a rat. It is also said to multiply as rapidly as rats. The families that keep them are called "shippo", and if the members of such families marry, the osaki-foxes are said to follow them. Although there are people who dislike marrying some one belonging to a shippo family, yet nowadays more than half of all the families in that region are said to be shippo. But since the osaki-foxes cannot pass the Tonegawa, no mention is made of them in Kōzuke province.[2]

A man from the province of *Shinano* writes[3]: "There is perhaps no part of the country where fox-possession is so common as at Kiso (a mountain in Shinano). The so-called *osaki* or *konkon* families are as much detested there as are the families of lepers. Not only do people not intermarry with them, but formerly they were often driven away by violence. Although nowadays this does not happen, yet these families

1. Comp. the paper and pencil in the tanuki story above p. 91.

2. This is not in keeping with the words of ASAKAWA ZENAN (above p. 123) who says that most of these foxes are found in Kōzuke and Shimozuke.

3. INOUE I.I. IV, p. 218.

have still to struggle against all kinds of hindrances and prejudices in their intercourse with others. The so-called *osaki* (persons possessed by osaki-foxes) are mostly girls, seldom boys. At ordinary times their words and deeds do not differ from those of other persons, but when they are possessed, they enter the houses of other people and tell secrets without scruple. Sometimes they speak with fox voices and walk on all fours. As a rule they go to certain particular houses, never to those of respectable people. If such a possessed person enters the shop of a breeder of silkworms, he does injury to the cocoons, and if he comes into a house where somebody is ill, he annoys the patient or possesses him; and sometimes he does the same with one who is healthy. Those who become possessed in this way enter people's houses and trumpet forth the secrets of others in their turn. Everybody dislikes the osaki, because they are said to bring calamity upon the houses they enter. Although this kind of mental disease can be cured in an hour, yet a relapse is generally unavoidable. Its being hereditary, descending from parents to children and grandchildren, makes it still more detestable."

According to information from Shimane prefecture (Iwami and Izumo provinces) the so-called *jinko-mochi* (人狐持, "man-fox-keeping") is practiced by families which have *jinko*, man-foxes, in their service. Nobody likes to marry a member of such a family. These jinko are smaller than ordinary foxes, resemble weasels and always live in private houses. Those who keep these animals are said to make them possess persons whom they detest. The words and deeds of the persons so possessed are very strange. They ask, for example, for azuki-meshi (rice and red pea-beans mixed), tōfu-juice (bean curd) and tai fish laid in miso (sauce made of wheat, beans and salt), and after having eaten very greedily the possessing fox demands through the mouth of the patient a piece of ground belonging to the family of the latter (in behalf of the fox keeper), menacing the life of the patient if it is refused. But if

one seizes the patient saying, "Then I will first kill you with a needle and moxa," and rubs his stomach and is about to stick a needle into any hard spot he finds, or burns moxa upon it, the fox begins invariably to supplicate, "Let me loose; I will go away immediately, just leave me alone for a moment." And then as soon as the patient is free, he opens the window, utters a plaintive cry and falls down on the floor. It is only after having undergone this treatment that he can come to his senses and be cured. This is the case with everyone possessed by a fox. As more than half of the people of this province (Izumo) belong to such "jinko-mochi" families, it becomes more and more difficult for a son or daughter of a correct (respectable, non-fox-using) family to find a wife or husband, disliking as they do marriage with any member of a jinko-mochi family.

In CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*[1] we find an interesting résumé of Dr. BAELZ'S remarks on fox-possession, and an extract from the Nichi-Nichi Shimbun of the 14th August, 1891, about the man-foxes in Izumo province. We there read: "It should be noticed, moreover, that there are permanent fox-owners and temporary fox-owners. The permanent fox-owners silently search for families of a similar nature to marry into, and can never on any account intermarry with outsiders, whatever may be the inducement in the shape of wealth or beauty. Their situation closely resembles that of the pariahs and outcasts of former times. But even the strictest rules will sometimes be broken through by love which is a thing apart, and liaisons will be formed between fox-owners and outsiders. When such an irremediable misfortune takes place, parents will renounce even their well-beloved only son, and forbid him to cross the threshold for the rest of his life. Temporary fox-owners are those who have been expelled from the family for buying land from a permanent fox-owner. These circumstances conspire

1. Fourth edition (1902), pp. 113 sqq., s.v. Demoniacal Possession.

to give security to the fox-owners (whether such in truth or imagination, we are not in a position to say); for no one will harm them by so much as a hair's breadth. Therefore they are all well-to-do; some are even said to count among the most affluent families in the province. The very poorest people that have borrowed money from them will strain every nerve to raise money to repay the loan, because failure to do so would make others regard them as fox-owners and shun them. The result of all this is that a nervous malady resembling possession is much commoner is this province than elsewhere, and that Dr. Shimamura, during his tour of inspection there this summer, has come across no less than thirty-one cases of it."

WESTON[1], quoted by ASTON[2] says the following: "Amongst the ordinary diviners is one called *kitsune-tsukai*, i.e. a fox-possessor. The divination is carried on by means of a small image of a fox, made in a very odd way. A fox is buried alive in a hole with its head left free. Food of the sort of which foxes are known to be most fond is placed just beyond the animal's reach. As days pass by the poor beast in its dying agony of hunger makes frantic efforts to reach the food; but in vain. At the moment of death the spirit of the fox is supposed to pass into the food, which is then mixed with a quantity of clay, and shaped into the form of the animal. Armed with this extraordinary object, the *miko* is supposed to become an infallible guide to foretelling future events of every kind."

This kind of fox-sorcery is mentioned nowhere else; WESTON probably mistook *dog*-sorcery for fox-magic. MOTOORI, quoted by ASTON[3], describes the *inu-gami* as follows: "A hungry dog is tied up in sight of food which he is not allowed to eat. When his desire is keenest, his head is

1. *Mountaineering in the Japanese Alps*, p. 307.

2. *Shinto*, p. 344.

3. *Shinto*, p. 332. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 seqq.

cut off and at once flies to seize the food. This head is put into a vessel and worshipped. A serpent or a weasel will do as well."

On comparing the above quoted passages on the employment of magical foxes we see two centers of this form of witchcraft, namely, in the East: Shinano, Kōzuke, Shimozuke, Musashi, Mikawa and Tōtōmi; and in the West: Izumo and Hōki. Of these Shinano, Kōzuke and Izumo are the most important.

CHAPTER V.

Inari, the fox-shaped Spirit of the Rice.

First, we have seen the fox as an omen, sometimes of luck, but mostly of calamity; then as a demon, haunting and possessing men; thereupon as a magical instrument of sorcerers, the servant of Tengu and men; and finally we will treat of his best and most important function, in the exercise of which he appears as a *god* or the *sacred messenger* of a divinity, namely as *Inari* herself or her servant.

As we have already stated in the beginning of this paper[1], we are here wholly on Japanese territory; no Chinese influence, no Indian god is in the background. Thus we have only to do with the Japanese texts, and we have no need to fear the troublesome mixture of foreign and native ideas which makes the study of Japanese folklore so very complicated and difficult. First of all we will review the passages which speak of foxes, worshipped as *gods*.

We read about a fox-god for the first time in the *O-u-ki*, which relates how in 1031 the Saigū at Ise was possessed by a god (namely a fox) who spoke through her and compelled her

1. See above p. 2.

to build two Shintō temples and to order frantic dances to be performed in his honour. Then the sorceresses of the capital followed the example given by the Imperial Princess, and began to worship the fox whom they called "the great divinity of Ise".[1]

The *Sankaiki* stated that in the 11th and 12th centuries the killing of a fox was considered to be as great a crime as the killing of a *divine spirit* (神靈), and that the Emperor banished in 1072 a member of the Fujiwara Family for having killed a spirit-fox (reiko, 靈狐) at the palace of the Saigū at Ise.[2]

Bishop JI-EN wrote at the end of the 12th century that foxes as well as Tengu already in remote times liked to be worshipped as gods.[3]

The *Zoku kojidan* (13th century) relates how in olden times a fox was killed in the neighbourhood of a temple of a fox-shaped god, and the Court nobles deliberated as to whether it was a crime or not.[4]

The *Ainōshō* (1446) thinks that "the female gods in the temples in which foxes are worshipped are perhaps called myōbu after the palace ladies."[5]

In the *Shinchomonshū* (1683) we read that a small Inari shrine was built for a man who had become a fox[6], and that the divinity of the Inari shrine in the compound of the Lord of Tsushima appeared to the magnate in a dream in the shape of a fox.[7]

The *Henchō koji incnshū*[8] tells a legend of a fox who appeared in the Keichō era (1596-1614) and said that he was a

1. See above p. 25.
2. See above p. 37.
3. See the *Gukwanshō*, above p. 40.
4. See above p. 49.
5. See above p. 55.
6. See above p. 62.
7. See above p. 63.
8. See above p. 67.

messenger of Inari, who gave him the rank of "Kiko Myōjin"[1], the "Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox" (the Shintō name of the Deva-King mentioned in the *Gempei seisuiki*.[2])

In the *Sanshū kidan* (1764) a fox says through a possessed person: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's house (in an Inari shrine); if you take me to a special hall of the temple of Sannō I will always be a tutelary god." When the command had been obeyed, a light appeared in the night to show the divine power of the god, and thenceforth the country was protected by him.[3] The same book mentions a fox whose spirit after death was worshipped in a shrine, erected over his grave, and in whose honour a yearly festival was celebrated by a priest of Inari.[4]

The *Kanden kōhitsu* (1799) tells of a fox who was the guardian god of a Buddhist temple and protected the temple as well as the priest; and of how the same fox god gave oral and written oracles.[5]

Also in the nineteenth century and nowadays foxes were and are worshipped in little shrines under the name of Inari. All these foxes are thought to be dependent on the Inari of Kyōto, but are also themselves called Inari. Two white foxes are sitting before these shrines, one on each side of the entrance; this means apparently that the goddess herself is within the shrine, invisible, while her messengers are guarding the entrance. We have to do here with a mixture of ideas. On one hand the goddess is a fox, on the other hand the fox is her *sacred messenger*.

Curiously enough we do not find Inari's name in the above quoted passages on foxes before the *seventeenth* century. Then the foxes, mostly white ones, all at once appeared as Inari's

1. 貴狐明神.
2. See above p. 42.
3. See above p. 75.
4. See above p. 76.
5. See above pp. 81 sq.

servants, who produced light for use at her festivals[1], gave medicine, prepared by the goddess, to a man who had saved their child[2], were said to have appeared in olden times on the sword of Teishinkō in order to show that Inari was entrusted with the Palace watch[3], came out of Inari's temple at Kyōto and changed a man into a fox[4], and so on. The name "messenger of Inari" we read for the first time in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697)[5], which also states that already in olden times everywhere fox-gods were worshipped under the name of Inari and were believed to bestow luck and to protect people against calamity. The same facts were related by the *Wakan sansaizue* (1713)[6]. After that time the expression "sacred messenger of Inari" appeared very often.

With respect to Inari's origin we read the following in the *Yamashiro no kuni no fudoki*[7]:—"As to Inari (伊奈利), Irogu no Hada no kimi, the ancestor of the Hada no Nakatsue no imiki House, possessed a great quantity of rice and was very rich. He made a rice cake (mochi) and used it as a target, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the top of a mountain. (This bird) produced young (生子) and at last gave its name to a temple. The descendants of that man (who had used a rice cake as a target) regretted the sin of their ancestor, took a tree out of the temple ground, planted it in their garden and worshipped it. If the tree grew well, the worshippers got wealth, but if the tree withered, they did not become rich men."

The above quoted text is somewhat corrupt. The sentence "produced young and at last gave its name to a temple," or "at

1. See above p. 59.
2. See above p. 60.
3. See above p. 61.
4. See above p. 62.
5. See above p. 99.
6. See above p. 101.
7. 山城國風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Yamato province," which dates from about 730-750.

last it became a temple"[1], is not clear. FLORENZ[2] translates: "There (that is, on the top of the mountain) rice halms sprung up, and at last the name of the temple proceeded therefrom" (that is, Inari, from ine, rice plant). Although this is only a hypothetical translation, yet the meaning of the myth is quite clear, namely that the divinity worshipped on Mount Inari near Kyōto is the *Spirit of the Rice* itself.

The *Bungo fudoki*[3] says: "Tano (田野, 'the Rice-field moor,' in the Southwest of this district) is a broad and fertile land, to which no other land can be compared. In olden times there were peasants there who cultivated large rice fields and had so much rice that they became very rich and luxurious. Thus they once made a target from rice-cake, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the South. In the same year all the peasants died, so that the rice fields were no longer cultivated and lay fallow and wild. Afterwards no rice would grow there (in consequence of the curse of the Rice goddess). Therefore the moor is called 'Rice-field moor.'"

Another writing, the *Inarisha Tenryaku no kamon*[4] says: "Inari appeared for the first time in the Wadō era (708-714) on level places on three peaks of Mount Inari. At these spots the ancestor of the Hada family, Naka-ie, tore out the trees and planted nurae (蘇, sacred thyme); members of the same family became priests and celebrated there (without temples) the spring and autumn festivals. As the prayers were very efficacious, the Emperor sent offerings at special times. Afterwards, in the

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1. Comp. the quotation of this passage in the *Engishiki jimmeichō tōchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, Nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809.

2. Japanische Mythologie, p. 293: "Da reiften und wuchsen Reishalme [auf dem Gipfel]. Schliesslich ist daraus der Name des Tempels geworden."

3. 豊後風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Bungo province," which dates from 713, when the Emperor gave orders to write down all the names of places, mountains, rivers, as well as the customs and traditions. Chapter on Hayami district.

4. 稲荷社天暦勘文, "Report to the Emperor about the Inari temple" in the Tenryaku era (947-956).

eighth year of the Engi era (908), Fujiwara no Ason (that is, Tokihira) built the three temples (which are on the mountain)."

These three temples are also mentioned in the *Engishiki* (927), in the "Register of names of the gods"[1]: "Three temples of Inari (稻荷) in Kii district, Yamashiro province."

And from the Commentary thereon[2] we learn that the divinity of the main temple on Mount Inari is *Uga no Mitama no kami*, "the Spirit of the Rice in the Store-houses"[3], while the second shrine is dedicated to Susanoo[4], her father, and the third one to Ō-ichi-bime[5], her mother. The author says: "Uga no mitama is the sower of all cereals; therefore perhaps she is called Inari".

MAEDA who quotes the above mentioned passages in his *Inari jinja kō*[6], remarks that all the other Inari temples in the country find their origin in these three temples on Inari yama; some of them may have been shrines of Uga no mitama in olden times and afterwards have gotten the name of Inari temples in imitation of that on Mount Inari. He also speaks of the so-called "Shirushi no sugi", 驗杉, the "Cryptomeria of the Efficacy of prayer", which once stood by the middle temple on Mount Inari. In the Middle-Ages pilgrims took a twig from that tree home, and if it withered, they considered this a sign that their prayers were not heard; but if otherwise, they were sure of the efficacy of the pilgrimage.[7]

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1. 神名帳, Jinmeichō, K. T. K. XIII, p. 285.

2. *Engishiki jinmeichō tchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809, written by URABE KANETOMO, 卜部兼俱, in 1446.

3. 倉稻魂神. *Uga* or *uka* means food, provisions, and is to be found in a slightly different form in the names of the goddesses Ukemochi and Toyo-uke-bime. It is mostly written with the characters indicating "store-house" and "Rice", "the Rice in the Store-houses", but also phonetically by means of the characters 宇迦 or 宇賀.

4. 素盞嗚.

5. 大市姫.

6. Written in 1836, see above p. 111, Ch. I, pp. 1-7.

7. Ch, I, p. 27. I. Cf above p. 132.

As well in the old legends about the origin of the temples on Inari yama as in the custom and belief of the pilgrims in the Middle-Ages, we find the cult of a *tree spirit* mixed up with the worship of Inari. Also afterwards the felling of Inari's sacred trees was severely punished by the goddess, as we have seen above.[1] But of a *fox* cult as such we nowhere read in the old books. Yet there was an old fox-temple on Mount Inari, as we have seen above[2], where we treated of the name "myōbu."

But before I speak regarding the connection between Inari and the fox, I will devote some space to the question of Inari's anthropomorphic shape. MAEDA[3] defends his opinion as to the *male* sex of Inari by saying that *Dagini*, the *female* fox-god, who was called "the sacred messenger of Inari" for fear of pronouncing her real name, was gradually wrongly considered as Inari herself, so that Inari was mistaken for a female divinity. So she was said to have appeared as a woman in a dream of the high-priest Taichō (619-705), saying that her original shape (hontai, 本躰) was Kwannon[4], and in 930 the priest Teisō saw her in a dream in female shape, when she informed him of the great power of the Dai Hannya kyō or "Great Nirvāna sūtra"[5]. In the *Genkō Shakusho* [6] we read that Inari appeared to Kanshun, a priest of Hieizan, who lived under the Emperor Go Reizei (1045-1068), in the shape of a woman, and bestowed luck upon him. MAEDA asserts that the reason why Inari was described as a female divinity in all these legends was not because Uga no mitama is the same as Toyo-uke-bime no mikoto[7], for that is in his opinion a different Uga no mitama from the divinity of that name who is identical with Inari. Also Ukemochi, the Food

1. Pg. 76, in the *Sanshū kidan*, 1764.
2. Pg. 56.
3. Ch. II, p. 27 a.
4. *Honchō shinsen den*, 本朝神仙傳, in Taichō's biography.
5. *Kokonchomonshū*, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 160.
6. 元亨釋書, before 1346, Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 712.
7. 豊受姫命 (*Kojiki*, Ch. V, K.T.K. VII, p. 14), the goddess of the Outer Temple (Gegū) at Ise, comp. FLORENZ, *Japanische Mythologie*, p. 39, note 3.

goddess, from whom after her death besides beans, barley, wheat etc. the rice also was born[1], is different from Inari.

In the old legend of Kōbō Daishi meeting Inari, the divinity is an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. MAEDA[2] thinks that this legend was caused by the images, representing the Rice god in that shape. As to the temple, he believes that the inner shrine had originally the name Inari, and that afterwards the upper and lower temples both got the same name, as well as the mountain itself.

In my opinion MAEDA's whole conception of the matter is wrong. It is a very common facat that Japanese gods are called after the place where they are worshipped. So Mount Inari probably gave its name to the divinity whose temple was there, namely *Uga no mitama*, the Spirit of the Rice. The three shrines which were already on the mountain at the time of the *Engishiki* (927) were dedicated to three different gods, but got altogether the name of "Temples of Inari," that is "Temples of Mount Inari." Probably there was much highland rice on the mountain, or it was surrounded by rice fields, which caused it to be called Inari, "Rice-man"[3], or something of the kind. For the same reason (namely, that there was so much rice on or around the mountain) it was especially the "Spirit of the Rice" who was worshipped there.

As to the sex of Inari, it is true that Uga no mitama's sex is not mentioned in the *Nihongi*,[4] where we simply read: "According to one book, in a time of famine Izanagi and Izanami begot the "Spirit of the Rice in the store-houses", "Uga no mitama." Nor does the *Kojiki*[5] say anything about this divinity, other than that it was a child of Susanoo and Ōyama-tsumi

1. *Nihongi*, Ch. I, K.T.K. I, p. 20; *Kojiki*, Ch. IX, K.T.K. VII, p. 28.

2. Ch. II, p. 5 a.

3. From *ine* and the suffix *ri*, which FLORENZ, Jap. Mythologie, p. 292, note 9, explains as *man*, as in hitori, futari, etc.

4. Ch. I, K. T. K. Vol. I, p. 12, comp. p. 16.

5. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 31.

no kami's daughter Ō-ichi-bime. In one legend, that of Kōbō Daishi meeting the old man, the Rice divinity is a male, in all others it is a female. I think it wrong to say that in all these legends Dagini Ten, the female fox-god, is confounded with Inari, the male Rice-god, and that only Kōbō Daishi's story is true and derives its origin from the images, representing Inari as an old man with a rice bundle. To me it does not seem probable that the cult of the magical Dākini, which secretly spread throughout Japan, hiding itself behind other names, can have had such an influence on the cult of the Spirit of the Rice (which had nothing to do with sorcery), that it even could change the sex of the Rice-god. It is much more logical that the old man, whom Kōbō Daishi met, was the genius of the mountain Inari itself, who called himself "Rice-man" after the mountain which he represented, and carried a bundle of the rice which was so abundant on or about its slopes. The *Inari chinza yūrai*[1] actually says that the old man was the god of the mountain, and that he lived in a hut at its foot, cultivating the rice-fields in the day-time and chopping up fuel at night, and further that his name was Ryūzuda[2]. This mountain-god was quite different from the Spirit of the Rice, worshipped in one of the temples situated within his territory, and in this way we find an easy explanation of the difference of sex between the two gods. Moreover, *Ukemochi*, who gave birth to the rice, beans etc, as well as *Toyo-uke-bime*, who was identified with Uga no mitama, are both *female* gods, and what is more natural than that the Rice, which protects mankind against famine as a mother her children, is thought to be a divine woman? Finally, it is a female spirit which is thought to live in and keep watch over the corn in Europe and the rice in India, as we see in FRAZER'S *Golden Bough*[3], where the so-called "Corn-mother"

1. 稻荷鎭座由來, written in 1386 by the Buddhist priest Yū-nen, 融然; *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. II, ch. XXXIII, p. 167.

2. 龍頭太.

3. Second edition, Vol. II, pp. 168 sqq. and 198.

of Europe and the "Mother of the Rice" of Java and Sumatra are dealt with. On comparing all these facts one with another we can be sure that the Japanese Spirit of the Rice was also a female being.

But what about the *fox-cult*, which we find so closely connected with Inari's worship? The *Wakun no shiori*[1] says: "As to the fact that the fox is called the 'sacred messenger of Inari', we read in the *Ise chinza ki*[2]: 'Uga no mitama no kami is also called Tōme miketsu no kami'[3]. That is the reason why the fox is called Inari's messenger. For although *Mikitsu* (三狐, litt. 'three foxes') means *Mi-ketsu* (御饌津, 'August Food-provider') (and has nothing to do with foxes), yet people (thinking that the meaning of the name was 'three foxes') began to worship foxes as gods and to pray to them for luck, and this soon became the fashion."

In the *Kanden kōhitsu*[4] we read the following:—"Nowhere in the old books is the fox mentioned as the female messenger of Inari. In some books Inari is called *Miketsu* (御食津, 'August Food'), which was written by some writers, 三狐, 'Three Foxes'. The word fox is not only *kitsune*, but also *kutsune* and *ketsune*. In country districts it is mostly pronounced *ketsune*, but the old pronunciation seems to have been *kutsune*. I cannot find out in which book Miketsu is spoken of. At the foot of the mountain on which the temple of Inari (稲生) is situated (that is, Mount Inari), we find nowadays the Shinguden (神供殿), where five Shintō gods are worshipped together.[5] In front of this temple are koma-inu (狛犬, 'Korean dogs').

1. 和訓栞, written before 1776, see above p. 56, note 3.

2. 伊勢鎮座記, "Records of the abodes of the gods at Ise," one of the *Shintō gobusho*, 神道五部書, "Five books on Shintō," K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 438, comp. p. 441.

3. 專女三狐神. *Tōme* is an old word for fox, comp. above pp. 55 sq.

4. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799, see above p. 81, note 2; Hyakka setsurin, Vol. V., pp. 71 sq., Ch. III.

5. Comp. *Wakan sansai zue* (1713), Ch. LXXII, p. 1199: those five gods are: Uga no mitama, Chichi no oya, Oyama zumi, Izanagi and Izanami.

But at the temple on the top of this mountain, where three gods are worshipped,[1] *white foxes* take the place of the Korean dogs. This has its origin in the reading *Miketsu* (三狐, 'Three Foxes'), and therefore not only do the people think that the fox is the female messenger of Inari, but the foxes themselves must have thought so too. For from all provinces the so-called *ban-gitsune* (番狐, 'watch-foxes') come to this mountain (Inari-yama) and live there in holes, mostly male and female together. When the latter becomes pregnant, she gives birth to her young in a special hole (in order to keep the other hole clean) and takes them away to some other place, for on the mountain itself only the couple live. When the year of their watch has come to an end, they seem to give way to others. Sometimes country people come and say: 'Mr. Fox (Kitsune dono) of our village has come here to keep watch. Where is he? We should like to meet him.' Then one of the priests shows them the hole. I did not know personally any of these details, but the priests of the temple (of Inari) told me of them. Besides these watch-foxes there are no wild foxes at all on the mountain. When a person possessed by a fox is taken to this temple, it is said that the possessing fox is very much frightened and is certain to go out of the patient. As well in the capital as in the country those who have something to ask of a fox, or who wish to build a shrine to a fox, calling it an Inari shrine, all go to the houses of the priests (of Inari at Kyōto) and ask for a 'shrine establishing seal'.[2] How it was in olden times I do not know, but nowadays the Inari temple at Kyōto is certainly the main temple of the foxes."

The *Inari jinjakō*[3] says: "Nowadays (1836) the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple is called the Upper Temple

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1. According to the *Wakan sansai zue*, l.l.: Izanagi, Izanami and Uga no mitama.

2. 勧請の置, that is, a shintai or "god-body" to be placed in the new shrine.

3. Ch. II, p. 25 a.

(Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly this temple was named *Tōme no sha*,[1] or *Myōbusha*,[2] and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As those three foxes lived a very long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple and did strange things, the people soon began to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and worshipped them together in one temple. Afterwards for the same reason the Indian fox-god Dagini was confounded with Inari. A terribly unreasonable thing!"

As we have seen above[3], the author of the *Reijū zakki* seeks the origin of the word "tōme" for fox in the name of this fox temple. But in reality it was just the opposite, and the name of the temple was "Fox shrine." As to the word *myōbu*, which means "Court-lady"[4], this seems to indicate that the three foxes worshipped in the shrine were female fox-gods that had got the fifth rank from the Emperor, like the cat in the *Makura no sōshi* (1000), upon which the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) bestowed that rank and the name "Myōbu no Omoto"[5]. We have also seen that one of the three foxes, named *Akomachi* (阿小町), was said to have got the title myōbu from a Court-lady herself[6]. About this Akomachi we read in FUJIWARA NO AKIHIRA'S book *Shinsarugaku no ki*[7], where "Akomachi of Inari yama" is mentioned together with "Iga tōme," the "Fox of Iga province"[8] of Kitsune-zaka in Yamashiro province, Atago district. We find this name also in the *Inari chinza yūrai*[9], where a legend is told about three foxes, a married couple and a child of five years, who came to

1. 登字女社, "Fox-temple."
2. 命婦社, "Court-lady temple," comp. above pp. 55 sq.
3. See p. 56.
4. Comp. above p. 55.
5. *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p. 40 a. Cf. my treatise on *The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*, Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 8.
6. See above p. 55.
7. 新猿楽記, written in the 11th century.
8. 伊賀婦.
9. See above p. 137 note 1; Zoku gunsho ruijū, Vol. II, Ch. XXXIII, p. 168.

Mount Inari in order to protect the world therefrom; the husband was appointed by the goddess as servant of the Upper Temple, with the name of Kosusugi (小芋), while the wife was to serve in the Lower Temple under the name of Akomachi. From that time they fulfilled the wishes of numberless people and appeared in the dreams, or before the eyes, of the believers. This legend was apparently invented to explain the connection of the anthropomorphic goddess with the foxes. In reality there were three female fox-gods together in one temple, and one of them was called Akomachi. The explanation of the word *Miketsu* as "August Food," instead of "Three foxes," is artificial, and was only invented by writers who wished to free Inari from originally having any connection with foxes. We can be sure that the fox cult has existed on Mount Inari from very olden times.

The temple of the "Three foxes," and that of the "Rice Spirit" (Uga no mitama) were undoubtedly different, but in old books we read about "the temple of Inari," as if there were only one shrine and one divinity on the mountain. In 827 the Emperor Junwa's illness was explained by diviners as being a curse due to the felling of the trees at the "Temple of Inari"[1], whereupon the Emperor bestowed the lowest degree of the fifth rank upon the deity of that temple in order to have the curse taken away. And in 843 the Emperor Nimmyō raised the same deity to the highest degree of the fifth rank[2]. The *Montoku jitsuroku* (878)[3] is the first work which mentions the "three temples of Inari", but that these three belonged together is proved by the fact that the later Emperors also always bestowed one rank upon them as upon a single deity. And one of the three was the Myōbu

1. *Nihon kiryaku*, 日本紀略, Ch. XIV, K. T. K. Vol. V, p. 454; *Ruijū kokushi*, 類聚國史, written by SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE, 菅原道眞 (845-903), in the history of the 34th Emperor.

2. *Shoku Nihonkōki*, 續日本後紀, written in 869, Ch. XIII, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 346.

3. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 552.

or Tōme temple, which was also said to be dedicated to Ō-ichi-bime, Uga no mitama's mother. All these facts we find set forth in the excellent book entitled *Inari jinja shiryō*[1]. The author of the book, as well as the great Shintō reformers Motoori and Hirata, and the writer of the *Inari jinja kō*, are, of course, all convinced that the "Spirit of the Rice" had originally nothing to do with foxes. But I, who look upon the matter from a different point of view, am of a different opinion. I see in the fox shrine called Myōbu-sha, or Tōme-sha (Fox-temple), the root source of the whole Mount Inari cult. As stated above, the Court-ladies, Myōbu, all belonged to the fifth rank, and it is quite probable that the original name Tōme-sha, or "Fox-shrine," was changed to Myōbu-sha after the three female fox-divinities worshipped there had obtained that rank in 827. For they were considered as one and the same with the Spirit of the Rice, and, accordingly, the rank was bestowed alike upon the whole of the complexion.

Is it possible that the fox-gods were so mighty that they obtained the victory over the Rice goddess, first serving her as messengers but later appearing as Inari herself? This would be a unique development; for everywhere else it is on the contrary the human shape which in the course of time conquers the original animal form of the gods and converts the animals into servants of the anthropomorphic divinities. The stag of Kasuga, the dove of Hachiman, the crow of Kumano, the snowy heron of Kebi, the snake of Suwa, the tortoise of Matsuo, were all considered messengers of gods in olden times, being only survivals of still older animal cults. The same evolution is to be found in all primitive religions. As I formerly tried to prove,[2] even the gods of the old Greeks went through the same process, as do also the divinities of the most primitive peoples of to-day.

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1. 稲荷神社志料, "Written materials on the Inari temple," written in 1904 by *Ōzuki Maura*, 大貫眞浦, a priest of the temple.

2. *De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam* (1900). *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (1903).

There was and is a general tendency towards anthropomorphism, but the old animal shape lives on in a lower relation to the god, as a survival from olden times. In view of these facts I am convinced that not the messenger-foxes became Inari herself, but that the fox-goddesses of Mount Inari had to give way to a human divinity of the same nature, and were degraded to the rank of messengers.

Is it a queer idea that the Rice Spirit should have a vulpine shape? We find the answer in FRAZER'S *Golden Bough*[1], where we read about the "Corn-spirit as an Animal." In all parts of Europe, in Egypt, in China, we see the Corn-spirit appearing as a gander, goat, hare, cat, *fox*, wolf, dog, cock, goose, cow (ox, bull), pig, horse a.s.o. "In Poitou the spirit of the corn appears to be conceived in the shape of a *fox*." The primitive human mind goes everywhere along similar roads. On p. 289 FRAZER says: "Other animal forms assumed by the corn-spirit are the stag, roe, sheep, bear, ass, mouse, stork, swan and kite. If it is asked why the corn-spirit should be thought to appear in the form of an animal and of so many different animals, we may reply that to primitive man the simple appearance of an animal or bird among the corn is probably enough to suggest a mysterious link between the creature and the corn." In the same way the primitive inhabitants of Japan may have conceived the idea, that the foxes they saw so often in their rice-fields were the embodiments of the Soul of the Rice. And they worshipped these foxes on Mount Inari, till the anthropomorphic conception of the Rice-Mother, the female Spirit of the Rice, which at the same time is the Rice itself and its guardian spirit, just as we see the Corn-Mother in Europe and the Mother of the Rice in Java and Sumatra to be[2], conquered the field, and the divine foxes were degraded to the rank of messengers of the Goddess of the Rice. But so deeply rooted was the old conception, that even nowadays Inari and her messengers are often spoken of as one

1. Vol. II, pp. 261 sqq.
2. See above pp. 137 sq.

and the same. Besides the fox cult a tree spirit must have been worshipped on the mountain from very olden times; he too had to bow to the mighty power of the goddess, whose sacred trees thenceforth became famous throughout Japan. As to the foxes, spirits of the rice, it is quite logical for their shrines to be found everywhere in this country, which lives so largely on rice. The silence of the old books regarding their connection with Mount Inari was probably due to the fact that the fox cult on that mountain had been united with the anthropomorphic cult and was hidden behind the general name of "Gods of Inari." Afterwards, when on the mountain the victory of anthropomorphism was complete and Inari's glory spread more and more throughout the whole of the Empire, all the fox-gods were considered to be her messengers and representatives.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusions.

A long, winding road of superstition and quaint belief lies behind us. Superstition, in so as far as foxes and badgers were feared as forebodings of evil or as things which haunted and possessed people; belief, in regard to their worship as gods, as parts of the numberless Shintō pantheon. On looking back over this road covering twelve long centuries we see China's influence entirely dominating the field of divination, transformation and possession, the latter as far as it was not due to human witchcraft. Japan was more likely herself responsible for the fox-sorcery, which was afterwards confounded with Indian magic; whereas with regard to the cult of the fox as the spirit of the rice, this was certainly a pure Japanese conception and growth.

In the *eighth* century we saw the Japanese legislator menacing those who smoked foxes or mujina out of graves, a proof that this superstitious Chinese custom had spread even then in this country; otherwise it would have been omitted in the Japanese version of the Chinese law. Further, the Chinese ideas of foreboding in connection with the appearance of white or black foxes and of foxes in general appeared to be prevalent in Japan, as they were centuries afterwards. And not only the appearing of these animals, but their howling, copulating, or befouling places were all considered as omina, mostly portending evil. That they were also known at that time as haunting beasts, is proved by the passage in the *Shoku Nihongi*, which tells us that a god subdued a spook whose vulpine head was found in the garden. Further, we have read in the *Ryō-i-ki* a tale about a fox who took the shape of a charming maid and married a man, with whom she lived for a long time. She gave birth to a strong, agile son, whose descendants even down to the fourth generation excelled in strength. But dogs, the deadly enemies of foxes, always scent their real nature, so that the transformed fox fled away even from a puppy.

The *tanuki* was not yet mentioned in those days, although a calendar of the fourteenth century showed us that this animal's crying was feared as a foreboding of strife and of death. As to the *mujina*, the mysterious pearl found in its stomach was apparently believed to have supernatural power, just like that of the Chinese were-foxes; for it was presented to the Emperor and preserved in a shrine. That at that early time the mujina was believed to have the power of changing itself into a man we learned from another passage of the *Nihongi*. After the eighth century, however, the mujina disappeared from the stage of literature for a long period, and it is not until the eighteenth century that it appeared again.

In the *ninth* century we read of Celestial Foxes, flying through the air over the Palace, and of ominous appearances of

ordinary wild foxes; while the beginning of the *tenth* century brought an interesting legend about foxes that took human shape and deluded a man in a remarkable way. So popular was that story, that it was told in detail in four different works of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries, while it inspired an author of the Muromachi period to write a similar tale in a different form.

The *eleventh* century spoke for the first time of fox-possession, and of foxes worshipped in Shintō temples. It seems to have been a magic cult which the Virgin Princess at Ise established, for the sorceresses of the capital followed her example, much to the indignation of their contemporaries, who considered the matter to be a scandal on the great gods of Ise; for it was under their names that the foxes were worshipped. As we have stated above[1], both the fox-magic and the fox-cult (of the spirits of the rice) must have prevailed in Japan from olden times, so that the only new and appalling fact about it was that the cult flourished in abuse of the holy name of Ise's deities. It is, however, quite possible that there existed an old fox cult in Ise, as was the case on Mount Inari, an old slumbering worship of vulpine-shaped rice spirits. Was not Toyo-uke-bime, the goddess of the Outer Temple at Ise, the great dispenser of food, identified with Uga no Mitama, the Soul of the Rice, who reigned on Inari's slopes? And did we not read about the severe punishment received in the eleventh century by one of the Fujiwara who had killed a divine fox at Ise; while in the following century the Court was twice discussing the same crime, which was considered to be as great as the killing of a divine spirit? This seems to indicate that there really existed an old connection between Ise and foxes.

Further, we saw foxes transform themselves into beautiful women in order to seduce men, who were sure to die if they had sexual intercourse with them, unless the foxes themselves

1. See above p. 118.

died in their stead. Or they haunted men by appearing as the double of a woman, or as a tree or a mysterious glittering being, and possessed people in order to get food or to convey some communication by word of mouth. Their tricks were mischievous, but intended more to frighten mankind than to do actual harm. The haunting foxes were always *old* in years, according to the Chinese conception that the vital spirit (精, tsing) of all beings is steadily strengthened by old age, with the result that it becomes able to take human shape and to haunt. In respect of one virtue foxes surpassed men, namely in that of keeping their word when they had once promised to protect and help someone who had spared their lives or had restored their souls to them in the shape of precious gems.

The *twelfth* century showed us the capital a prey to haunting foxes which regaled the people with sumptuous meals of horse dung and cow bones transformed into delicious viands. The Sujaku gate especially was the favourite spot of the beasts, which did not even respect His Imperial Majesty; nor his officials, in whose carriages they drove away; nor Buddhist high-priests, whom they caused to come to the Sujaku road and pray before the altars of phantom houses; nor private persons, whom they deceived by paying them with old sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns, temporarily transformed into gold, silver and silk. They even played tricks in the Palace itself, where they appeared as young women in order to tempt young men. On the other hand they protected a house against fire, where the deity of an old shrine, probably the Rice Spirit, caused them to appear; and they were considered so divine that the Emperor banished a distinguished nobleman for having killed a fox in the neighbourhood of the Saigū's palace at Ise; while twice thereafter the Court seriously discussed a similar case. Thus did the haunting demon of China and the fox-god of Japan appear side by side.

The *thirteenth* century brought us a good deal of new information. There was a fox carrying fire in its mouth and in

human shape burning down the house of a man who had hit it with an arrow. This reminds us to a certain extent of the fox-fire (kitsune-bi), and also somewhat of the Tengu who set houses on fire, and, on the other hand, protected them against conflagrations.[1]

As to possession, we found the motives of practicing this quite different. Sometimes it was only hunger or a turn for epicurism in the matter of food which made a fox possess a man; but on other occasions nothing less than divine worship was what the animal was after. At the same time their appearance was still considered as portending either evil or good luck. When their haunting assumed too large proportions, they were menaced with a battue, whereupon one of them appeared in a dream, promising protection and prediction of luck, if the threat of punishment was withdrawn.

In the meantime *Indian* influence had come into play in the fox cults of old Japan. *Dagini Ten*, in reality a numberless crowd of Dākinī, Indian female divinities bestowing magical knowledge upon men, was identified with Benten, the Goddess of Wealth on the one hand, and with magical Japanese fox-gods on the other. She was also called the "Deva-King, the Venerable Fox" and the "Bodhisattva, the White Fox-king"; and Benten herself was believed to come out of her temple in the shape of a white fox. Dagini Ten appeared in a dream as a supernatural woman, but left her hair in the hands of the sleeper in the form of a fox tail, while in vulpine shape she ate the offerings made to her. We need not ask how strongly the fox cult and fox sorcery must have prevailed in those days, when we see how the Shingon priests degraded their Dagini, nay even their Benten, to the level of foxes in order to get possession of that part of the Japanese religion and magic.

In this century the *tanuki* appeared for the first time, whether alone or as combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸),

1. Comp. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*The Tengu*", Ch. II, pp. 63, 72.

"foxes and tanuki." As stated above[1], the same term occurred sometimes in old Chinese books in the sense of "foxes" only, and even the character 狐 alone was used for fox. But in Japanese literature the term *kori* always means "foxes and tanuki". The latter animal was in those early days not the rather harmless spook-beast of later times. On the contrary, it drowned the hunters who dared to hunt birds on a mountain lake, appearing to them as an old hag, who arose from the midst of the lake in a dazzling light and flew through the air to attack whoever approached its banks. Or the tanuki appeared as a pitch-black, gigantic Buddhist priest in an old chapel and was believed to devour men. A common trick of the tanuki was throwing pebbles and potsherds into houses. As I remarked in my treatise on the Tengu[2], the "Tengu-tsubute," or "Tengu-pebbles" were well-known, and as early as 778 a shower of tiles, pebbles and earth-clods fell for twenty nights upon different houses in the capital, cast by an invisible hand.[3]

And this was not the only thing which the tanuki had in common with the Tengu. They both liked to appear as Buddhas or Bodhisattvas in order to deceive devout priests and hermits. For being worshipped by mankind was their delight, as well as that of foxes, so that they were even thought capable of abusing the name of a deceased Emperor by possessing persons and requiring for themselves worship in his name. But the power of transformation possessed by both foxes and tanuki came to an end as soon as they were killed. Then their powerful and majestic appearance shrunk to its original dimensions, and the mighty giants or Bodhisattvas lay down as miserable little beasts.

The *fourteenth* century did not bring much information, except that we read then for the first time about a special means for making out whether some one was a transformed fox or a

1. P. 1, note 1.
2. Ch. II, § 9.
3. *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXIV, K. T. K. II, p. 597.

man, namely by forcing smoke into his nose. Even the Emperor was so afraid of haunting foxes, that he left a house where they exhibited their magical power, and preferred to run the risk of being attacked by Hiyoshi, the Shintō god of Hieizan, whose sacred sedan chair was left in the Palace by the angry monks. But not always did these beasts succeed in deluding mankind; for if they were not yet sufficiently experienced in the difficult art, they were quickly discovered and became the laughing-stock of those whom they sought to play upon. Old tanuki and old foxes were mentioned side by side as taking divine or human shape.

In the *fifteenth* century the old fox-sorcery broke forth in mighty waves and even penetrated within the walls of the Shōgun's palace. It was then for the first time that we found the term "*kitsune-tsukai*," or "employment of foxes", a magic art practiced even by such high personages as the Chief-Diviner and the Shōgun's physician. Yet it was deemed a very wicked art and punished with exile. Some later Japanese authors refer to an older passage where they believed they had discovered a trace of the same kind of sorcery, namely, the legend of the abbot Sō-ō, found in the *Fusō ryakki* (12th century).[1] But there is not a single proof that this abbot, who in the year 888 exorcised by means of incantations a fox which possessed the Empress, and compelled the beast to leave the shaking palace, was himself the culprit who had caused the fox to possess Her Majesty to the end that he might obtain praise and honour by driving the animal out. The author of the *Fusō ryakki* apparently did not think of such roguery on the part of the devout abbot.

The famous legend of the transformed fox *Tamamo no mae*, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Konoe, showed us the nine-tailed, white fox in India, China and Japan, with always a most baleful influence on King or Emperor as exercised through

1. See above p. 35.

the person of a consort or a concubine. Probably this legend did not date from very olden times, because in China as well as in Japan the appearance of a nine-tailed or white fox was originally considered to be a very good omen. Indian influence may have caused this difference from the old belief; for it is characteristic that in the legend itself India is pointed out as the original field where the fox played her tricks, and that the power of Buddhism against this deadly enemy of mankind is intentionally put in a strong light. And it was a very efficacious means of propaganda indeed, for both in literature and on the stage the legend obtained the utmost popularity. Of Indian origin seems also to have been the word "*yakan*", which sometimes occurs in the *Ryō-i-ki* (8th century), *Konjaku Monogatari* (11th century), *Mizu Kagami* (12th century) and *Zoku kojidan* (13th century), side by side with the word "kitsune" as having the same meaning. As we stated above[1], an old Chinese work, quoted in the *Wamyōshō* (10th century), said that the yakan was different from the fox, namely a smaller animal with a big tail, which could climb trees, and that the Chinese by mistake had applied its name to the fox. Other Chinese books taught that it was an anthropophagous animal, resembling a blue-yellow dog, which was mentioned in Buddhist sutras. So we arrive at the conclusion that the yakan, although originally different from the fox, was introduced into Japanese folklore when it had already lost its primary Indian meaning in China, and was simply thought to be identical with the fox.

The worship of female fox-deities, probably spirits of the rice, was prevalent in those days, as it must have been from olden times. At least the encyclopaedical work *Ainōshō* (1446) mentioned them in connection with the name "*myōbu*" (Court lady) for fox. The same work spoke of fox-fire, which was believed to be made by means of burning horse bones, carried in the mouth by the foxes; but we saw in later works, that

1. Pg. 57.

according to other explanations it was the breath of the beasts, or a shining pearl at the end of the tail, or burning horse hoofs, which made those ignes fatui.

The *sixteenth* century brought only old tales in a somewhat different form, namely the well-known legends of the man who was lying under his own godown, and of the transformed fox who was married to a man, but at last fled away at the approach of a little dog. The only interesting passage we found was that about the fox whose appearance was considered to be a bad omen because it happened in summer time, and who was killed by the power lodged in a poem.

Just as was the case with the Tengu, after the silence of the sixteenth century there followed a perfect torrent of legends in the *seventeenth*. At that time *Inari* conquered the field. The slumbering fox cult on Mount Inari, subdued by the anthropomorphic goddess [1] who was worshipped on the same mountain, suddenly appeared on the scene. The foxes, themselves spirits of the rice, were now messengers of the Rice-goddess, but they were not only sacred, they also received worship in shrines as representatives of Inari herself. Their shrines were demolished when a fox had done anything wrong and built up again if the culprit was punished by the fox-god of the shrine himself. At the same time old stories were told about Inari's connection with the fox, as, for example, that of the small fox which appeared above the hilt of a sword as a sign of Inari's presence in the Palace. The Inari temple at Kyōto had become the centre of all fox cults throughout the Empire, and in the same way Inari of Ōji near Yedo was the head of all foxes in the eight provinces of Kwantō. On New-Year's eve they all assembled at the foot of a tree near by in order to go up to the temple and pay reverence to their divine Mistress. The more fox-fire was seen there at that time and the more light

1. It was certainly a *female* deity in spite of the Kōbō Daishi legend, where apparently the male mountain god, and not the female Rice Spirit, is spoken of.

it shed, the better would be the rice crop of that year. Could there be better evidence of the nature of the fox-gods as spirits of the rice?

But the foxes were not always thought to have connection with Inari. Sometimes they transformed themselves, as in former days, only for the pleasure of deluding men. So also did the tanuki, who even chose the Buddhist temples as a field for their tricks and made an image preach to the devout believers.

Fox-possession was very common in those days, as well as later, and madness, melancholy, hysteria and so on were all ascribed to the same cause. Women, weak men and children were in general the victims of this special kind of disease, which was cured in various ways. The patient was forced to snuff up smoke of burning wolf-dung, or to drink thin tea, or to swallow roasted leaves of the shikimi (illicium religiosum); all things which foxes were believed to detest. If there was doubt whether some one was possessed by a fox or was taken by an ordinary illness, no better trial could be made than by making him take this last mentioned medicine, because the fox-possessed patient would flatly refuse it. But there was still another means of driving the fox out, namely pricking the tumour, made by him under the skin of the possessed person, using for the purpose a needle taken mostly from the tail of an ei fish.

It was often by human sorcery that a fox was caused to possess some one. From very olden times this fox-magic existed in Japan, and instead of decreasing under Buddhist influence it spread more and more under the name of the "Dagini doctrine." There was one mountain especially where it flourished for many centuries, namely Mount Izuna in Shinano province. The "Izuna doctrine", being a combination of the old fox-magic, practiced on the mountain, with the cult of a Great Tengu, was already mentioned in a work of the fif[illegible] century, but did not reach the summit of its fame [illegible] seventeenth. Since that time it was well-known

magic, by means of which the sorcerer caused the fox he had in his service to possess somebody or to tell him everything he wanted to know.

Next to this magical use of foxes we found them still considered as forebodings; for just as in olden times, their howling was believed to portend luck or some sort of calamity. Yet in spite of their power as divine, magical and ominous beings they did not escape the cruel hand of man who used their livers and fat in preparing medicines and unguents, and caught them in traps by means of their favourite food, rats fried in oil.

The *eighteenth* century spoke of Inari's revenge when fox shrines were neglected or sacred trees cut down. Madness, suicide and death by lightning fell upon the unhappy culprit and his family. But protecting fox-gods were sent by the goddess to monasteries or temples as a reward for devout worship; while often great wealth was bestowed upon men by divine foxes which they had saved or assisted in some way. More than ever the temple on Mount Inari became the centre of all fox cults in Japan, and its priests the chief mediators between fox deities and men. The divine foxes kept watch by turns on the holy mountain, and even the "Venerable Fox god," Kiko Myōjin, identified with Dagini Ten, was nothing but a messenger of Inari. At the same time the goddess felt herself responsible for the mischief her subjects did, and punished them severely. She gave them also different ranks, which they could buy for money, picked up at the offering boxes of temples. The divine foxes who lived in Buddhist temples, not only protected these buildings against fire and other calamities, but were also guardian-gods of the priests and gave oral and written oracles to believers.

It need hardly be said that side by side with the cult of Inari and her vulpine rice spirits the magical Izuna doctrine flourished with redoubled vigour. It was practiced by both Buddhist priests and laymen, but in some cases, if a priest went too far in this heterodox behaviour and profited largely by the

fame obtained by exorcising the fox which he himself had caused to possess a person, the authorities intervened and banished him to another province. In Izumo province especially the so-called *kitsune-mochi*, or "fox-keeping", was very common, as much as was the dog-sorcery in Kyūshū. It is remarkable that the influence of the latter was believed to be checked by the tooth of a fox, the dog's deadly enemy, although in fox-lore it is always the fox who flees as soon as he is aware of the presence of a dog.[1] Except in causing people to be possessed, predicting the future and showing an amazing knowledge of all kinds of things, the fox-sorcerers gave performances with "spirit foxes" (ki-ko, 狐狐), making for example two persons out of one, which reminds us of the old stories of foxes acting as the doubles of women or men. Others deluded the people by means of the magic power of their foxes in showing them a mock shape instead of their own, as the man in Ōsaka did who offered his body as a target to such as cared to shoot at it.

But also apart from human influence foxes were still believed to possess and haunt mankind and change themselves into men. Sometimes they were dangerous, especially in the revenge they took, sometimes harmless, when they discussed Buddhistic topics in the shape of priests, or appeared as ghosts of the dead. But they soon resumed their vulpine shape when fumigated or bathed, or attacked by dogs. Sometimes they amused the people by fata morgana, showing castles and horsemen in battle array and long processions of daimyō.

Next to foxes the old tanuki had become very popular figures in Japanese folklore. They took the shape of one-eyed spooks or hags, or appeared as gigantic women or black priests in the dead of night, amid lightning and earthquake. They

1. On Mitsu-mine, a mountain in Musashi province, sacred dogs were kept in the temple of Mitsu-mine Gongen from remote ages down to the present day, and on the 19th of every month an offering of cleaned rice was made to them. From all sides the pilgrims flock there together in order to "borrow a dog" as they call it, that is, to obtain a charm which cures fox-possession. An invisible dog is believed to follow the charm and drive out the fox. Comp. YOSHIDA TŌGO's geographical lexicon, "*Dai Nihon chimei jisho*", p. 3054.

flew as dazzling comets through the air, or fell as flaming human heads before bewildered men, whose feet they burned and whom they made ill by their pestilential breath. They knocked at the gate in the middle of the night and made their victims go to haunted houses, where they frightened them to death by their tricks. They buried their dead with Buddhist funeral rites and asked assistance of the priest of the monastery they had haunted the night before.

Not always, however, were the tanuki so dangerous or troublesome to men. Often, on clear moonlight nights, they amused the people by playing the belly-drum, or they appeared in their dreams in the shape of children, asking permission to live under their houses, announcing a belly-drum concert beforehand, or predicting that they, the tanuki, would be killed the next day by a dog. For they knew the past and the future, this life as well as former existences. On rainy nights they and the mujina appeared as ignes fatui.

After an absence of a thousand years the *mujina* came to life again in popular superstition. They haunted and predicted death to the people in the shape of boys or black lay-bonzes or old witches, lived during hundreds of years as monks in Buddhist monasteries, eagerly accumulating money and giving examples of their queer handwriting till they were killed by a mere dog. Even after death they brought a curse upon those who spent the money which they, the mujina, had collected during life, or caused the death of the daring man who had killed them. As priests they discussed Buddhist sutras, as old scholars the Chinese classics. So much did they resemble the tanuki, that their belly-drum and ignes fatui, their human shapes and ways of haunting were all the same, as well as their old age, which, as we have seen, gave animals and plants supernatural power.

In the *nineteenth* century fox-possession was not less common than before, but was mostly ascribed to human sorcery. Yet we also read about foxes who possessed persons and

made them ill in revenge for some evil, or gave them power to work much more than usual in gratitude for being allowed to stay in the house of their master. Another time they pretended to be the ghost of a deceased bishop and made the possessed girl write Amida's holy name, at the same time taking care, in order to avoid Amida's anger, to use wrong characters which made it somewhat different from the real name. Needles and moxa were the means used for curing such patients, or old precious swords, which had killed some haunting fox long ago and were laid upon the heads of the possessed. The fox was also transferred into a medium by means of Buddhist incantations, as in the days of old, and then driven out by further tantras and by questions as to his origin, reasons and aim; or the possessed were taken to some Buddhist temple, famous for its powerful influence in such cases. The old legends of foxes, married to men during long periods of time, and of others feasting men on mock meals of dirty stuff, were told in slightly different form; while at the same time new elements had found their way into fox-lore, as, for example, the hypnotic power of old haunting foxes and their capacity of quickly changing bright moonshine into utter darkness, just as the Tengu did in their sacred valleys. They still showed their revengeful nature by annoying those who had insulted them, causing them to see long daimyō processions or to go on useless errands in the night, and, as in olden times, their mysterious lights glowed on field and moor in wet and dreary nights.

Fox-sorcery had reached its highest point. Izuna Gongen had his temples on the tops of many mountains, where Tengu cult and fox-magic went hand in hand. Shinano, Kōzuke, Izumo and other provinces abounded with families whose members were believed to have osaki-, kuda-, or man-foxes (jinko) in their service, which they caused to possess and haunt their enemies or rich people from whom they wished to obtain [illegible] thing. It is no wonder that such families were f[illegible] shunned, and that nobody would allow his son c[illegible]

intermarry with them. The sudden rise and fall of poor and rich, theft, illness and inexplicable events were all ascribed to their influence. In short, the magic power, as well as that of divination, which these people obtained from their supernatural foxes, was believed to be unlimited.

In the meantime the *tanuki* had become more harmless than before. In Shikoku, where there were no foxes, they took the place of those animals, playing many a trick on the simple country folk, and also elsewhere they sometimes deceived young men and girls by taking the shape of pretty maids or handsome lovers, or deluded devout priests by appearing as Amida riding on a purple cloud. But in general they helped and amused mankind more than they annoyed them. Sometimes they lent them money, picked up from ditches and valleys, or gave them presents of precious swords; sometimes they amused them by fata morgana, causing enormous castles or busy market scenes to appear before their eyes. They lived as monks in monasteries and sold their drawings to the peasants, who liked such things very much. They lived above the ceilings of private houses, where they caused paper and pencil to fly up to them, with which they would proceed to write. But at last they were mostly killed by dogs, their natural enemies, and funeral services were held on behalf of their souls.

To-day the old superstitions are still in full vigour, as the Japanese newspapers are telling us from day to day. The sacred sword in Fudō's temple at Narita, as well as Hommyōji, the Nichiren temple at Kumamoto, attract crowds of pilgrims, who believe themselves possessed by foxes and are confident that they can be cured at these holy places. The bone of a tortoise's foot held in the left hand is considered an excellent talisman against the bewitching power of foxes and badgers.[1] The fabulous teapot which changes into a badger, and the tanuki-fire on rainy nights[2] are known to old and young. Fox-cult and fox-magic

1. BRINKLEY, *Japan*, Vol. V, pp. 14 sq.
2. Ibidem, pp. 200, 220.

do not yet belong to the past, and the former especially will not disappear as long as Shintō lives. For even if all the superstitions, borrowed centuries ago from China, die out, the fox, the spirit of the rice, will retain his fame as the sacred messenger of Inari, and will be seen before her shrines throughout Japan.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

The Annual General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at 4 p.m., Thursday, Dec. 10, at the British Embassy, Kojimachi, Tokyo. H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador, President of the Society, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last General Meeting, having been printed in the papers, were taken as read. The reports of the Corresponding Secretary (for the Council), of the Librarian, and of the Treasurer were then read and adopted. The Society then proceeded to ballot for Officers for the ensuing year. While the tellers (Messrs. Coates and Hagin) were counting the ballots, Prof. Arthur Lloyd delivered a very interesting lecture on "The Oriental Congress in Copenhagen," and gave an account of his visits in Russia, Germany and England with learned scholars and at the meetings of other learned societies, especially those dealing with oriental topics. The President, in behalf of the Society, then extended thanks to Prof. Lloyd for his intertaining and instructive remarks. The Corresponding Secretary then read the result of the ballot, as follows :—

President.—H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, G. C. M. G., K.C.B., G.C.V.O.

Vice-President.—For Tokyo—Prof. E. H. Vickers. For Yokohama—J. C. Hall, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.—Rev. T. M. MacNair.

Recording Secretaries.—For Tokyo—Prof. E. W. Clement. For Yokohama—W. B. Mason, Esq.

Treasurer.—Prof. J. T. Swift.

Librarian.—Prof. Arthur Lloyd, M.A.

Members of Council.—Prof. M. Anesaki, Ph.D., Galen M. Fisher, Esq., Prof. K. Florenz, Ph.D., J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.,

Rev. A. F. King, R. J. Kirby, Esq., Rev. E. R. Miller, R. S. Miller, Esq., Rev. H. St. G. Tucker and M. W. de Visser, Ph.D.

Prof. J. T. Swift proposed, and the Society unanimously passed, a vote of thanks to H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald for his hospitality in throwing open the Embassy for this meeting. The meeting then adjourned.

The above-mentioned reports are hereto appended.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1908.

During the past year the Council has met fourteen times, and the Society has held nine general meetings and with papers read as follows:

COUNCIL MEETINGS.

Jan.	22	June	3
	29		17
Feb.	19	Oct.	7
Mar.	11		28
Apr.	1	Nov.	11
	15	Dec.	10
May	6		
	20		

GENERAL MEETINGS.

Jan. 29, 1908.—Lecture on "Some of the Problems of Life in New China", by Dr. Timothy Richard of Shanghai.

Feb. 19.—"The Life and Teachings of Nakai Toju, the Sage of Omi", by Galen M. Fisher, Esq.

March 18.—"Dazai on Rules of Life", by R. J. Kirby, Esq.

April 15.—"The Ancient Shinto God. Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami, Seen in the Light of To-day", by Prof. G. Kato.

May 20.—"Japanese Feudal Laws; The Ashikaga Code", by John Carey Hall, Esq.

June 17.—"The Tengu", by Dr. M. W. de Visser.

Oct. 28.—"Confucian Philosophy in Japan", by Walter Dening, Esq.

Nov. 4.—"The Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folk-lore", by Dr. M. W. de Visser.

Dec. 10.—Lecture by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, on "The Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen."

One additional paper was furnished to the Society early in the year by the Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D., since deceased, on the subject, "The Ten Buddhistic Virtues: Not committing adultery", and was ordered to be printed in the Transactions.

Of these several papers the one just mentioned and the lecture by Dr. Timothy Richard have been printed, and will appear shortly, together with Mr. Fisher's paper on Nakai Toju and Mr. Kirby's on Dazai, &c., as Part 1. of Vol. XXXVI of the Transactions. The remainder of the material in hand, as above, will be divided between Parts 2. and 3. of the same volume. A small new edition of the Constitution and By-Laws, as amended to date, and a new list of members and Catalogue of Transactions has just been received from the printer. The only amendment made during the year was to the effect that after May 20th ordinary membership fees should be the same for resident and non-resident members, viz. five *yen* a year and that the cost of life membership should be raised to sixty *yen*, plus entrance fee in the case of new members, and less two and a half *yen* for each year of membership in the case of others; but that after twenty-five years of ordinary membership life membership should be obtainable on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Although work is thus begun on Vol. XXXVI, the printing of Vol. XXXV is not yet finished, Parts 2. and 3. being still in press. They comprise the papers by Dr. M. Anezaki and F. V. Dickins, Esq., on "The Four Buddhist Agamas in Chinese" and "The Makura Kotoba of Primitive Japanese Verse" respectively. They would both have been issued long since but for the occurrence of a fire in the Fukuin Pri

House which caused much confusion, and was supposed for a time to have destroyed the manuscript of the former and the stereo-plates of most of the latter. A report was made to this effect, but after some months had elapsed the Society was informed of the safety of the materials, both manuscript and plates, and of the printer's ability and readiness to proceed with the work. This he was instructed to do, in accordance with previous arrangements. New proofs of the Makura Kokoba were furnished, and were forwarded to England for the author's personal revision. They have not yet been returned, though word has come that they may be expected in a fortnight. The paper on the Four Agamas is about half completed at this date.

Parts 1. and 2. of the Transactions, Vol. XXXV, were issued to members of the Society and to the public during the spring and summer, after delay in the case of the latter, which was likewise caused by the fire. The part was in fact brought out by a different establishment. The lectures on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism", by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, with which this second Part of Vol. XXXV was concluded, are deserving of special notice in this connection. The manuscripts of all were reported as lost, but were happily restored to the Society later on and in time for insertion in Part 2. A more extended treatment of the subject, however, which Prof. Lloyd was printing privately, was entirely burned, and this loss was quite irreparable, save by an entire rewriting on Prof. Lloyd's part, which could not be undertaken, as a matter of course, prior to his departure for Europe to attend, as the Society's representative, the Fifteenth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, meeting at Copenhagen in August. The Society was therefore disappointed in its expectation, as expressed in the last Annual Report of the Council, that the four lectures, and with them the larger statement, would "serve as a means of bringing the society and Prof. Lloyd prominently before students of Oriental matters on that occasion". This end was none the

less gained, however, by Prof. Lloyd personally, who was present at the Congress and made valuable contributions to its proceedings.

With regard, further, to the printing of the Transactions, the Council would express regret that the work has not gone forward with greater rapidity and with more definite and apparent results, but the delay has been due to circumstances over which the Publication Committee have had no control.

The membership roll of the Society has been considerably extended during the year. Only two members have resigned, viz., Messrs. H. L. Latham and A. A. Williamson. Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq., has been made an honorary member, on account of his long continued and exceptionally valuable services to the Society. James Hazen Hyde was made a life member, and the following names have been added to the list of ordinary members, all of them resident in Japan except the two last:— Lieut. F. C. Bartels, Henry P. Bowie, Esq., Rev. L. Byrde, J. M. Davis, Esq., J. Edalji, Esq., J. Gasco, Esq., Rev. Bishop M. C. Harris, D.D., Rev. H. Jowett, J. R. Kennedy, Esq., Miss Z. Kincaid, Rev. J. H. Lloyd, Howard May, Esq., Dr. W. W. McLaren, Miss C. J. Neely, Lieut. C. H. Niell-James, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Dr. Paravicini, Dr. Rachel Read, F. G. Sale, Esq., G. A. Scott, Esq., W. F. L. Sweet, Esq., Dr. M. W. de Visser, J. C. Ward, Esq. E. A. Wiedemann, Esq., E. R. Kellogg, Esq. and Mrs. Murray Warner.

The Council would call attention to the fact, as reported by Prof. Lloyd on his recent return from England, that members of the Society when in London are welcome to make use of the Library and rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society there located, a courtesy which Prof. Lloyd had himself experienced, and of which he had received the assurance that it was open alike to other members of the Society who might be in a position to take advantage of it.

It remains only to state that the vacancies in the Co[illegible] made necessary by the departure from Japan of Dr. D[illegible]

and Prof. B. H. Chamberlain, were filled by the appointment of Revs. A. F. King and E. R. Miller, and that the latter was asked to perform the duties of librarian during the absence of Prof. Lloyd.

The Hon. Librarian's Report is as follows :—

The Hon. Librarian begs to report that the orders for Transactions during the year just closing have amounted to *yen* 964.95, of which an unprecedentedly large number have been received from Japan, through Japanese booksellers, showing that the work of the Society is being appreciated by the scholars of this land.

During the same period the expenses of the Library have come to *yen* 216.39, of which *yen* 144 have been for the Assistant Librarian, the rest for postage and sundries.

A sum of 250 *yen* for the purchase of books in England was entrusted to the Hon. Librarian during the early summer. Of the books bought with this money one small consignment (of which a list is appended) has arrived and been put on the shelves. Notice has been received of the arrival within a few days of a second consignment. A third list was ordered in October, and should arrive by the end of this month or early in January. No statement of accounts can be given until all the books have arrived.

Two consignments of pamphlets, books and proceedings of Scientific Societies and Institutions have been sent to the Library of the Keiogijuku.

The Hon. Librarian also wishes to express his thanks to the Rev. E. Rothesay Miller for kindly undertaking the charge of the Library during his absence this summer.

Respectfully submitted,

A. LLOYD.
Hon. Librarian.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM JUNE 1 TO NOV. 9, 1908.

Academia della Scienze,
Philological, vol. i. series i. 1906-7.
Juridical „ „ 1906-7.
Geog. Soc. Lisbon, 1908, Ian.-June.
Royal Dublin Soc. Scient. Proc. 1908, Jan.-June.
Econ. Proc. 1908, April.
Chinese Recorder, 1908, June-Oct.
Societé d'Anthrop, Paris. viii. 4, 1907.
Monatsschrift für den Orient, 1908, May-Sept.
Geographical Journal. April-Sept., 1908.
J. R. Asiatic Society. April, July, 1908.
Royal Society, London, A. 538-547. (46 missing).
B. 529-542.
Wiener Anthrop, Ges. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3.
As. Soc. Ceylon, vol. xix. 1907.

As. Soc. North China, vol. 39, 1908.
Journal Asiatique, 1907. Nov., Dec.
1901. Jan., Feb.
Geol. Survey India, 1908. xxxvi, pt. 3.
Research and Review, vol. i., part 2.
Chendra Das. Tibetan Hist. of Indian Buddhism (presented).
R. S. Edinburgh, 1907-8, xxviii., 4, 5, 6.
Science of Man 1908, May, July, Aug.
Commission Polaise Internationale Bruxelles (presented).
Geological Survey Canada, Index 1885-1886.
„ „ Ann. Report 1907, xvi.
„ „ Maps.
Canada's Fertile North Land, Maps.
Falls of Niagara.
Russian Ac. Sc. 1908, Nos. 8-13, incl.
„ Geogr. Society 1908, xliv., 3, 4, 5.
„ Moscow Ethn. Mus. Dec., 1907.
„ Mongolia and Cham. Vol. viii.
Ann. Zool Jap. Vol. iv., pt. 4.
Coll. Agric. Sapporo, iii., pt. i.
Zeittchrift der deutsche Morg. Ger. lxii. 1, 2.
Verein für Erdkunde 1906.
Geol. Inst. Mexico Vol. xxiii.
„ Dr. Parergones Vol. i. 4, 5, 6.
Camb. Ant. Soc. Quarto. New Series i.
Journal Siam Soc. v. pts. 5, 2 incl.
Smithsonian Inst., Report, 1906.
Ethnological Bull., 33.
Dept. Agriculture, 1907.
Japan by the Japanese (purchase).
Bataviaasch Genost, Tijdskorft, l., 5, 6, li., 1.
Notulen xlvi.
Rottinesch-Hollandsch, Dict. (presented).
Jaxa Corlog. 1826 3, pt. v.
American Geogr. Soc., 1908, May-Sept.
University of Upsala.
Juristic Report. 1907.
Medical „ 1907.
Philosophy „ 1907.
Theology „ 1907.
Linnaean Celebration. 1907.
Seimélog Vaxtodlingen. 1907.
Liuné portrait 1907.
Dialede Lenais. 1907.

Picturesque Sweden.
Handbuch Schweden.
Bulletin, Ecole Francaise de l'Extrême Orient, vii. 3, 4.

FIRST LIST OF BOOKS BOUGHT IN ENGLAND.

Mitford's Tales of Old Japan.
Sabbadhra Ehikshu, Buddhist Catechism.
Chambers, Canada's Fertile Northland (presented by Canadian Government).
Bing, Artistic Japan, Vol. VI.
Phayre's History of Burma.
Legge, Life and Teachings of Confucius.
Thomas, The Book of Governors (2 vols.).
Julieu, Hoei-lau-Ki.
Neumann, Translations from the Chinese.
Berkeley Japanese Letters.
Griffis, Townsend Harris in Japan.
Adams, Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Formosa.
MacKay, From Far Formosa.
Knox, Imperial Japan.
Stead, Japan by the Japanese.
Golowin, Captivity in Japan, 2 vols.
Ular, A Russo-Chinese Empire.
Hastings, Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 1.

CASH STATEMENT BY THE HON. TREASURER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN FROM DEC. 1907 TO NOV. 30TH, 1908.

To Balance Dec. 1907	2,411.21
To Residents' Subscriptions	662.90
To Non-residents' Subscriptions	132.74
To Life Members' Subscriptions	115.98
To Entrance Fees	180.00
To Interest	115.68
To Transactions paid for	691.53
	4,310.04
By Sec. MacNair's Petties	20.00
By Librarian's Petties...	216.39
By Treasurer Kirby's Petties	12.47
By Sec. Clement's Petties	20.00
By Printing	158.70
By Rent ½ year	157.50
By Insurance	35.00
By Rev. A. Lloyd for purchase of Books...	250.00
By Royalty on Transaction	63.00

By Mitsu Bishi c/a...	1,253.41	
Less unpaid cheques	28.77	
	1,224.64	
By Special Deposit Mitsu Bishi Bank	472.21	
By Fixed Deposit Mitsu Bishi Bank...	1,038.94	
By Fixed Deposit H. & S. B.	600.00	3,379.98
By H. & S. B. C. c/a...	41.19	
	4,310.04	

We have nearly 1,000 *yen* more in hand now than we had this time last year, but before long heavy printing bills must be paid, so really we are not in any better position financially. There is about 1,000 *yen* due us from Members for Subscriptions and Entrance Fees. Ultimately the bulk of this will no doubt be paid, as it is owing by people well able to pay.

RICHARD J. KIRBY.

December 10th, 1908.